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Soviet-American Summit: INF Treaty Signed

On December 8, 1987 the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons — medium and shorter-range missiles — was formally signed at the White House, Washington, D.C.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan affixed their signatures to the INF Treaty — an instrument representing an act of good will and new political thinking enhanced by mutual accommodation. The treaty is equally important both to the USSR and the United States and to the improvement of the international climate worldwide.

Also on December 8, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signed the following instruments attached to the treaty and forming inalienable parts: a memorandum of understanding on the ascertainment of basic treaty-related data, a protocol on the procedures regulating the elimination of the missiles covered by the treaty, and a protocol on treaty-related inspection.

Upon the signing of the INF Treaty, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the following remarks to the Soviet and the American peoples.

I am addressing my fellow citizens of the Soviet Union. I am addressing the American people.

President Reagan and myself have just signed a treaty under which, for the first time in history, two whole classes of nuclear weapons will be eliminated under the strictest possible verification.

The treaty on the complete elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium and shorter-range missiles will, I am convinced, be inscribed as a history-making landmark in the annals of humankind's quest for a world without wars.

In this connection allow me to briefly recall a point of history.

Not all Americans are perhaps aware that at the height of World War I, the Soviet Republic that was born in Russia in 1917 took its first step by promulgating a decree on peace.

As Lenin, the founder of our state and the man who drafted the decree, said, we are ready to consider any proposals conducive to a just and durable peace.

That has remained the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy ever since.

Nor do we forget another idea he expressed: disarmament, a world without weapons, a world without violence — such is our ideal.

Unfortunately, the risk of nuclear catastrophe is still a reality today, and it is still great. But we have faith in humankind's ability to remove the threat of self-annihilation.

We are heartened by the growing worldwide understanding of the essence of this threat which has placed humanity face to face with the issue of its very survival.

Humankind's sacred right to life has now acquired a new, global meaning. And that should be constantly borne in mind above all by the political figures and statesmen endowed with power by the will of their peoples.

"The people" is not an abstract notion. It consists of individuals, each entitled to life and the pursuit of happiness.

The treaty that has been signed in Washington represents an important juncture in international developments. Its significance and impact far transcend the boundaries of its specific subject.

We had to traverse a difficult path before we reached this landmark, going through prolonged and heated debate and discussion, defusing emotional charges and overcoming deep-seated stereotypes.

What we have achieved is only the beginning, the starting point of nuclear disarmament — although, as we are all aware, even the longest journey begins with a first step.

Progress beyond that starting point will require continued intensive thinking, honest work and a departure from certain concepts of security which may now seem incontestable and from everything that feeds the arms race.

In November 1985 President Reagan and myself declared at our meeting in Geneva that nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. We also declared that neither the USSR nor the United States sought nuclear superiority.

That enabled us to climb the first step of the platform of our joint quest.

Geneva was followed by Reykjavik. There, a radical breakthrough was achieved in the conceptual approach to the process of nuclear disarmament. That made both today's treaty and a specific examination of other issues involved in the nuclear confrontation possible.

We give due credit to our American partners. Together with them we have accumulated a store of experience that will help us look for solutions to even more complicated issues of equal and universal security.

The most important thing is for accords on a radical reduction of strategic offensive armaments, with the ABM Treaty remaining in force, on the elimination of chemical weapons and on cuts in conventional armaments to be translated into reality as soon as possible.

The Soviet Union has submitted concrete proposals on each of these issues. We believe that agreements on them are within reach.

During the return visit of the U.S. president to the USSR next year we expect to tackle a treaty for cutting the existing strategic nuclear weapons virtually in half.

It is also possible to negotiate a substantial reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe: their build-up and perfection is a source of justified concern.

When all that materializes, we will be able to say with confidence that progress toward a safe world has become irreversible.

Eliminating weapons of mass destruction and achieving disarmament for development is the principal — actually, the only — effective way to tackle the other problems humankind encountered tangibly at the close of the 20th century: environmental problems, the consequences of the new technological revolution, the issues of energy, widespread poverty, hunger, disease, the monstrous foreign debt, and imbalances in the diverse interests and requirements of scores of nations.

This calls above all for a novel approach to issues of national and universal security.

I am aware that some politicians and journalists are already trying to figure out for which side the INF Treaty represents a victory. I reject this approach as a case of anachronistic, obsolete thinking.

It is a victory of common sense. It is a victory of reason. Granted, it is not yet an overwhelming victory. But it is very important politically and psychologically. It is consonant with the aspirations and interests of hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the globe.

People want to live in a world in which they would not be depressed by the fear of nuclear catastrophe.

People want to live in a world in which American and Soviet spaceships would rendezvous for link-ups and joint voyages, not clash in Star Wars.

People want to live in a world in which they would not have to spend millions of dollars daily on arms which they can only use against themselves.

People want to live in a world in which everyone would enjoy the right to life, liberty and happiness and, of course, other human

rights whose effective exercise is essential to the normal functioning of any developed society.

They want to live in a world in which prosperity for the few would not be secured at the expense of the poverty and suffering of others. They want not only military but also economic security.

People want to live in a democratic and free world in which all are equal, and every nation has a right to make its own social choice without outside interference.

People want to know the truth about one another and, at long last, to feel that they belong to a great universal family of nations, ethnic groups, languages and cultures.

Can a world like that be built? We in the Soviet Union are convinced that it can. But that will also require a very radical restructuring of international relations.

To reach such a world, we need creative boldness, new thinking, correct assessment and consideration not only of one's own economic capabilities and interests but also of the interests of other countries. For this, political will and a high sense of responsibility are an imperative.

We in the Soviet Union have launched a process of reappraisal,

of devising a new program of action. And we are carrying it out.

We call it perestroika. We have taken it up unhesitatingly, aware that this undertaking will take time. We have taken it up because we want to ennoble our society, accelerate its development, make it more democratic and more open, and fully tap its potential in order to improve materially and intellectually the life of our people.

Our confidence in our country's future and our conviction that a safe and civilized world is possible are organically interrelated.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, on behalf of all our people I state that we are and will be conducting our international activities responsibly and in earnest, that we are aware of our interests but strive to combine them with those of others, that we are ready for mutual accommodation on the basis of equality.

Three days of formidable and important work lie ahead before the president and me. The talks have already started. For our part, we shall try to do everything for results — substantive results -- to be achieved.

Thank you.

Pravda, December 9, 1987

Mikhail Gorbachev Meets ICFTU Leaders

On October 9 Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting with leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at CPSU Central Committee headquarters. The ICFTU has about 83 million members in 100 countries. Taking part in the meeting were ICFTU President Palayil Pathazapurayil Narayanan (Malaysia), ICFTU General Secretary John Vanderveken (Belgium), Vice Presidents Ernst Breit (FRG), Gopeshwar (India), Shirley Carr (Canada), Stig Malm (Sweden), Franco Marini (Italy), Norman Willis (Britain), Tadanobu Usami (Japan), and secretaries of the inter-American and African regional organizations affiliated with the ICFTU, L. Anderson (Panama) and Amos Gray (Liberia). Accompanying officials were also present.

Greeting the leaders of these major trade unions Mikhail Gorbachev noted the singular significance of the very fact of such a meeting, the more so that in past times relations between the ICFTU and the Soviet Union had formed not in the best way.

This means that in this respect, too, the world has begun to change. The presence of such a delegation here is a sign that today it is already difficult, if not impossible, to deal with peace issues without the broad participation of the public and its organizations and, of course, such major mass organizations as the trade unions. It is good that they are joining the search for ways of improving the world situation.

An acquaintance with official statements of the ICFTU on questions of disarmament, Mikhail Gorbachev said, has led me to the conclusion that I concur with the main provisions outlined in these statements. That is a welcome fact. I am also glad that we can now speak openly and directly about matters of concern to you and to us.

Strictly trade union matters were not envisaged by Mikhail Gorbachev's interlocutors. So in his introductory speech he only noted that for all the distinctive nature of the work conducted by trade unions in different countries, there is one thing that is common to all trade unions: they must protect workers. This means that the trade unions have an interest in everything. This is also true of trade unions in a socialist country, a country of workers, a country in which the system is their own. And yet we note that lately the views and the potential of mass organizations were not utilized in full and this affected the situation in our society.

There are two aspects to the participation of the trade unions in socio-political life. One is the implementation of their views and interests in formulating questions of policy. The other is the realization of the right to monitor the implementation of policy. Both are constructive. And, if we add criticism by the trade

unions, we will get an integral picture of their interaction with the leadership of the country, with the activities of state and administrative bodies at all levels.

The fact that trade unions now perform internationally common functions is connected with the scientific and technological revolution despite the different forms its social consequences take in different countries. And here too the trade unions should stand guard over the interests of workers. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the hope that international trade union associations of different orientations would at some stage come to some form of mutual contacts.

The dialogue concentrated on major issues of universal importance. All members of the delegation spoke.

They saw their mission in presenting, on behalf of millions of trade union members, their views to the leader of one of the biggest world powers. They said they intended to say the same to the President of the United States and that they had already had contacts with leaders of other states, with the leadership of NATO and the non-aligned movement.

Their remarks were permeated by concerns over the arms race and by a desire that the positive developments that have appeared in the discussions and talks on nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons, in the search for solutions to other security problems, including regional conflicts, be crowned with success.

The views and the demands addressed to the political leadership of various states, particularly the USSR and the United States, were formulated by the speakers from a position of equidistance. Significantly however, they agreed with many proposals outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev in his article of September 17 and in his speech in Murmansk, and said they were glad that most of the views expressed by them encountered understanding and agreement.

This concerns such questions as the interconnection between economic development and disarmament; the understanding that military spending devours enormous resources needed for social development, for stamping out hunger, disease and environmental dangers; respect for national sovereignty as a key condition of security; the need for collective international efforts to ensure it; the importance of strengthening the prestige of the United Nations; the recognition that the arms race does not make the world safe and only undermines its security, that security can be preserved and sustained with the help of much smaller armaments and armed forces; that openness and public discussion are very important for verifying compliance with agreements; the connection of the pro-

cess of disarmament with the growth of trust, and the importance of practical disarmament moves for confidence-building.

The community of views also expressed itself in the evaluation of the Helsinki process, notably in the view that contacts among ordinary people and their organizations, as well as between politicians, were very important for normalizing international relations, and that this was a guarantee of peace. There was also general agreement about the rights of all peoples to development, to employment for all who are capable of working, to the elimination of hunger and other social maladies, and to a just settlement of all humanitarian issues. In short, the participants agreed that universal security calls for a system which would include everything — from the elimination of weapons of mass destruction to the defense of human rights and freedoms.

A very apt reminder was voiced by one of the participants who said that workers suffer most from wars. Industrial workers and farmers perish on the battlefields, while after the war it is they who have to shoulder the burden of rebuilding what was destroyed.

A notable statement was made by Ernst Breit who vowed that the West German trade unions would do everything so that war would never again be launched from German soil.

The speakers welcomed the arrangement reached between the USSR and the United States for a treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles and stressed that it was very important for this agreement to be a first step toward the solution of other disarmament questions, first of all to reductions in strategic offensive nuclear weapons, the "greatest devil" as the Italian representative put it; that the sea-based systems should not be neglected; that at long last agreement should be reached on the elimination of chemical weapons while conventional armaments and armed forces should be reduced to a level of reasonable sufficiency; and that the process of disarmament should not be confined to Europe but should encompass all parts of the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev showed full understanding of the remarks made by representatives of Third World trade unions who sharply raised the question of the impermissible squandering of resources on armaments at a time when more than a billion people lived in poverty, when more than half the human race could not have even its elementary requirements satisfied, and when the external debt of many states, like a cancerous growth, called humankind's survival into question.

Mikhail Gorbachev particularly singled out the connection between disarmament and development. He called for a very serious evaluation of the situation, especially by those present, since they were active within the framework of the capitalist system. Here is a problem he invited them to ponder: can this system ensure the living standard of the entire population without militarization and without an inequitable exchange with the Third World, that is, without exploiting its human and material resources? There is no escaping this issue, the situation being such that the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer. In this process, too, there is a line which, if crossed, spells a danger equal to that of the arms race.

We do not seek to disrupt the existing world economic ties. But we are for perfecting them on an equitable basis. Incidentally, herein lies the key to understanding the roots of regional conflicts and to extinguishing flashpoints.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke highly of the stand taken by the trade unions on the question of conversion and on their attitude to the military industry as a huge obstacle to economic progress.

In some of the remarks one could hear, apart from wishes and recommendations that were natural, claims which could be explained either by insufficient knowledge of Soviet policy or by adherence to habitual stereotypes with respect to the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev expounded the Soviet position on the question of Afghanistan, saying, among other things, that the Soviet Union sincerely wanted it to be a non-aligned, independent and neutral state. And the USSR will do everything to speed up the settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan — this will make it possible to bring Soviet soldiers home.

Ending the dialogue, Mikhail Gorbachev thanked all those who took part in the meeting. It was important for me, he said, to hear candid opinions from you who represent today's diverse and complex world. This meeting confirms yet again how everything is interrelated in that world, how we all depend on one another.

In the final analysis, this simple fact underlies the new way of thinking at which the Soviet leadership has arrived as a result of profound and challenging reflection. On the political plane, the concern you have voiced here for the destiny of peace is very heartening. It is in line with the feelings and ideas of the Soviet people. During my trips across the Soviet Union I've never heard a single voice which would call into question the need for seeking a better world based on trust, mutual understanding and cooperation. There are no such sentiments in our country, even among the generals. We have no people who would vote for war.

I was deeply moved by the striving of those present — and they evidently reflect the views of millions — for joint actions. The Soviet leadership is fully aware of its responsibility. It proceeds from the premise that humankind is now at a crossroads — it will either expand the arms race into new spheres, including exotic types of weapons and conventional arms upgraded to the parameters of nuclear arms — or it will give up confrontation and move toward a safe world for all.

The former choice, if it can be called a choice at all, is murderous to life on earth and deeply wrong morally.

The Soviet leadership is confident that it is possible to make the right and reasonable choice — in the interests of general progress and to promote such an increase in the productive power of humankind as will enable us, with all the political, ideological and social differences that remain, to resolve, among other things, many problems which were discussed here. It is not an easy thing to do. It will have to be tackled in stages. But the choice must be made in favor of this path.

It is a source of immense satisfaction that all statements you made here came as votes in favor of such a choice. That is the most important conclusion I draw from this meeting — a conclusion which we will take into consideration in our policy.

It is gratifying that a broad approach to disarmament was voiced here and that all of its positive consequences were taken into account — not just security and peace, but also conversion which will make it possible to increase the number of jobs, as well as democratization of the social and political fabric because militarism is a breeding ground for reactionary phenomena, for toughening the political regime, for restricting the opportunities open to the labor movement whose protest against the arms race is not infrequently pictured as an effort to undermine national security. Disarmament makes it possible to meet the needs of the worker better. It saves resources and rechannels them into resolving genuine human problems, such as poverty, the environmental threat, and certainly the debt. The Third World debt is a social time bomb which may explode with devastating consequences. No palliatives, which create the impression that the problem is being tackled, will be of any help here.

The entire contemporary world and the whole of civilization — in all the diversity and heterogeneity of its components — have reached a juncture at which the common values of all humankind have acquired paramount importance. The interests of one state, no matter how powerful, the interests of a group of states, no matter how unanimous, cannot determine world politics. It should be based on the interests of all humankind. A balance of interests is needed. We face realities that cannot be glossed over. They should be perceived and understood, and efforts should be made to take them into account in political practice. It is impossible to tackle new tasks via old approaches. The new reality calls for a new policy. And we are realists, we do not dwell in a world of illusions and fantasies. Our new thinking is based on all the realities of the contemporary world.

We have not only proclaimed a new way of thinking, a new political philosophy. We have started transferring it into a practical plane.

Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned the Soviet Union's main foreign policy initiatives and steps over the past 18-24 months. They deal with virtually all major problems the world community has come up against. But the Soviet leadership attaches priority among these matters to disarmament.

We realize that all these problems cannot be resolved at one go. There will be initial steps, there will be subsequent steps, and so on. But equal security should be preserved at every stage. I repeat again and again that we do not seek superiority over the United States. This would do nothing to strengthen security. We are also against the practice whereby, reducing armaments in one direction, in one place, the intention is to build them up in other directions, in other places. This undermines confidence, erodes the very negotiating process on disarmament. We want everyone to be confident at all stages of real disarmament that what has been adopted and registered in agreements really strengthens security and that these agreements will not be violated by anyone.

We also proceed from these positions on questions of verification. Since matters are being placed on a practical plane, have reached the stage of real disarmament, we are for very stringent controls. And when we hear about the need for double verification, we say that we are for triple verification. And since I was asked here about the obstacles which still exist on the road to the intermediate and shorter-range missile agreement, I can say that one of the obstacles is that our partners wish to exempt some things from verification.

The Soviet leadership holds that the agreement on medium and shorter-range missiles can and must be concluded. We appreciate the fact that the political will for this has been manifested not only in the United States but also in other NATO countries. The outstanding problems can be resolved promptly. In any case, the Soviet Union will do everything for this initial step toward nuclear disarmament, a step of great importance, to be taken. And its importance is not only that a whole class of nuclear weapons is destroyed. Its importance lies no less in its vast political and moral consequences as an example showing the practicability of real disarmament.

The problem of reducing strategic offensive arms is an object of our unremitting attention. We have submitted new proposals in Geneva. The problem is very serious and important. At the initial stage it applies to us and to the Americans, but later other nuclear powers will have to tackle it too.

As regards the obstacles about which you have asked, in this sphere they lie in the attitude to the ABM treaty. Our stand is simple: let us observe this treaty as was done till 1983, when neither we nor the Americans had any doubts about its interpretation. But when SDI emerged and, along with it, a temptation to use a technological breakthrough to get an edge on the Soviet Union through outer space, then this main obstacle appeared. We are against the arms race in space and we are glad that you support this stand. Should a race start, the entire negotiating process would be undermined, nothing would remain of the elements of confidence that have begun to take shape. An arms race in space is also a ruinous waste. In fact, there are hopes that this will indeed be ruinous — to us, to the Soviet Union. The objective is to undermine in this way our perestroika, to make it choke so as to be able to say later on that the Soviet Union can achieve nothing. This will not work. We have a reply to SDI, as we have said more than once. But if the Americans impose an arms race in space, all of us are in for bad times.

I believe that an agreement on strategic offensive arms is possible. It can be reached under the present administration, or at least arrangements in principle can be achieved. But the partners should be mutually accommodating. The bridge should be built from both sides. We are prepared for this.

Answering questions about the concentration of large nuclear forces in the northern seas, in the Arctic, Mikhail Gorbachev linked the Murmansk initiatives to the agreement on medium and shorter-range missiles, and to the proposals on reducing conventional armaments and forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. And if progress is made in this field, there must be no concentration of the nuclear menace in the North of Europe, in the expanses of the Arctic Ocean and the North Atlantic. That is the linkage that explains the timing of the Murmansk proposals. We are very serious about them and we intend to act in such a way as to launch them into international politics.

We noted with satisfaction a favorable response to the proposals in Murmansk from the public and governmental circles of Nordic countries. But we are also aware of the negative reaction in certain NATO circles. This puts us on guard and concerns all of us, the entire international public.

The participants in the meeting raised the question of human rights. Summing up remarks on this score, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the readiness of the Soviet side to discuss any matter related to this. But the discussion can be productive only if the socio-political choice made by this or that nation is respected. We respect the choice of every nation and, naturally, we also expect respect for the choice that was made by the 280 million Soviet people and which took more than a hundred nationalities from the fringes of underdevelopment to advanced positions. A dialogue on human rights should also be honest.

In the course of a dialogue and with an objective attitude, much in the institutions of democracy in other countries is seen better from a distance. And we take this into account in our debates with the West. But there cannot be any teachers in world politics now. We are all pupils of contemporary history.

Launching our perestroika, we are reforming all aspects of society. We shall have to discard many things that hampered our development. We want to fully realize the potential of our socialist system — through democratization. And we shall be steadily and consistently advancing along the road of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, in other words, along the road of democracy in every area, particularly in the economic production sphere, where the participation of collectives, and hence of the trade unions, will be decisive.

Our people in all seriousness embarked on the exercise of their rights and opportunities. All this will be done in the framework of the democratic process. This will include the solution of questions of political, civil rights and all other, specific matters in this sphere.

Such is our complex and challenging world, Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion. And in order to orient ourselves to it and resolve the acute problems, there should be no room for disrespect of states and peoples. The science of living in this world should be learned. For this purpose it is also necessary to heavily involve the public in world politics, including such a vast social force as the trade unions.

I really looked forward to this meeting and it is with optimism that I sum up its results. I think that it has helped start the ball rolling.

You and we have great opportunities for cooperation in upholding and building a secure and safe world. An ancient Indian maxim has it that only he who walks will traverse the road. This proverb is two thousand years old. So let us heed it and go forward, pooling our efforts as we go. Thereby we will bring our goal closer. You can count on our readiness to cooperate with the ICFTU in international matters.

The meeting was attended by S.A. Shalayev and V.S. Shaposhnikov.

Pravda, October 10, 1987

“With All My Heart — Success to You!”

Dolores Ibarruri's Message to the Soviet People on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Dear Soviet Friends!

There are events which neither the vicissitudes of life nor old age — I am turning 92 — can obliterate from our memory. I will always remember that November day in 1917 when the news of a socialist revolution in Russia led by Lenin reached my coal mining settlement in Biscay; it stands out in my mind as an immense event and a landmark development of worldwide significance.

Though Russia is geographically far from Spain, the mounting wave of the October Revolution reached us too. Revolutionary sentiment in my country grew the more we learned of successive gains by the working people of Russia and its Bolshevik party. The struggle in urban and rural areas and the national movements of the Basques and the Catalonians were acquiring a new content.

The October Socialist Revolution gave heart to the working class and all the oppressed and opened their eyes to the part they had to play in social change. It was also crucial to the inception in 1920 of the Communist Party of Spain.

Throughout the long, trying and dramatic fight by the Spanish communists and other revolutionaries we have always felt the Soviet Union's internationalist solidarity. We shall never forget the selfless assistance given by the country of the October Revolution to the Spanish Republic when it was attacked by domestic and foreign fascism, in those tragic days when the Republican fighters waged the first battles of World War II against overwhelming odds.

The roads of struggle, dear Soviet friends, led me to your country, where, shoulder to shoulder with you, I lived and fought my way through all the privations and sacrifices forced on us by the devastating Second World War. You, then still young men and women, heroically fought in that war since its outcome spelled either freedom or enslavement for all nations. The Soviet Union

was the main force that routed the fascist aggressors.

Dear Soviet comrades and friends, I am writing today to congratulate you and, learning of the milestone perestroika changes afoot in your country, to express my profound admiration and hope. The word “perestroika” is now quite popular with the Spanish. Both old and young know the name of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and say it with sympathy and admiration. For many it stands for a staunch campaign, pervaded with new and inspiring ideas, for peace and human survival, for a world without nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, a campaign to ensure that in the year 2000 all young people the world over no longer have to live with the calamitous threat of nuclear annihilation.

The far-reaching economic changes, the perestroika and the fight against everything holding you back, launched by the CPSU leadership, are opening up new prospects and ways to promote democracy and the Soviet people's welfare.

As we are nearing the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I am sending my cordial greetings to the young people, who are reviving so much hope in us, and to the veterans, who spent all their lives building socialism and defending it from formidable aggressions. In sending my heartfelt greetings, I express solidarity with and total support for the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, comrade Gorbachev and his high-minded aspirations rooted in Lenin's ideas and works. I wish with all my heart that they produce fresh gains to promote peace and fraternal understanding among nations.

Dolores Ibarruri

President of the Communist Party
of Spain

Madrid, October 1987

Pravda, October 28, 1987

Communists & the Struggle for Peace

Disarmament for Development

Joint Communiqué on the CPSU-SDPG Working Group Record

A joint CPSU-SDPG working group has been meeting regularly since June 1984 in Moscow and Bonn to discuss the chances of using a portion of the finances released through arms spending cutbacks to benefit Third World countries.

The SDPG side included FRG Bundestag SDPG faction members: SDPG presidium member E. Bahr, Bundestag economic cooperation commission chairman U. Holz, and Bundestag defense commission member P. Wurz; the CPSU side was made up of CPSU CC secretary A. Dobrynin, CPSU CC member V. Zagladin, and CPSU CC alternate member Y. Primakov. At a Bonn press conference in October 1987, A. Dobrynin and E. Bahr presented a joint communiqué summing up the CPSU-SDPG working group efforts.

A scaling down of arms spending is an important step to end the arms race and its escalating perils, to the benefit of humanity.

To be sure, there is a relationship between arms spending cutbacks and a genuine policy of disarmament and detente. Ap-

preciable inroads into the military budgets could be a vital move in setting up a system of comprehensive international security.

The following principles should then be abided by:

— arms spending cutbacks must not hurt the security of any party;

— all the states involved in this venture should be confident that the accords and commitments are being complied with.

The working group considered a range of criteria to guide arms spending reduction procedures, including in percentages of military spending, national income, or the gross national product. The problem will further be studied with account taken of varying viewpoints current in the world community.

As many as a billion people in the Third World countries live in poverty, and 40 million die every year of hunger and illness. The mounting debt of many developing nations is making their plight still worse. Under the circumstances the industrialized countries should make a big effort. It is about time for concrete pro-

posals on how to use a portion of the saved resources to benefit the Third World. The international Conference on the Interconnection of Disarmament and Development was very instrumental in this respect.

Our proposal is this: as soon as there is an accord on really controlled armed forces and arms reductions, an international solidarity fund to aid Third World nations should be set up.

It should be made up of countries of both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty defense alliances. All industrialized nations are invited to join this fund.

A decision on creating such a fund, which should necessarily have the USSR and the U.S. among its members, might become a signal of hope. Clearly, the sizable finances set aside for this fund will increase in the disarmament process to the degree to which the disarmament accords are complied with. The fund's revenue should accumulate on a stage-by-stage basis; each stage will last several years, in direct relationship to disarmament moves.

Given appropriate supervision, fund resources shall be allocated in addition to the present government appropriations to aid developing nations.

No new organizations shall be set up to see through the projects and programs financed by the fund.

This could be done through individual projects, specifically through UN channels, like under the UN Development Program and under appropriate fund supervision.

The international solidarity fund shall help with projects and programs in the more needy Third World countries.

The chief focus should be on promoting development through more self-sufficiency, especially faster rural development as well as development projects involving masses of people.

Resource distribution principles will be further explored, with the emphasis on the following goals:

- fighting poverty, furthering job-creating development;
- promoting development attentive to ecological requirements;
- building up the independence and self-determination of developing countries.

Fund allocations should take account of:

- the general economic and social conditions, including the trade and debt areas;
- projects and programs which could enlist ordinary citizens.

The international solidarity fund shall basically operate through subsidies, not credits.

Practical moves to restructure international economic relations could make more effective the proposed measures to aid Third World countries.

The CPSU-SDPG working group is gratified to note that the ideas at the core of its work have been reflected in the activities of the international Conference on the Interconnection of Disarmament and Development and in its final document. Since this document calls for, in general outline, transmitting the resources released for development through the channels of current UN agencies and institutions, the working group has decided to submit the conclusions of this statement to the UN Secretary-General for their possible practical use.

Pravda, October 14, 1987

Peace is the Revolutionary Objective

Article by Gerardo Chiaromonte, Member of
the Italian Communist Party Leadership

In his September 17, 1987 article in the *Pravda* newspaper, Mikhail Gorbachev invoked and amplified the portion of his report to the last CPSU congress where he emphasized the interdependence and interrelationship of problems now confronting humankind.

His views are prompted by the need to ward off atomic war and secure lasting world peace. The same issue was examined in 1954 by Palmiro Togliatti in his famous speech about the way the emergence of nuclear weapons radically changed the nature of war and of the absolute need to "save human civilization." These prophetic words by Togliatti caused much polemic in Moscow at that time.

Mikhail Gorbachev, however, does not stop there. The "comprehensive international security system" he is calling for naturally gives priority, as we earlier stressed, to such a factor as the pressing need to abandon the "insane logic" of what is known as "parity" which is secured by nuclear deterrence. One should see the agreement to scrap the Euromissiles and the positive outlook for a strategic arms accord in 1988 as new and vigorous steps precisely in this direction. But the "international security" domain surveyed by Gorbachev is far wider and embraces also regional conflicts. He refers to the "right of nations to independently opt for ways and forms of their development — revolutionary or evolutionary." Gorbachev further adds that this is also true of the "right to social status quo" and speaks of the drive to "eradicate international terrorism," of economic security, a new international economic order (with special mention of the developing nations' debt problem), and ecological security, that is problems which are impossible to tackle by any one single nation, as well as of respect for human rights in all countries.

The article raises all the major issues and contradictions of our time. A new element in Gorbachev's policy is that he considers them as one single whole: "The imperatives of our time are forcing us to make many standards of common sense an element of

policy." Among such standards Gorbachev mentions the need to act "together" ("this word 'together' is most vital for the world today"). A further new element is the international and universal nature these problems are acquiring now, the need to abandon the illusions that new socio-political upheavals are enough to settle them, and the consequent objective need for interdependent and interrelated international actions. Building up this comprehensive international security system and running it requires, among other things, "an awareness of the need to open a common economic and ecological security front" to "defuse," apart from the nuclear missiles and bombs, the "delayed-action bomb that history and people themselves have planted in the fabric of social development." Among a whole range of issues Gorbachev also raises the idea of creating a "global network of medical cooperation on the more menacing ailments, including AIDS."

Such a system, Gorbachev contends, requires global guidance, which he believes might be provided by the UN, its Security Council and specialized agencies. The problem is to secure the "primacy of international law in politics." Such is Gorbachev's vision of a global government of sorts capable of addressing new, unheard-of stupendous problems of our day.

I therefore decided to go over the remarks Enrico Berlinguer made in his report to the 14th congress in March 1975: "Looking farther into the future we come to the conclusion that the evolution of peaceful coexistence and a broad system of cooperation and integration, while ensuring a gradual eclipse of the logic of imperialism and capitalism and embracing ever wider aspects of entire humanity's economic and civilian development, could also make real the hypothesis of a 'global government' enjoying a consensus and voluntary assistance by all countries."

In citing this quotation we are certainly not seeking any priority for the ICP in quest for new ways or insisting that it has to some extent anticipated Gorbachev's ideas. That would be a preposterous exercise smacking of provincialism. We only want to under-

score this singularly important fact: Gorbachev argues not just on the strength of an arduous national experience and a dramatic need for fundamental change in his country, and not just from his "class" viewpoint. Rather, he thinks and reflects with an eye to new global and human realities and is trying to draw from this conclusions and pointers of a general character valid for the world and humankind as a whole. He thus echoes the views of the most enlightened human minds who, whatever their political ideas and scholarship, are studying radical shifts in international relations. Schematic simplification or ideological dogmatism are out of place here. What is needed is a brave quest for essentially new ways.

My impression is that Gorbachev went much farther on some major issues than did Berlinguer in his above statement. His "global government" idea looks to the UN for leadership. To be sure, making it real will be immensely rough sailing but politically it is achievable. He argues, with reference not only to the recent missile accords: "Our present realities already provide the 'bricks' which already might go to build a future security system." In this respect Gorbachev does not even see the need to provide some "subjective" rationale for his arguments (as he might, say, stress the need to invalidate the logic of imperialism and capitalism). He emphasized only the objective requirement of humanity in general and focuses only on concrete facts which might inhibit progress toward an all-embracing international security system (for instance, he is an outspoken critic of the U.S. Star Wars project).

It stands to reason that so strikingly new and important statements must be matched with consistent political actions and an ability to prevail over opposition and failure to understand which are based on ready-made formulas and ideological dogmatism in evidence not just in the USSR but elsewhere in the world revolutionary, progressive and liberation movement. The most important thing is the need to get the better of conscious resistance and objective sluggishness in diverse areas (reactionary groupings, strong military-economic machines, etc.). But we should take at its own merit Gorbachev's argument that the most progressive and revolutionary task we may set ourselves now is to change the situation the "world has found itself in on the eve of its third millennium — threatened by annihilation, ridden with tension, in a climate of suspicion and strife, and squandering enormous resources, efforts and talents of millions of people to make mutual distrust and fear still more acute."

Precisely this last problem was elaborated on by Shevardnadze in a singularly dramatic address he made at the UN on September 23, 1987. In it the Foreign Minister made a reminder of the upcoming 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and said

that he would therefore want to "invite" the audience to "reflect together" on the close interconnection of the "international and domestic aspects of the new Soviet line." Perestroika requires transformations, openness and dialogue both in home and foreign policy. "There is a direct and obvious relationship between them, and the one is impossible without the other," he stressed.

This statement is followed by what is admittedly the most exciting and new in his speech. Talking of the October revolution, he asks how a "world revolution" could and should be interpreted. His answer is: "Even granted that we do have plans for a world revolution most closely related to our country's revolutionary renovation, they are here for everyone to see: they are to organize entire human society through recognition of peace as the supreme value of being, human life, freedom and dignity — the ultimate criterion of all things, and peaceful coexistence as a universal principle of interstate relations." It would hardly be an overstatement to say that this position and its politico-theoretical conclusions are of immense importance. I think it equally superfluous to emphasize its novelty compared with all the previous statements by Soviet leaders, Khrushchev included.

Such are the more momentous aspects of the two documents. We decided to concentrate on them not just because the "new Soviet line" and the new ideas it generates might prompt us to review in some measure the stage we have passed in our international experience. In wishing the Gorbachev policy well for the benefit of the USSR and entire humanity we do not, however, see it in any way going back on our judgment of the history and structure of Soviet society and its political system. Nor should this invalidate our more general point of view on the correlation between democracy and socialism. It was history which helped us form such views, which generated the crisis of the international communist movement and altered the positions of progressive quarters and the communist parties themselves worldwide toward the USSR and the CPSU. Referring at one time to the fading away of the "driving force," our concern was less its criticism than the need to validate a politico-historical reality.

We decided to keynote the boldness of the thought advanced in these documents and serving as a model for us and all people worldwide conscious of the significance of the new problems of our day. The problems put forward by Gorbachev and Shevardnadze are so monumental as to utterly overshadow some of our internal polemics on the place of our party, the more or less "revolutionary" nature of our goals, etc. They are prompting us to think big to keep pace with our time.

l'Unita, October 15, 1987

Congresses & plenary meetings

USA: Our Goal — Working Class Unity, Left Unity

Excerpts from the Main Report by Gus Hall to the 24th National Convention of the CPUSA

On August 13-16, 1987, Chicago was the venue for the 24th national convention of the Communist Party USA. It drew nearly a thousand delegates and guests. Party General Secretary Gus Hall made the main report, excerpted below.

Four days of discussion in commissions and working groups focused on party tasks to secure peace, fight racism and social inequality, and reverse U.S. foreign and home policy.

The closing session passed several resolutions on ways to build up the party and bring closer together all the progressive quarters in the U.S.

Gus Hall was re-elected to his post.

More than anything else, the people of the world are concerned about the outbreak of a nuclear war. Most now agree it would be the end of all living and growing things on this planet.

The people of the United States are part of this world peace majority. That is how they voted in the last congressional elections.

The Soviet Union has taken the lead in the struggle to end the world-threatening nuclear arms race. Their concrete acts and bold proposals have pushed the war hawks into a tight corner. The Reagan administration has been forced to retreat on some questions.

As a result, the possibility of agreements on the elimination of short and medium range nuclear missiles from Europe, as well as a 50 per cent reduction in long-range strategic weapons and confining Star Wars to the research laboratory, are now at a critical juncture. These could be important steps toward total scrapping of all nuclear weapons.

CAUTION: HAVE NO ILLUSIONS

However, these positive developments should not lead to wrong conclusions. We should caution against illusions that lead to inaction or pacifism.

It is true, the Soviet Union is a powerful force for peace. It has taken the initiative. It will continue to be in the forefront of the struggle to free the world from the nuclear nightmare.

But it is a serious mistake to sit on the sidelines and watch. There should be no illusions. There is not now, nor was there ever any basic change in the outlook and aim of U.S. imperialism. Since World War II, U.S. policy has been to dominate as much of the world as possible — economically, militarily, ideologically, politically and financially. This is the perpetual dream of "The American Century."

This was the underlying rationale for dropping the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This was the reason for the construction of 500 overseas, mostly nuclear, missile bases around the world.

Instead of reducing these numbers, the Reagan administration is building more. The all-out drive to build weapons of first strike nuclear superiority is the nuclearization of the U.S. policy of world domination.

STAR WARS CONTINUES NUCLEAR OFFENSIVE

Star Wars is not a change in policy from an offensive to a defensive one. The Star Wars program is a continuation and integral part of the nuclear offensive policy. The aim is to develop new anti-missile systems and to build weapons of first strike nuclear superiority.

Any idea that the building of weapons of nuclear superiority and the Star Wars program are not in support of and a continuation of the U.S. policy of imperialist aggression is inadvertently misleading.

In fact, because of such ideas some have moved from placing the blame both on the United States and the Soviet Union to a pacifist position that asserts no one is to blame. This position is often expressed by omission, by omitting to place any blame on the real culprits, the war hawks in the Reagan administration.

LULLED INTO PASSIVE PACIFISM

This has lulled some peace forces into thinking that a passive pacifism that calls for general appeals to the non-existent humanist side of capitalism, its good common sense and its self-interest will work.

This is a futile, self-defeating position that seeks for a "new philosophy" that will overcome the irreconcilable main class contradiction, including the contradiction between the two opposing world social systems.

Others dream about some new ways to "end the traditional confrontationalist" element in world relations. But imperialism does not respond to abstract humanistic appeals.

There is nothing wrong in seeking for new ways, new arguments for world peace. But when the search for the new ignores the old reality of the basic, inherent nature of world imperialism illusions are created. When the new is presented without the element of struggle it leads to inaction, to immobilization, to pacifism.

MOVING INTO ACTION

In order to activate the peace forces and for them to be effective, it is necessary to expose the fact that the drive for nuclear superior-

ity, including the Star Wars project, is related to and is an integral part of the policies of U.S. imperialism.

It is necessary to expose the fact that U.S. imperialism still strives for the realization of its dream of the "American Century." And what it cannot achieve diplomatically, politically, financially and economically it has plans to achieve through nuclear superiority. This continues to be a hard fact of reality.

U.S. imperialism continues to lay claim to parts of the five continents and five oceans as vital to the national interests of the United States.

When the Reagan administration sends warships and warplanes to the Persian Gulf, it is called "keeping the sea lanes open." But when the Soviet Union sends two ships into the same region, it is labeled "Soviet aggression and attempts to claim it for a Soviet sphere of influence."

NEW THOUGHT PATTERNS

There are some new modes of thinking in the grassroots and even in some corporate circles. There is a growing concern about the future of human existence.

The fact that there are 137 Nuclear Free Zones in the United States, the largest legally binding one is Cook County Illinois, with 5 million people and at least 150 cities, including many of the largest ones, that have now passed Nuclear Test Ban Resolutions testifies to the new thought patterns. An indication of the breadth of the peace sentiment is that there are 850 peace organizations in Ohio alone.

This is a very important development. It provides a broad mass base for the mobilization of the majority in the struggle for world peace. It is the basis for a new kind of unity — unity in struggle.

But the new mode of thinking has not yet reached the decision-making, inner circles of monopoly capital and certainly not to the extent that they have given up their drive to dominate the world.

The changing balance of world forces and the American people's opposition to U.S. imperialist and interventionist policies, has forced the Reagan administration to maneuver and retreat in some specific areas. This is very important. The tactics of the people's struggles must be based on understanding this.

Thus, it is important to see both the nature of the basic, unchanged policy of U.S. imperialist aggression and the new possibilities to force U.S. imperialism to retreat.

It is also important to understand that even contemplating the idea of retreat is not easily accepted in the ranks of monopoly capital. The natural instincts of corporate heads is the drive for maximum profits and supporting preparations for war and acts of imperialist aggression.

UNITY OF PEACE MAJORITY

Today there is an ever-closer relationship between socialism and world peace. Socialism has become the key force in the maintenance of world peace. The great majority of humanity is for world peace.

As with everything else, the struggle for peace does not take place in a status quo world. The progressive forces and especially the forces of socialism do not accept the status quo world. The class struggle goes on. Nations and peoples continue to mobilize and fight for their rightful place in the sun. And when they conclude they cannot achieve their just goals peacefully, they fight for their inalienable rights by other means. As the old saying goes, "that's life."

Thus, it is not abstract forces or concepts, or even appeals, that move mountains. What molds these forces into an irresistible force for progress is unity in struggle — organization, mobilization and action. This is another arena where the unity of the majority in struggle can determine the course of history.

UNITED WORKING-CLASS FRONT

The new fresh winds that our trade union program correctly forecast continue to blow.

The fresh winds and changing thought patterns are creating new weather patterns on which to adjust the working-class compass. A united class front policy must be the approach to all struggles, from economic struggles on the shop floor to the contract negotiating table.

The united class front policy must be the underpinning for the trade union PACs, for the electoral tactic of political independence.

Objective developments have narrowed the influence of the right wing. At the grassroots, rightwing influence on most questions has become rather thin. This is a most important development.

An important section of the top leadership is still arch-right wing and class collaborationist, on both domestic and foreign policy issues. But a growing section of the top and especially the middle layer of leadership is moving in a progressive direction, on both domestic and foreign affairs.

Because of changing thought patterns, the membership and the working-class grassroots in general increasingly are responding to tactics of class struggle, class unity and class political independence.

They have joined the struggles for ending the nuclear arms race. Twenty-seven internationals are officially part of the Freeze movement.

They have joined the struggles against U.S. policies that support the racist regime in South Africa and the contras in Central America.

The initiative by Labor Today and Trade Union Action for Democracy (TUAD) to organize a National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings can develop into a broadly based movement for a militant fight against plant closings.

The Jobs With Justice campaign, which grew out of the April 25th demonstration, is a direct challenge to class collaboration and is already capturing the imagination of many union members and leaders, as well as grassroots working-class community organizations.

On most of the big issues, to one extent or another, the grassroots take issue with the right wing positions of the Kirklands and Shanks.

To a large extent the grassroots have moved to positions that were center thought patterns in past years.

Then there is the growing broad left sector — in the ranks of the leadership, but even more so in the grassroots. This broader left element now encompasses much of what also were called center positions.

Because of these changing thought patterns it is more difficult — and unnecessary — to speak of a right, a center and a left. Making a distinction between the bulk of the membership and those who are center forces has largely lost its meaning.

BROADER LEFT DEVELOPMENT

In today's context the old center concept does not leave enough room for the broader left development. The thought patterns which were considered center in the past have now become the thought patterns of the bulk of the trade union membership and much of the leadership. The broader left now occupies part of that domain also.

Therefore, what is called for as the main tactical approach is the organization and mobilization of the united working class. Thought patterns have changed enough that the appeal on most questions can be made to the whole class.

Thus, the concept of a united working-class front. And associated with and an integral part of this united class is a left sector that has grown and is still growing.

Therefore, it is necessary for a united left to give leadership to a united working-class front.

This shift in tactics raises the importance of and makes it possible to work more within the trade union structure — local unions, central labor and state bodies. The united left forces can

now think in terms of moving the whole trade union movement. The whole trade union grassroots can be mobilized in the struggle against the right-wing forces.

These new thought patterns are not yet fully developed, but the direction is clear. They will continue to refresh the fresh winds.

BUILDING LEFT UNITY

We are for unity of the left forces in the peace movement. It is obvious that large sections of the population who are for ending the nuclear arms race now identify with and relate to the more advanced left positions. Therefore, the left peace forces must break out of their narrow, sectarian, cloistered isolation. Only in this way can they also break out of the crisis of inaction on the peace front.

We are for left unity in the Afro-American community and movements. On issues directly related to the struggle for equality the great majority of Afro-Americans relate to and support left positions. Without left forms the organized power of advanced positions on issues cannot be molded.

The same approach is needed to organize the left forces among Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, American Indian and Asian Pacific peoples.

Thus, there is now a left and the basis for an organized left and left unity in the movements of the nationally oppressed.

We are for left unity in the youth movement. Because objective developments are destroying all hopes of reaching "the American dream," it is necessary to think now in terms of all-youth unity. A united left sector must be a part of unity of the young generation.

As the struggles for women's equality have moved into the arena of the class struggle and politics, the women's movement has become an important political force. Women have become a greater force in molding working-class unity. Women have become a recognized force in all other areas of struggle.

Today there is a broad movement and an even broader consensus that takes in the great majority of women. Within this broad consensus there is a growing left sector. Therefore, the need for a united left force.

IDEOLOGICAL STUMBLING BLOCKS

In our consideration of these developments it is necessary to take into account some obstacles to left unity.

Anti-Sovietism has been such an obstacle. However, with the new U.S. peace majority, the decline in anti-Sovietism and the new interest in socialist developments, the possibilities for a broad left unity have increased greatly. Today, those who stand in the way of such unity are becoming further isolated.

Anti-communism is not as effective now. It has lost its ability to separate labor from its allies and to maintain longstanding divisions in labor's own ranks. Those who continue to make anti-communism the primary question for labor in place of the battles against the transnationals will either soon become irrelevant or will get thrown out of the path of progress.

As is the case with all alliances or coalitions, in order to build left unity there has to be an underlying basis of agreement, a common understanding on which the foundation for unity is laid. The purpose of a united left alliance is to help give effective leadership to broader forces and to organize more advanced forms of struggle. However, this left leadership must be constructive, not provocative, destructive, divisive, manipulative or anti-Communist Party.

THE PHONY, ANTI-PARTY LEFT

For the time being many of the small left groupings have pulled in their anti-Soviet horns. For some this is a tactical maneuver. Because of the overall decline in anti-Sovietism and because the base for these sentiments has narrowed down, it is now difficult for a left grouping to be anti-Soviet and maintain any credibility with broader forces.

There are phony left groupings that come and go. They are phony because on the one hand they use Marxist phrases but on the other hand they are anti-working class and anti-Communist Party. They take opportunistic positions with left covers on most questions, but spend most of their time attacking the positions of the Communist Party USA. Their attacks on the Communist Party are an opportunistic concession to the reactionary forces.

These groupings have no real following so they become leeches, attaching themselves to organizations and movements, making provocative appearances at mass meetings, distributing their anti-Communist Party diatribes. Most of these grouplets continue the old Trotskyite tactic of disrupting united movements. Most still pursue the policy of "takeover or destroy."

Some now say they want to work with the party. That is also phony because while they are talking about working with the party, they are working to take over or destroy it.

Anyone who is honest and has honest differences with the party, but is not out to slander or disrupt it, will have no problems working in mass movements with communists.

MOST WHITE AMERICANS OPPOSE INEQUALITY

According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of white Americans are against inequality. They do not yet see affirmative

action as the solution to undo inequality — a weakness we must relentlessly struggle to overcome. Nevertheless, white people are moving leftward, including against overt racism — but like swimmers in a rapid river, sometimes they get caught in whirlpools.

Tens of millions of white workers have now had experience working side by side with their Black counterparts. The days of legal Jim Crow mines and mills, schools and public facilities have been gone for quite awhile. Interracial contact has added to the developing anti-racist consciousness among white workers.

Organization of the struggle against racism, especially acts of racist violence, is essential because large sections of white people do not have many years of experience in being against racism. White masses need leadership and direction to help them learn how to avoid the eddies.

What the experiences in Cleveland, Detroit, Howard Beach and Atlanta prove is that it is now possible to move white workers to directly challenge the racists. And when this happens the racist elements retreat.

This should give us confidence to take bold initiatives when racist violence takes place. But it also raises questions about preventive actions. There is a need for broad movements against racism. But there is also a need for organized left leadership, program and forms.

Abridged from *People's Daily World*
August 14, 15, 18, 1987

Austria: Taking a Common Stand Against Capital's Offensive

From a report by CP Austria Chairman Franz Muhri at a plenary meeting of the CPA CC held on September 15 and 16, 1987.

The present internal political situation is marked by a stepped-up offensive by capital against the interests of all the working classes and strata of our country, with the Big Coalition acting as its executive more frankly than before. The attacks are being mounted along two main closely interconnected lines.

The first, which holds more burdens for the population, was signalled by the package of measures that are connected with the passage of the 1988 budget and that have been basically agreed within the framework of the big coalition. The second line in this offensive by capital is the policy of shrinking, reprivatizing and destroying the public sector of the economy.

The shares of the Austrian Oil Administration are soon to be put on the stock market, and some of them are to be sold to West Germans, which is a clear breach of the Austrian State Treaty. Together with the stepped-up efforts to tie Austria more closely to the European Community, such a policy not only tends to produce more unemployment in the country, but also gradually to undermine Austria's permanent neutrality and independence.

Another characteristic feature of the present situation is that the Social Democratic leaders within the government have already been acting as the vanguard in this offensive by capital. Indeed, State Secretary Ditz of the Austrian People's Party (VP) had good grounds to say in an interview with *Die Presse* on September 7, when he stressed his party's "success" in the government, that the reprivatization measures have already "surpassed the boldest dreams." He added: "Just imagine that we have not gone that far even in our own party program."

When the Lacina Package* was confronted with resistance, there were more loud calls for switching on the "social partnership" mechanism, the form in which the domination of capital evidently

continues to function. It is still capable of preventing the trade unions from using all their strength.

However, differentiation is a process that has gone on in the parties and in the trade unions. The use of the consequent opportunities for organizing joint resistance to capital's offensive and for joint action and the formation of alliances must become an important task of our political work this autumn.

MORE BURDENS AND POLITICAL FRAUD

Over the weeks and months ahead, we intend to mount a broad campaign against the package of measures heaping fresh burdens on the working people and against the government policy of destroying jobs.

The CP Austria rejects this package of measures because it is anti-social, increases unemployment, contradicts the interests of women and families and pushes Austria into an even deeper crisis.

It is a political fraud to claim that this package of measures is "socially balanced" in accordance with the principle that "everyone must make sacrifices." The roughly 20 billion schillings that are to help put it through are to be obtained almost exclusively at the expense of wage-workers, pensioners and farmers. Capital, the rich, are being spared, and indeed, further benefited; the provocative privileges of politicians and managers remain.

It is a political fraud on the Austrian people to claim that these measures are necessary and serve, as Mock [VP Chairman —Ed.] explained, to preserve the social security system and even to expand it in the future. In actual fact, the government is already preparing a new phase in the pension counter-reform, a worsening of public health care and unemployment insurance, and a further rise in the cost of housing.

It is a political fraud for the government to declare that the package of measures pushing more burdens on the population is a step to making the budget healthier, reducing the deficit and

*The package of measures proposed by Finance Minister Lacina to improve the state budget, mainly at the working people's expense. — Ed.

limiting the growth of the state debt. Even if the budget deficit were cut, and this is unlikely to happen, specialists estimate that the state debt, which at the end of this year already comes to 700 billion schillings, is bound to go up to 1,000 billion by 1991.

Therefore it is also a political fraud for the government to claim that these burdens are necessary to produce more budget scope so as to create jobs over the long term. The very opposite will be the result. This package tends to speed up the spread of chronic unemployment, to reduce the people's purchasing power and weaken personal consumption, an important prop for economic growth. The increase in chronic unemployment is, in itself, not just profoundly anti-social, but also creates even more difficulties for social insurance and the state budget.

It is also a political fraud on the Austrian people for the government to claim that there is no alternative to the policy of additional burdens. That kind of approach can be taken only by someone who has fully committed himself to the system based on the profit drive, and who seeks to obscure the deep-seated causes of the budget crisis: a redistribution upwards, and tax privileges for capital and the rich.

Tax issues are class issues. We communists offer the Austrian public an alternative to this class policy for the benefit of capital, an alternative that is socially just and that meets the interests of the country's working people.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE

Our alternative budget and tax policy proves that state revenues can be increased by 60 billion schillings a year by levying a source-tax exclusively on the big financial holdings, with stringent protection of small savings, through a progressive tax on large fortunes, radical cuts in tax privileges for joint-stock companies and recovery of the tax arrears of the capitalists.

Up to 20 billion schillings can be saved every year on the expenditure side of the budget by reducing outlays on the armed forces, renouncing the purchase of interceptor-fighters and missiles, withdrawing the unwarranted privileges for capital, abolishing the privileges for politicians and subsidies to parties etc.

These reforms will, therefore, bring to the state budget up to 80 billion schillings every year, and this will make it possible:

— first, to avoid more burdens on the working people and any cuts in appropriations for social needs, and further to guarantee pension security, notably through net-product payments by enterprises into the social insurance fund;

— second, to halt the practice of upward social redistribution, to introduce a socially just tax reform to ease the condition of small and medium income earners, and release funds for a truly long-term improvement of the budget and of the financial state of the communities;

— third, to spend, as we propose, at least 20 billion of these 80 billion schillings to finance an active employment policy. An economic policy aimed to stimulate economic growth and reduce unemployment is, after all, a key prerequisite for ensuring social certitude and rehabilitating the state budget over the long term.

FOR AN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM ON THE FEDERAL, LAND AND COMMUNITY LEVEL

In accordance with the decision of our party's 26th congress, we offer, as an alternative to the government policy saddling the working people with fresh burdens and dismantling jobs, an alternative to the Big Coalition line of destroying and reprivatizing the public sector, an employment program which, in particular, includes the following points.

1. Preservation and expansion of the nationalized industry through a switch to the output of new types of Austrian final products, improvement of the industrial structure for the purpose of turning out high-quality goods, instead of importing ever more

of them from abroad. This will require a sizable increase in subsidies for research and development.

2. Adoption of a many-year special program of state investment designed to preserve and expand the social infrastructure, including modernization of old cities, housing construction, development of public transit, etc.

3. Elaboration and implementation of a national environmental protection program to be financed from the profits of capital.

4. Further development of the Danube area. Planning and construction in this area must be based on scrupulous observance of all the environmental protection requirements and with an eye to the need to set up a national park, under democratic control on the part of the population and with its involvement in decision-making.

5. Elevation, instead of the continued depression of the people's purchasing power through a relevant policy on taxes, wages and social services. Pension security must not be undermined in any case. The old provisions on unemployment benefits payable to all jobless until they find a job need to be altered, and social assistance, not lower than the compensation under the general social insurance law, must be paid without any bureaucratic impediments in order to provide a subsistence minimum.

6. Introduction without delay of a 35-hour working week with full pay would help to create or guarantee about 200,000 jobs. It is better to reduce working time for all than to have unemployment for the many. We also demand the establishment of an occupational training fund and the immediate adoption of a law on the job-placement of shop trainees.

7. An active state-wide employment policy must be complemented with the elaboration and implementation of corresponding regional and communal programs in the federal lands and communities.

8. Instead of the country's ever closer ties with the EC and subsequent membership in it, which would merely intensify the pressure of foreign competition on the Austrian economy and would further increase unemployment, we demand continued independence in external economic policy, and wider economic ties in every direction, especially ties with the less developed countries and the socialist states.

DEMOCRATIZATION, NOT WORSENING OF THE UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE

Recent political developments have borne out the assessments of the 26th congress: the drive by capital and the social partnership policy are closely bound up with the tendency to undermine democracy in every sphere of social life. That is why the struggle against capital's offensive is simultaneously a struggle in defense of democracy and its expansion in every sphere of social life, for the working people's genuine control and right to take part in management, and for democratization of the trade unions. We demand a democratization of the universal franchise, an end to any discrimination with respect to small parties, and application of the principle: the same weight for every vote.

The campaign in support of the progressive alternative must be closely combined with concrete independent initiatives and active efforts to organize joint resistance, to arrange unity of action and set up alliances — on the level of enterprises and trade unions, in communal and regional politics, and in every other sphere of social activity. This requires swift responses to new points of contact and corresponding political steps.

FOR AN ACTIVE AND INDEPENDENT PEACE MOVEMENT

We believe that it is an important task of the communists to explain to the participants in the peace movement and the movements for economic and social objectives and for environmental protection the existing interconnection and interaction between the struggle for the right to work and the struggle for the right to

a life in peace, between cutbacks in appropriations for social needs and the arms race, and the state of environmental protection, to explain that putting the "Disarmament for Development" slogan into practice is not only an essential prerequisite for solving the problems of hunger and backwardness in the Third World, but also a way to create millions of jobs in the developed countries.

With the spread among the masses of an understanding of these interconnections, it will be possible to involve the Austrian workers and trade unions more widely in the struggle for peace.

It is important, at the same time, to understand that the peace movement and the economic and social movements differ substantially from each other in terms of tasks and objectives, the main orientation and potentialities for forming alliances, and that it is absolutely necessary to keep the peace movement independent, with its own specific functions, in the future as well. That is why we are opposed, as a matter of principle, to the tendencies which have appeared here and there to have it dissolved in some kind of "common resistance movement."

THE DOUBLE-ZERO SOLUTION IS FEASIBLE

The fact that an agreement on the double-zero solution has become really attainable is a success for the vigorous and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership, of the other socialist countries, and of the peace forces of the whole world.

We demand that the federal government of Austria should work for the double-zero solution and should come out with relevant foreign-policy initiatives in the spirit of active permanent neutrality.

But even the elimination of all medium-range nuclear missiles will fall short of signifying any real change in the aggressive substance of the Reagan administration's policy, because the United States has continued its line of building up strategic nuclear and other types of weapons, and also of militarizing space. Indeed, militarization is being stepped up in Austria itself. Up to now, the government has no intention of giving up the purchase of interceptor-fighters. It is yielding to pressure from NATO's militaristic circles. That is why — and not at all for the sake of protecting soldiers — the Big Coalition has decided to purchase the missiles, which is a breach of the State Treaty. The government is apparently prepared too, to make concessions in adapting the structure of the Austrian army to NATO's demands.

Consequently, the political situation this autumn carries the straightforward message that the struggle for international detente, disarmament and peace must continue to be the main line of our party's activity, and that an independent and active peace movement is still absolutely necessary in our country.

A DOCUMENT OF POLITICAL DEBATE AND DIALOGUE

The publication of the joint document, *Ideological Debate and Mutual Security*, worked out by the Academy of Social Sciences under the SED CC and the SPD Commission on Basic Values, has become an important event of international significance. It resulted from a dialogue the two parties had carried on over a period of years. It contains mutual confirmation of the conclusion that peace can be ensured only through mutual security, and expresses their joint commitment to a new mode of thinking and action.

This document is a reflection of the positive changes not only in SPD-SED relations, but also in the relations between the two German states, a valuable contribution to whose development was made by Erich Honecker's official state visit to the FRG, which ended successfully last week.

Some important planks of the document, especially those sections of it which speak of the need for a culture of political debate and dialogue are also of significance for our country, for relations between communists and socialists in Austria.

The conclusion contained in the document, which was published with the approval of the SPD Broad, that despite the social, political, ideological and world outlook differences and contradictions there is a widening circle of people, organizations, parties, governments and states taking an active stand for peace, for an end to the arms race and for detente, is highly important in many respects, including discussions with our class comrades in the Socialist Party.

What is said in the document about the need for a new type of relations between communists and social democrats under which the communists and social democrats would respect the principled decisions of the other side and would not create an enemy image of the other side, would not impugn its motives, deliberately distort its convictions and smear its representatives is also of essential significance in many respects, including relations between socialists and communists in Austria. There is also the view that "it must be the rule that when we trade, negotiate and cooperate with each other, we must simultaneously be able to come out with open and clear criticism."

This document clearly does not accord with the content and spirit of the Eisenstadt declaration by the Socialist Party of Austria. It also runs counter to the SPA's urge to prevent the socialists' wide and active participation in the peace movement and joint action by socialists and communists in support of progressive alternatives in the economic and social sphere. No wonder the SPA leadership has said nothing about the document. That is why it is our bounden duty to inform the public of it.

Ever more representatives, functionaries and members of the SPA and its electorate have voiced disagreement with the current policy of the Socialist Party leadership, which has even abandoned its reformist traditions, the policy which contradicts on essential points the SPA's own program and is bereft of any prospects or alternatives.

THE BALANCE OF FORCES MUST BE CHANGED

In this situation, special significance is attached to more active political contacts and discussions with critically-minded socialists and with those who are already turning their backs on the SPA. Concrete measures are also necessary in this sense in every sphere of party activity. There is a need to carry on consistent explanatory work to show that it is possible to realize the progressive alternative, that it is not only up to the working class and the other working people alone to effect it, and that it requires a radical change in the balance of political forces in favor of the left, ranging from changes in consciousness to ensuring much wider joint alliances and actions. It also importantly requires a strengthening of our party's positions, including electoral positions, to give us greater strength and political weight, in order to stand up for the working people's interests with greater effect.

Volksstimme, September 19, 1987

Paraguay: In the Vanguard of the Struggle Against the Dictatorship

Plenary Meeting of the Paraguayan CP CC

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party was held deep in the underground from August 19 to 21, 1987. It was chaired by Julio Rojas, acting CC First Secretary. PCP CC First Secretary Antonio Maidana was abducted in Buenos Aires on August 27, 1980, and his whereabouts are still unknown.

The plenary meeting heard and discussed a report by the PCP CC Political Commission on the situation in Paraguay, and indicated the main lines of the PCP's strategy and tactics at this stage.

It approved a minimum program of struggle for democratizing the country. It passed a number of decisions, including one on preparations for the party's fourth congress.

Below is a summary of the decisions and conclusions of the plenary meeting, and an interview with two of its participants, as published in the newspaper *Adelante*.

PCP CC Plenary Meeting Decisions and Conclusions

1. The recent political crisis, an expression of which was the police intervention in the holding of a convention by the official Colorado Party,* was resolved through an internal coup at the top: the extreme fascist and terroristic circles, led by Stroessner, Montanaro and Jaquet, among others, took hold of the main instruments of dictatorial power and removed from the government and the official Colorado Party members of its "traditional" trend, which has been deprived of any influence in the dictatorial regime. For the Stroessner dictatorship this means the final loss of any support in the masses, and the switch to anti-dictatorial positions by broad circles within Colorado. This event is also bound to have an effect on the army, where an open division into supporters and opponents of Stroessnerism will not be long in coming.

Anti-Stroessnerism is the common element that brings together the vast majority of our people on its way to overthrowing the dictatorship.

2. At the root of the current political crisis of the regime is the popular movement of the masses, the strengthening of their unity and organization, and, as a result, the isolation of the most terroristic forces of the dictatorship and the conciliationists of the opposition urging a national dialogue with the regime.

3. The social base for setting up a national anti-dictatorship front has become larger, and the mass anti-dictatorship trends have become simultaneously stronger; they demand profound transformations for the people's benefit, which lead to national liberation and social emancipation.

If the anti-dictatorship front is to be set up, it is most important to have a solid alliance of the left-wing forces capable of conducting a consistently revolutionary line in developing the anti-dictatorship movement.

4. In view of the rise of the popular movement and the isolation of the regime, the fascist dictatorship will evidently brutalize the repression in an effort to maintain its domination, to safeguard the interests of those it serves, and to create the conditions for a dynastic hand-over of power to Gustavo Adolfo, Stroessner's son.

5. The Yankee scheme for a "peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy" has already foundered, as our party has said. The calls for a "national dialogue" and other continuity variants have also suffered a serious reverse.

6. The establishment of the Popular Democratic Movement is significant evidence of the steady growth of our people's revolutionary political consciousness, and it is also evidenced by the formation of the Paraguayan Liberation Movement (MOPALI), the Permanent Meeting of Social Organizations (EPOS), the Paraguayan Peasant Movement (MCP), the Inter-Trade Union

Movement of Working People (MIT), the Federation of University Students of Paraguay (SEUP), and other bodies with their various characteristics, militancy and scope of action.

7. In view of this rise in the popular movement, there is the necessity of strengthening the Paraguayan Communist Party as the prime factor in setting up a conscious popular vanguard capable of mobilizing, uniting and organizing the masses in every form of struggle for a general popular uprising so as to overthrow the dictatorship and put in its place a provisional government of democratization.

Such is the alternative of the present stage which paves the way for democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist transformations, with orientation toward socialism.

8. The plenary meeting approved the activity of party organizations in implementing the party's line in various parts of the country, and voiced unanimous satisfaction over the PCP's spreading influence in town and country.

It is necessary to raise revolutionary vigilance, strictly to observe the requirements of security, to work for a clear demarcation of the tasks of party organizations, and for a correct combination of legal and clandestine work to ensure continuity and consistency in our party's revolutionary struggle.

9. The Central Committee pointed to shortcomings in strengthening the party's ties with the masses and the lag by party organizations behind the rising popular and revolutionary movement.

In this context, the Central Committee stressed the need to concentrate on organizational work among the working people (workers, peasants, students), and among every other stratum of society interested in democratic and revolutionary change.

10. Together with the people and in close contact with human rights organizations, it is necessary to display greater solidarity with political prisoners, to intensify demands for the protection of the life and liberty of PCP CC First Secretary comrade Antonio Maidana, and to act more vigorously in clarifying the destiny of our party's CC Secretary comrade Miguel A. Soler, and other political prisoners and those who have disappeared without trace. It is necessary to fight even more perseveringly for the release of Captain Napoleon Ortigoza, who, like South African leader Nelson Mandela, is the oldest political prisoner of imperialism and international reaction.

11. In connection with the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party in February 1988, the Central Committee has decided on an exchange of party cards.

12. It decided to go on reorganizing the Young Communist Federation in view of the fact that 70 per cent of Paraguay's population is under 30 years old. This great mass of young people is confronted with the tragedy of poverty, unemployment and insuperable obstacles in education and culture.

*Stroessner's police which provided security for the convention prevented hundreds of its delegates from attending and so ensured Stroessner's confirmation as the Colorado Party candidate in the February 1988 presidential elections.
— Ed.

Young workers, peasants and members of the middle strata, among whose principal qualities are dedication to ideals, generosity, and the spirit of struggle and renovation, are to be the main protagonists in democratic and revolutionary transformations, to become vanguard fighters of the self-defense of the masses, of the barricades of freedom, and to obtain all the tactical forms of struggle for the people's general uprising to gain its national liberation and social emancipation.

13. It is necessary to improve substantially party work among women, who make up over one-half of the Paraguayan population. Women's organization and active and massive involvement in trade union and political activity is a factor of basic significance for the development and triumph of the revolutionary and democratic movement in our country. The CC calls for an ideological and political offensive against the underestimation of the role of women in the struggle by the party and the people. It urges women to take their legitimate place in the battles being carried on by political and public organizations.

14. Party propaganda and the party press, an indispensable instrument in political, ideological and organizational work, has markedly improved in the recent period, but here essential shortcomings remain. The whole party must put in a much greater effort to improve the content of our press, its distribution, the use of revenues and accounting, as also control of study and assimilation by the communists of the basic articles in the party press.

15. It is necessary to put an end to the underestimation of the importance of party studies and to organize the steady elevation of the party cadre's political and ideological level.

The CC has authorized the Political Commission to reorganize the party's National Commission for Education, and to work out a study plan for invigorating the activity of party courses, so as to enable the communists to comprehend the party's political line, program, statutes, and theses, its strategy and tactics, the principles and rules of members' behavior, and the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

16. One of the tasks is to consolidate the party's financial state with the support of the masses and through various initiatives. It is necessary to regulate the collection of obligatory party dues and to carry on extensive financial campaigns, taking inspiration from the comrades who have been working without pay to collect funds for the PCP. It is necessary to set up a National Finance Commission that would be guided by the principle of reliance on the people in obtaining the funds necessary to ensure the party's activity.

17. The CC calls for efforts to consolidate the party's Marxist-

Leninist unity and cohesion, scrupulously to abide by inner-party discipline, to combat any deviations from our principles, and consistently to rebuff factional and splinter activity. At the same time, there is a need to carry on explanatory work to help honest but misguided comrades to overcome their errors and to return to solid party positions, to isolate incorrigible opportunists who have marginalized themselves from work in party organizations, to enhance revolutionary vigilance, and to safeguard the party from subversive activity and infiltration of enemies and CIA agents into its ranks.

18. It is necessary to work for scrupulous observance of Leninist party principles and norms as laid down in the statutes, and in the rules on security and revolutionary vigilance, and above all to take a resolute stand for the principle of democratic centralism.

19. The Political Commission report, approved by the CC plenary meeting, and the discussions at the meeting confirm the need for further deepening frank self-criticism designed to identify the causes of the mistakes and failings, and to take resolute steps to correct them.

The CC believes that this plenary meeting has made a start on a serious critical and self-critical discussion which is necessary to bring out the sources of the conceptions and methods which are alien to Marxism-Leninism and communist militancy that have impeded our party in exercising its vanguard and leading role in the revolutionary process.

20. The enlarged CC plenary meeting passed a decision on changes in the make-up of the PCP CC, relieved five members of the CC and one member of the Political Commission of their duties, and promoted new members and alternate members to the Central Committee.

21. The CC plenary meeting called on all the party organizations to start preparations for the fourth congress of the Paraguayan Communist Party.

22. It stressed the need to intensify the struggle for national sovereignty, against U.S. intervention in the affairs of Central America and the Persian Gulf countries, against the bellicose plans of imperialism, and for world peace. The PCP condemns the Reagan administration's aggressive policy and supports the Soviet Union's policy of peace and detente. The PCP CC plenary meeting called for militant action to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

23. The Paraguayan communists voice their militant solidarity with socialist Cuba, Sandinist Nicaragua, the heroic peoples of El Salvador, Chile and Haiti, and with the communists and patriots of Colombia and Panama.

The Paraguayan Communist Party Has a Bright Future Before It

Interview with Two Participants in the Plenary Meeting

Adelante has interviewed PCP CC members Ruben and Prudencio, who took part in the work of the plenary meeting, and asked them to answer the following questions:

1. What has the CC plenary meeting meant for you?

2. What kind of important experience has been gained by the party organization in your zone? How has it been working with the masses, mobilizing and uniting them, and how has it grown?

3. What in your view are our party's prospects, once all the communists have studied the report, discussions and conclusions of the plenary meeting?

Ruben: 1. For me, the CC meeting has been a vivifying breath of fresh air. It has further strengthened my communist convictions. It was the first time I took part in such a high-level meeting. The party has now changed in many ways as compared with the time when I joined it. The ties between the grassroots party organizations and the leadership have become permanent, and the party

now implements more consistently what is said in its documents. The PCP is now invigorating its work, but much still remains to be done to improve the situation. I am happy and return to my zone with a sense of deep conviction that our party is the Paraguayan people's hope.

2. We have a five-person leadership in my zonal organization. We collect monthly party dues, distribute *Adelante*, and organize the study of party documents. An interesting aspect of experience in our zone was the establishment of a committee to back up the building of a road between two populated localities, a vital need of the local inhabitants. Our zonal leadership examined this matter and decided that the solution of this problem is a primary task of the zonal party organization. We set up a Committee to Back the Road Construction, consisting of 60-70 persons in these two places. We began to put pressure on the municipal authorities and the local Colorado Party section, and got the road built through

Brazil: Ensure the Stability of the Government and the Sovereignty of the Constituent National Congress

The following is the Political Resolution adopted at a National Leadership plenary meeting of the Brazilian Communist Party on October 18-19, 1987

The split of the Democratic Alliance and the consequent elements of a political crisis have helped to enhance the consolidation of the reactionaries and conspirators who were isolated and defeated three years ago. In this context the Brazilian Communist Party considers it its duty to call on the people and on the democratic political forces to do their utmost to ensure the stability of the transitional period, since that is essential for the establishment of a democratic and law-governed state.

We reiterate that the stability of the Sarney government is a principal element of the transitional period and that it is to guarantee the atmosphere of freedom which now exists in Brazil. It is also essential for continued democratization. In order to preserve this atmosphere of democracy and to change the current economic policy which runs counter to the interests of the working people and, in many respects, to national interests, the government must invariably act through negotiation instead of confrontation and rely on the nation's mobilization and on the power of the working masses.

It is equally imperative to ensure the sovereignty of the Constituent National Congress, a fundamental element of the transitional period, whose work has made it possible to strengthen the democratic and social rights of the working people — a fact that opens new vistas in the economic, political and legislative spheres. Any attempts at the destabilization or demoralization of the Constituent National Congress or at confrontation with it, undertaken by the reactionaries and conspirators or resulting from the pressure brought to bear on it by the government and its supporters, should be condemned because they can only lead to political instability and pose a threat to the transitional period.

The stability of the transitional period largely depends on the solution of the acute economic and social problems facing the country and the working people. Their gravity is compounded by the Bresser Plan with its policy of curtailing wages and encouraging a recession and by the speculative and destabilizing activities of the employers. The government's helplessness before these problems is a factor constantly producing political instability and justified popular disaffection.

While giving President Sarney due credit for his recent statement on the open discussion of political and social issues, the BCP is critical of that statement's negative elements, such as the attempts (connected with the split of the Democratic Movement Party) at creating a non-party parliamentary support base for the government and the infringements on the rights of the Constituent National Congress. Besides, the President is making a mistake by supporting, without regard for the general opinion, proposals such as a five-year presidential mandate, presidential rule, privatization of government-owned enterprises, special export zones and, finally, dubious ways of renegotiating the external debt.

Aware of the fact that the stability of the Sarney government — provided the sovereignty of the Constituent National Congress is observed — is essential for the successful completion of the transitional period and for the establishment of a democratic and law-governed state, the BCP deems it necessary:

(1) to unite all political and social forces interested in the further consolidation of democracy, and to neutralize and isolate the right-wing conspirators;

(2) to reorganize and expand the social base supporting the transitional period and the Sarney government.

Prompt reorganization of the government's base in the parties

and in parliament — without its contraction, or any retreat from the positions already secured, or its replacement with forces having nothing in common with democracy — should be conducted to rally the Democratic Movement Party together with the Liberal Front and other parties and social forces fighting for a transition to democracy.

The establishment of a democratic and law-governed state and the implementation of socio-economic transformations call for a regrouping of forces that would assist in the creation of a broad socio-political alliance aimed at ensuring joint action by these forces in the executive bodies, in the Constituent National Congress and in society as a whole. This is our way for the formation of a broad coalition government that would represent all forces calling for democratic transformations, striving to overcome the crisis without detriment to the working people, and advocating a redistribution of the national income in the interests of development.

A consensus along these lines should result from an extensive discussion of the economic, social and political measures this government is to take during the closing stage. At its eighth extraordinary congress the BCP again put forward proposals on the new constitution of Brazil which is to institutionalize the four-year presidential term of office and the parliamentary system with direct elections at all levels. The congress also advanced proposals concerning the socio-political package and the emergency program to combat the crisis. The Communist Party is ready to take part in a discussion based on those premises. The BCP suggests that efforts to draw up a consensus program proceed from the common points contained in our proposals and in the proposals made by other political parties, civic organizations, governors and President Sarney and summed up in the paper "Democracy and Development."

We hope that this way can lead to a broad national consensus and discussion of those proposals on which there is disagreement. The objective of drawing up this program makes it necessary for the democratic forces to support the common points contained in different proposals, above all with a view to:

(a) preserving the existing atmosphere of political liberties;

(b) ensuring the sovereignty of the Constituent National Congress, protecting the political and social demands approved by the parliamentary Commission on the Systematization of Legislative Proposals, and acting resolutely to block those decisions that run counter to the interests of the working people and of the nation;

(c) supporting the Sarney government and ensuring its political stability;

(d) freezing foreign debt payments and subjecting related issues to legal examination and sovereign decision;

(e) orienting economic policy on an emergency program to avoid a recession, uphold national interests and stop the deterioration of the masses' living standards.

In the opinion of the BCP, the foremost task is to guarantee the successful conclusion of the transitional period. A law-governed and democratic state will create more favorable conditions for organizing the working class and the working people as a whole and for effecting structural transformations essential to our country's social progress.

Brasilia, October 18, 1987
Voz da Unidade, October 23-29, 1987

Bangladesh: A Lifetime of Struggle

Obituary Resolution by the Emergency Meeting of the CC of the CP of Bangladesh on the Demise of CPB CC General Secretary Mohammad Farhad

CPB CC General Secretary Mohammad Farhad is no longer with us. He died on October 9 of heart failure. The Central Committee and the whole party deeply mourn his early death. The party flag is flying at half-mast. The Central Committee conveys its condolences to the family, relatives, friends and associates of the deceased.

Comrade Farhad had a special place in the party leadership. We credit his leadership with guiding the party in the right, progressive direction whose goal was socialism and a real emancipation of the working people from exploitation. He spared no effort to build up the party and broaden its ranks. Under his guidance the party made its contribution to gaining national independence and promoting democracy, peace and progress. His death is an irreparable loss for the party.

Mohammad Farhad's short life was one of struggle for the freedom of exploited peoples and their progress. He kept on fighting to his very last day, undeterred by arrests, prison terms and harassment. He spent 35 years of his life combating despotism and imperialism and forging alliances of all democratic and patriotic forces. What he has done is of historic significance. Mohammad Farhad's death is an irreparable loss for the country and its people.

Mohammad Farhad became active in revolutionary work as early as in his teens. In the 1950s, when progressive college students joined the campaign for the freedom of the Bengali language, he was among its leaders. Later, in the 1960s, he was involved in the anti-imperialist drive.

Loyal to the Communist Party and Marxist-Leninist ideas, comrade Farhad spent 14 years in the underground fighting the despotism of the Pakistani military-bureaucratic regime. In 1971, during the war of liberation, he was in the leadership of the party and worked hard to intensify its campaign for independence. He was also the chief organizer and leader of the united front of the Communist Party, the National Awami Party (National People's Party), and the Union of Students.

After the country became independent Mohammad Farhad inspired the party's drive for greater national sovereignty, the unity of all progressive and democratic quarters, and against scheming by imperialism and domestic reactionaries.

With the country's independence a reality, offering real chances for Bangladesh to progress toward socialism, Mohammad Farhad initiated the party's reorganization. It emerged as a forward-looking party with a national dimension, a working people's vanguard, and a party committed to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Mohammad Farhad also takes credit for the party's present prestige and the training of an entire generation of communists. He contributed signally to widening the social base of the party, popularizing communist ideas among the people, and

forming student, youth, worker, peasant and women's organizations. The party highly appreciates his efforts to build a new society in Bangladesh.

Mohammad Farhad fully deserved the respect he enjoyed as organizer of joint action by various alliances, as a mature political figure and inveterate opponent of imperialism and reaction. He was a recognized leader of all national patriotic, democratic and progressive forces.

In the independence period, too, he was harassed and arrested on trumped-up charges or incitement to topple the government of the day; still he remained undaunted. In 1986 Mohammad Farhad was elected to the national parliament from the Pongjor district.

A patriot, friend of the working people, and many people's comrade-in-arms, Mohammad Farhad, a staunch internationalist, was totally committed to the unity and solidarity of the international working class and communist movement and championed disarmament, detente and global peace.

Comrade Farhad was a rightful party leader, an experienced organizer, and a master of propaganda work and a writer. He made a great contribution to evolving the party's strategy and tactics and was a dedicated communist and illustrious revolutionary. The party always comes first, he used to teach us. He was an unbending Marxist-Leninist fighting for national and social emancipation. As befits a communist, he was extremely modest in his life-style and loved by everyone for his principled and comradely attitude to the people he knew, among them party members. His qualifications as a communist and his human touch earned him a place on the party Central Committee when he was only age 29. At 35 he was unanimously elected General Secretary of the party CC and thrice re-elected to this post at party congresses.

A communist boundlessly devoted to the party and a loyal Marxist-Leninist, Mohammad Farhad raised aloft the glorious banner of the Communist Party of Bangladesh. The Central Committee and the whole party swear to hold just as high this red banner whatever sacrifice it may entail.

Revolutionary awareness will help us get over the grief and anguish the party feels over Mohammad Farhad's demise. The party swears to carry through the goals our leader has given all his life to. He was a dauntless revolutionary fighting for a happy future, democracy, and genuine freedom for the people. Taking his life and revolutionary work as a model, we should all join the campaign to build a new society, one free of exploitation, just and socialist in nature. Only in this way can we truly honor the life our leader has spent promoting revolutionary ideals. We salute our comrade-in-arms Farhad!

October 12, 1987

Egypt: "Left" Complexion of the Ruling Regime

Statement by the Central Secretariat of the Egyptian Communist Party

After the April 1987 parliamentary elections when most seats went to the ruling class candidates, the government openly challenged the public announcing that it accepts the International Monetary Fund (IMF) terms. These called for price rises and the Egyptian pound's lower exchange rate against the dollar and other foreign currencies. This will worsen still more the nation's protracted economic crisis which, combined with the trade deficit and the resulting drop in exports and growth in imports, reveals itself in a huge state budget deficit.

The economic crisis has also jacked up the foreign debt (both in civilian and military allocations) and sent up prices of all goods without exception. The program to make the country self-sufficient in food is now seriously threatened too.

The responsibility for the crisis rests with the ruling regime which advances the interests of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie, including its parasitic segment.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY REPRESENTS AND PROTECTS RIGHT-WING INTERESTS

The statement by the ruling regime of its acceptance of the IMF terms was made after the election returns had been made public. Attempts to turn the People's Assembly into the Right's playground and make it impossible for the Left to have a say in parliament were made both during the election and after.

The present People's Assembly, which is made up of representatives of the ruling regime, the Moslem Brothers organization, and the New Wafd party, projects the political and economic interests of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie and its parasitic section.

The assembly will therefore pursue an essentially anti-popular policy opposed to the concerns of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, small and middle traders, craftsmen and artisans.

RABID ATTACK ON THE PEOPLE

Relying on the right parties, which saw their plan through in the April 1987 elections, winning all the People's Assembly seats and keeping to the IMF terms (higher prices, an end to the public sector and communal services subsidies, and a complete break with an earlier practice of guaranteeing employment for the student graduates), the ruling regime has launched a bitter attack on the working classes. Such is the background of the campaign for upcoming elections to the trade unions. The powers-that-be and the right parties seek to pre-empt "left and patriotic trade union elements" getting positions of authority in the trade union committees and alliances.

To resist this policy congenial to the big bourgeoisie and its parasitic elements, there is need to create a united front of all honest trade union activists with a program promoting the interests of the Egyptian working class and fighting off the strident campaign by the big and parasitic bourgeoisie. The Egyptian working class has a rich fighting experience. Among its striking gains are the economic rights it has won in post-1984 strikes and a court ruling on the legitimacy of the right to strike after an inquiry into the railwaymen case.

WHERE IS THIS MUCH-TALKED ABOUT STABILITY?

Before and after the parliamentary elections President Mubarak has repeatedly talked of "stability." But lately we have seen an upsurge of religious passions and terrorist acts staged by the extremist religious groups. They attempted the murder of the

former interior minister Hassan Abu Basha and editor-in-chief of the *al-Mussawar* magazine Makkaram Muhammad Ahmad. The extremists say that their death list has the names of other politicians too.

The Egyptian Communist Party condemns the terrorist acts by the extremist religious groupings, as they provide the ruling regime with an excuse to strip the Egyptians of the already scant rights that they have. Our party also denounces the torture used by the authorities against prisoners and those held after the latest developments. The prime concern now is how to battle fundamentalism, religious extremism and terrorism. This is why all patriotic and progressive forces and enlightened elements should repel religious fundamentalism and extremism and the terror campaign both by religious groups and the government.

LIFT LAWS RESTRICTING FREEDOMS

The ruling regime has used a variety of laws limiting democratic freedoms prior to, during, and after the April People's Assembly elections; it has used them also to break down popular resistance to the policy of submission to U.S. imperialism, Israel and IMF diktat. Still worse, it has plans to add to this arsenal. While keeping the laws on emergencies, parties, and criminal responsibility of strikers, the government is planning to pass a new terrorism law following attempts on the lives of H.A. Basha and M.M. Ahmad. Interior minister Zaki Badr has announced that his ministry has worked out a plan to arrest scores of thousands of people in just one night. A regime which in its fever to isolate the left, national patriotic and progressive forces has fostered and motivated the activities of extremist religious organizations, now seeks to capitalize on the mounting terrorism wave to multiply the already plentiful freedom-restricting laws.

"LEFT" COMPLEXION OF THE RULING REGIME

Assured of support by the right forces, parties and groups for such prominent aspects of its policy as its dependence on U.S. imperialism and Israel, which only furthers the economic crisis and submission to the IMF terms, the ruling regime is trying to parade its policies as being left-wing. For this purpose it is giving aid and comfort to some political figures who call themselves "national leftists" and is spurring them on to form a legal party of their own; the intention is to have this party swear allegiance to Mubarak in the presidential elections, for the latter to be able to tell the world public that he enjoys the backing of both the "Right" and "Left."

But who are these "national leftists" who are keen to create their own legal party? They are the same persons who, after the Camp David accords, sought a dialogue with Sadat and endeavored to set up a common front with the ruling party and its chairman Mubarak. They are the persons who sought to run on the ruling National Party ticket in the 1987 parliamentary elections. In short, they are the people who have thrown in their lot with Mubarak. If the national patriotic, progressive and genuinely left forces consider it necessary to unmask the ruling regime and clear the way for a government of the national democratic front, they should also see as their duty to expose the policies of figures posing as "national leftists."

To roll back the bitter attacks by the ruling regime and the Right and protect the sovereignty of the country and the rights and freedoms and needs of Egyptian citizens, what we need to do is to attract the people into the democratic organizations of workers, peasants and other social groups and set up a national

democratic front incorporating all national patriotic, progressive and honest forces.

Let the Egyptian working class launch strike action to defend its rights and needs!

Let the national patriotic, progressive and enlightened people join up in intrepidly fighting fundamentalism and the wave of terrorism!

Let the working people combat the IMF terms and the ruling regime's submission to its diktat!

Build the solidarity of all national democratic forces in the drive for the people's democratic freedoms!

Central Secretariat of the Egyptian CP
June 12, 1987

Sri Lanka: Accord on Resolving the Tamil Issue

Statement by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka

Although the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has reservations about certain provisions in the Indo-Sri Lanka accord signed on July 29, 1987, it nevertheless welcomes the accord and supports its implementation.

As is known, our party has consistently rejected and opposed attempts, from whatever quarter, to impose a solution to the problems of the relations between different nationalities of our country by military force, state or private terrorism or mob violence. We have opposed all forms of racism, and always emphasized that this problem should be solved politically, through dialogue and negotiation.

Our party believes that a just and lasting solution to this problem can be found only in a socialist society, from which all other forms of discrimination and exploitation have also been eliminated, and along the lines of regional autonomy in a united and sovereign Sri Lanka.

But we have also stated our readiness to assist in the search for even interim and more limited forms of negotiated settlement, and demonstrated this in our participation and proposals to the all-parties conference and the subsequent political parties conference both of which were called for by us.

On several occasions, we have further stated that we will not obstruct any other negotiated settlement even though it may not correspond fully with our ideas.

The accord signed on July 29, 1987 vindicates the positions on these matters that our party and other left and radical forces in our country have taken all along.

Such an accord only became inevitable when the policy of trying to impose a unilateral settlement on the minority Tamil nationality by military force, which had been pursued by the United National Party (UNP) government and supported by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), as well as the policy of separatist division, advocated by the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and the Liberation Tigers Tamil Elama (LTTE), proved to be politically bankrupt, economically ruinous, mutually destructive, and totally self-defeating.

What is even more tragic is that a settlement on lines broadly similar to those in the present accord was available 30 years ago in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact, which was sabotaged by the UNP and abandoned by the SLFP.

It was also available more recently in the agreed provisions of "Annexure C," which was again undermined by divisions within the UNP government, opposed by the SLFP and sabotaged by the hostility of racist forces of various types and hues.

The narrowly nationalist and sometimes even racist stances of certain petty-bourgeois organizations within the Tamil militant movement and the unabashed and shameful racism and neofascist policies pursued by the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) leaders have added fuel to the fire set alight by the bourgeois leaders of both the Sinhalese and Tamils.

If these settlements were implemented at the respective times, as our party advocated, how many deaths, how much destruction and how much bitterness and misery could have been avoided!

Instead, the policies of bourgeois leaders and racist forces were

allowed to take the upper hand. Relations between Sinhalese and Tamils were allowed to deteriorate to the lowest ebb yet known. Sri Lanka was reduced to a position of international condemnation and isolation.

The virtual civil war that raged for the past four years led to a *de facto* division that could easily have become permanent. Thousands have been killed and wounded and many more left homeless.

In addition to extensive damage estimated at around Rs 150 billion, the civil administration and the national economy of one-third of the country was paralyzed, military and military-related expenditure escalated to over one-fourth of the annual budget, and the whole country was brought, as the government now admits, to the verge of economic collapse.

This, in turn, brought on massive cutbacks in development activities and social welfare services. Unceasing attacks on democratic rights and processes began.

U.S. imperialism and its allies took advantage of this situation to deepen Sri Lanka's dependence on them, and to extend and strengthen their military and political positions in our country.

By getting our government to agree to military assistance from Israel, South Africa and Pakistan, the U.S. endangered our national sovereignty, brought us into conflict with the non-aligned movement, and sought to incorporate Sri Lanka in its global and regional war strategies, especially its attempts to encircle and balkanize India.

Assisted by their local friends and supporters, the U.S. imperialists were able to make considerable headway in replacing the traditional relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between Sri Lanka and India with a mass anti-India hysteria and political confrontations that very nearly led to disastrous military clashes.

The accord signed on July 29 is a welcome, if belated, reversal of this position. It is an important event of domestic, regional and international significance, whose positive features far outnumber its minor defects and shortcomings.

It has been made possible by the persistent struggle in both Sri Lanka and India of the forces that stand against racism, confrontation and the use of armed force to settle ethnic disputes.

The accord of July 29 has led to a welcome and potentially viable end of hostilities in our war-torn land. It has stopped the very real danger of the division of Sri Lanka. It has laid a basis for the restoration of national unity and a more enduring peace by providing a realistic compromise that all nationalities must learn to live with and build on in mutual trust and cooperation.

A particularly welcome feature of the accord is the explicit recognition that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multireligious pluralistic society in which the Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers, inter alia, have their distinct cultural and linguistic identity that has to be carefully nurtured, and also that each of these communities should fulfil its aspirations in equality, safety and harmony while contributing to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

Repudiation of these basic concepts by various bourgeois, racist

and cosmopolitan forces in recent times has contributed in no small way to the deterioration of relations between the different national communities that inhabit Sri Lanka as their common home.

The political powers and administrative arrangements for peripheral units set out in the accord closely approximate the consensus reached at the political parties conference in which most government and nongovernment legal parties took part.

If and when implemented, these should result in a substantial devolution of central powers and functions to elected provincial and other local councils, as well as widen democracy and make its processes more broadly based.

The accord also contains positive features in relation to regional affairs. If correctly implemented, these will help to strengthen the positions of non-alignment and Asian security.

They give a rebuff to imperialist schemes to promote tensions, confrontations and even military clashes between states in the region and to imperialist attempts to undermine Sri Lanka's independence, sovereignty and security by trying to involve our country in such schemes.

The accord will also help to re-establish and strengthen further the traditional friendly and good-neighborly relations between Sri Lanka and India, and help forward the cause of regional cooperation for peace and mutual economic benefit.

It should give additional strength to the ongoing efforts to see that the UN conference to create a peace zone in the Indian Ocean is held in Colombo next year without further postponement.

The broader international significance of the accord is that it provides an example that neighboring states can settle conflict situations through bilateral efforts and without external interference. This example can be followed with advantage in and around the Indian Ocean and elsewhere.

The Communist Party warns that the enemies of the accord, both domestic and external, have not abandoned their efforts to disrupt it. Although their initial effort to prevent the accord from being signed has failed, they are already busy seeking to exploit every hurdle that has still to be crossed in order to stop its implementation.

The desperation of these forces was seen in the reckless and indiscriminate violence to which they resorted to prevent its sign-

ing, including the despicable and cowardly attempt to assassinate India's prime minister.

They have followed this up by an orchestrated external and domestic campaign to cast doubts on the viability of the accord, to promote frictions over delays in the timetable for implementation, and to threaten members of parliament with dire and even fatal consequences if they vote for laws to implement the accord.

We therefore call upon all those involved in the implementation of the accord, both here and in India, to see that what is agreed upon is carried through without vacillation or retreat, and without yielding to the numerous provocations that the enemies of the accord contemplate.

The left movement and the radical and democratic forces, which have an honorable record in the fight to uphold national unity and achieve a negotiated political settlement of the ethnic crisis, have a special contribution to make in this situation.

They must show the same political maturity as they did last year when the UNP government was compelled by a united trade union movement to end statelessness among thousands of plantation workers who were reduced to this plight four decades ago by another UNP government.

On that occasion, they supported the advance made by their efforts, without diminishing their overall opposition to the government in any way. A similar situation exists today when the UNP government has been compelled to accept an accord that it has opposed for over three decades.

The Communist Party declares that the reservations that it has to certain sections of the accord and its continued and unabated overall opposition to the UNP and its policies will not stand in the way of support for an accord which is objectively in keeping with the interests of the country and its people, especially its working people.

We urge all other sections of the left, radical and democratic movement to do the same, and express our satisfaction at their growing realization that they should do the same.

August 21, 1987

*Political Bureau of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka
New Age, September 6, 1987*

Palestine: Occupation Forces' Crimes Will Not Bring Us to Heel!

Statement by the Palestinian Communist Party

The crimes daily committed by Zionist occupation forces against the sons and daughters of our people still more glaringly unmask the barbarity of these "rulers" and the falsity of their brave talk on "human rights." Not only are they riding roughshod over these rights, they are killing, killing every day, both in the occupied territory and in Palestine refugee camps in Lebanon. Their actions show the measure of the invaders' confusion over the fortitude of our people, their commitment to their rights, and their outright rejection of the capitulatory plans the Zionists are eager to force on them with assistance from the ruling quarters in Jordan and Egypt. The Zionists have made murder an element of their official policy, turning it into a daily exercise for their soldiers, while using the proven method of lies and trickery to cover up their crimes.

The killings are being justified by references to "attempts to enter a restricted area," "approach a patrol too close for its comfort," along with similar false pretexts. This happens at a time when everyone without exception knows that the murderers are shooting in cold blood and without warning from the roofs of tall buildings and in busy streets.

It appears that justifying killings on the grounds of troops opening fire "on instructions" is now commonplace.

Precisely such instructions were used by Israeli soldiers when, unresisted, they kept firing for four hours on the Al-Shudgayia residential quarter in Gaza causing panic among its inhabitants, and later dealt most atrociously with them.

Precisely such instructions justify the death at Ramallah of a woman, the mother of eight children, shot dead on the sordid and false excuse of her having come "too close" to a military patrol.

Zionist dreams to submit our people, force them to capitulate and leave their native land have been dashed, much as their plans to usurp our national rights, do away with the PLO and eradicate the very spirit of resistance pervading the hearts of the sons and daughters of the motherland. Now the only weapon the occupation forces have to fight our people, is one of murderous terror and repression.

The resolve of our people has not been dampened by the killings, which are now something of sporting exercises for the occupation forces. The moment the Zionists get the idea they were successful in browbeating our people they invariably have this idea dashed

by a staggering backlash and resistance to their atrocities.

There is only one way leading to peace and security for all. It calls for a complete pullout of Israeli troops from our land, a recognition of the legitimate right of the people of Palestine to an independent statehood, and a convocation of a plenipotentiary international conference to be attended by all interested parties, including the PLO. Such a conference should provide for the withdrawal of the occupation forces, enable the Palestinians to create their own state in the national territory, and offer guarantees required for a just and lasting peace in the region to secure the rights of its peoples.

We vigorously condemn the crimes of the Israeli occupation forces. Proud at heart, we are paying our last respects to those killed, repeating the vows to keep loyal to the cause they gave their lives for, and are urging all champions of good will, peace and democracy, including in Israel itself, to stigmatize the crimes

of the ruling Zionist circles and declare solidarity with the drive to have the Palestinians' national rights restored to them.

The crimes by Zionist occupation forces are a stark indictment not just of their direct perpetrators but those who have pressed for a "separation of functions" and the notorious "development" under the control of occupation authorities.

An end to the occupation regime and creation of an independent Palestinian state is the true guarantee of the security and the very existence of the Palestinian people and the key to their development and a better life.

Defeat to and shame on the Israeli occupation forces — murderers of innocent citizens, killers of women and children!

Shame on their puppets and those supporting Zionist plans, which aim to strip our people of their legitimate rights!

Palestinian Communist Party
Mid-October, 1987

Lebanon: Task of the New Stage in the Struggle

Interview with Georges Hawi, General Secretary of the Lebanese CP CC

In a detailed interview granted to the newspaper *Al-Nida* on the fifth anniversary of the Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front (LPRF), Georges Hawi offered an analysis of the situation in the country and discussed the tasks of the Lebanese national-patriotic forces. An abridged transcript follows.

There is no doubt that after the Israeli invasion of 1982 the Lebanese resistance emerged as the main motive force for stepping up all patriotic activities. Had the LPRF failed to take up the struggle and its members to make people believe that the Israeli forces could be defeated and that both Israeli and, concomitantly, U.S. occupation would not last forever, the interplay of other factors behind the patriotic upsurge of the Lebanese people would not have been as prompt or as effective.

The Lebanese patriotic resistance spearheaded the struggle against the most dangerous enemy. The objective was to prove that for all its might, the enemy was unable to cope with the resistance forces. Simultaneously, this concentrated attention to the principal target ensured the consolidation of another front of the patriotic struggle — against the corrupt puppets of Israel in our country, against the sway of the Phalangists and their henchmen, and against the attempts of this or that religious/communal group to dictate to all.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the establishment of the LPRF was a historic revolutionary response to the occupation of our country by Israel. The bold operations of the Front provided an inspiring example that helped the other factors of the all-Lebanese patriotic upsurge to assert themselves.

Such is the more important aspect of the truth revealed in the course of the Lebanese revolutionary process. However, there is another, equally important aspect to it — the fact that the future of the resistance is linked with the development of the other elements comprising the revolutionary process. The first conclusions in this regard were made as a result of the liberation struggle in the highlands. The victory won despite the Phalangists' efforts to make arbitrary use of the government apparatus was, to the Front, a powerful incentive intensifying the struggle against Israeli occupation.

Such events as the mass action in and around Beirut, the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines and of the NATO "multinational force" from Lebanon and the abrogation of the May 17, 1983 treaty with Israel added greatly to the militant potential that was available at the time.

Following the abrogation of the treaty, the patriotic resistance had to choose between two different options. One of them called for continued struggle; the conviction was that liberation was closely connected with several other objectives, namely, those of

unifying the country, reasserting its Arab identity, effecting a radical democratic reform of the political system, and paving the way for a fundamental reform of Lebanon's socio-economic structure.

The other option implied a slowdown and halt of the revolutionary process: the advocates of that approach held that liberation could be secured through negotiation and "model" moves, that is, through purely political and diplomatic efforts. The reform was envisaged as a revision of the existing communal representation quotas in line with the latest changes in their numerical strength and with the support of some communities' new leaders.

Today we are witnessing the beginning of a new upsurge both in the resistance struggle and in the drive to ensure a national-democratic solution of the problem as a whole. However, dangers remain numerous at the present stage, and the victory of the national-democratic course is not yet a foregone conclusion. But in the final analysis, it is inevitable. Although it has been possible to rally the forces together around a program that generally reflects this democratic thrust, a long struggle to implement the demands of this program lies ahead.

THE UNIFICATION AND LIBERATION FRONT

The creation of the Unification and Liberation Front (ULF) undoubtedly mirrors a resolve to change the situation, that is, to switch from disunity and fragmentation to unity, to link the struggle for unification with the struggle for liberation. The declaration announcing the establishment of the ULF is an important step in this direction.

However, a mere declaration of the Front's establishment is not enough to attain the desired result. The elements constituting the ULF should progress from statements of the principles adopted to vigorous practical action to implement them.

THE "WAR OF THE CAMPS"*

An end to the "war of the camps" will enable the ULF to resume the activities for which it has been established. The elab-

*Armed clashes around Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. — *Ed.*

oration of a national-democratic solution will lead to a definitive settlement of the question involving relations between the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinian resistance movement. The project should take account of the "national dimension" of the struggle being waged and, consequently, define the role Palestinian arms are to play both in translating this solution into reality and in defending the Palestinian people themselves. On the other hand, proceeding from the sacred right of the Palestinians to fight for their country's liberation, it is necessary to identify more precisely the role of their armed forces in the context of Lebanese developments — specifically, with regard to the interests of the revolutionary process unfolding in our country: its progress is in itself essential for the victory of the Palestinian people; it is a principal mainstay of the Palestinian revolution. Without this, the use of the Lebanese factor remains tactical, insufficient and dependent on all kinds of unexpected eventualities.

We are very pleased that the talks have been started, and we hope they will succeed. At the same time, their possible failure is a source of grave concern. Particularly alarming is the possibility that as they enter into the talks, both sides are pursuing their painstakingly camouflaged tactical objectives. One side may be striving to gain time, consolidate its positions after the difficulties it went through and repel the onslaught of other forces; the other may wish to lift the siege of the camps and also consolidate its stand in view of possible new clashes and future moves.

THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

The problem is not confined to a choice between different modes of action. It is more profound and essentially boils down to the following: what should be the strategy of the Palestinian revolution with respect to Lebanon? Will Lebanon still be considered a "playground" or "scene" where everything is regarded from the angle of preserving the forces of the Palestinian revolution and where only those who support the Palestinian resistance unconditionally are seen as allies (without consideration for an ally's position on other — Lebanese, Arab or international — problems or for its role, even a hostile one, in the country's revolutionary process)? Must Lebanon be a garden in which the Palestinian forces are free to pick any fruit they can reach using methods that harm the tree itself instead of taking care to preserve the garden and make it more fruitful? Is the strategy of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon — I repeat, in Lebanon — based on assisting the revolutionary process there?

Against this background we are urging a fully serious attitude (which should ignore the various voices hostile to the Palestinian people) to the national will of the Lebanese people — that developments in Lebanon be regarded as a Lebanese national affair, as a problem of a sister nation. At the same time, no exception should be made for the Palestinian resistance which is one of the currents in the mainstream of a single revolutionary movement with its own mechanics, tasks, program and distinctive features, just as the Palestinian revolution has its own mechanics, tasks, program and distinctive features.

A NATIONAL SOLUTION

Stating our position unequivocally, we warn, with a full sense of responsibility, that one can fall into a trap if one is blind to everything except an independent stance. The narrow minded separatist and isolationist concept advocating the setting up of small state entities leads precisely into such a trap. That concept gives rise to contradictions between the Lebanese and the Palestinian revolutionary movements because it is the source of separate decisions concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict as a whole. Camp David, the May 17 agreement which we fought to frustrate and in fact the Amman Agreement can be traced to it. Today, this concept is prompting various projects for a separate settlement. We say that all kinds of specifics are quite relative when the adopted policy is aimed at a common and progressive Arab strat-

egy, not at isolation and separation from it. At the same time, this Arab strategy can only be part of the common and essentially international struggle the forces of progress, socialism, peace and national liberation are waging against imperialism, reaction, Zionism and war on a global scale.

However, referring to this interconnection we do not imply relations of dependence. Nor do we believe that promoting this interconnection makes the national problem dependent on the position of the other side.

In Lebanese conditions, a compromise is not a surrender. Its elements include liberation, unification, reform and an independent foreign policy. If these elements are included in a compromise, we do not object to it in view of the three possible courses that are now surfacing.

The first option: possible recurrence of what happened in 1982 — an Israeli aggression accompanied by military and political activity on the part of the local reactionaries who, having encircled the areas controlled by the patriotic forces and these forces themselves, will again hand the presidency over to a puppet of the United States and Israel.

The second option: as the crisis of the political, democratic and socio-economic institutions becomes particularly grave and as the entire country approaches economic disaster and bankruptcy while the working masses are facing hunger, preparations may be launched for surrendering the reins of government to the army. There will be rumor-mongering: the contradictions existing between the army and the "Lebanese forces" will be overemphasized; the army will be pictured as resolved to end the abnormal situation, as "the hope of Lebanon" — a trick usual for all societies in a grave crisis.

Individuals wielding tangible influence, including a certain part of the intellectuals, are being drawn into this process. Some democrats are at times simply deluded and, guided by the best of intentions and by the hope of overcoming the crisis and leading the country out of the impasse, find themselves involved in schemes aimed at the establishment of a military dictatorship. They fail to realize that as far as Lebanon is concerned, this will not solve the problem but will instead produce a new outbreak of the civil war, because an army of this kind cannot ensure the country's unity. This was in fact confirmed in 1982. But what will happen now, in 1987 and 1988? We hold that this American option is more probable than the others. It means that power will be taken by the army, supported by the Phalangist Party and the "Lebanese forces" together with the Islamic group allied with them. Extension of army control to some of our areas is central to this option. As for the political forces and certain groups of the Moslem bourgeoisie, they will be expected to provide this project with a proper facade.

The third option: exacerbation of the crisis in the absence of ways of settling it. This will make it impossible to hold presidential elections. The situation will remain the same, except that instead of a rift we will have fragmentation. Efforts are being made for the areas controlled by the Phalangists and their allies to retain their integral political leadership and their political, economic and defense potential. Meanwhile, the areas under our control are expected to be fragmented and bogged down in contradictions and internecine strife, without any political, economic, social or military means of resolving their problems.

Facing these options, I repeat: we do not object to a fourth course, that of compromise. This term expresses in general the essence of such a solution, of the fourth option. At the same time it is opposed to the three former options — it is neither a settlement Israeli style, nor the U.S. option with its stake on the army, nor a course of continued internal clashes, fragmentation and isolation. A compromise implies a relatively lengthy truce which may result in the election of a president. Naturally, he will be a right-wing president, but at least he will be a moderate since with the existing alignment of forces, we cannot even hope for the election of a progressive president.

Referring to a "moderate" president, we expect that in his approach to the main elements of Lebanon's identity and of the current stage in the development of the national crisis, he will be guided by a program based on the following principles:

(1) That every effort be undertaken for the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops from all Lebanese territory.

(2) That Lebanon's Arab identity be stated definitively — recognizing the fact that Lebanon is an Arab country linked with the other Arab sister countries by a common history and a common future and enjoying special relations with fraternal Syria.

(3) That the unity of Lebanon be guaranteed. This means that the president and his policy will proceed from the firm recognition of Lebanon's unity as a country rejecting division, fragmentation, partition and the cantonization plan.

(4) That a democratic reform of the Lebanese political system be made possible. This provides for the abolition of political confessionalism and for full equality of rights and duties. Also necessary is a radical reform of legislation on representation in the Chamber of Deputies to ensure democratic election of the deputies with the abolition of confessional restrictions. There

should also be a reform of government institutions, particularly of the army which should be overhauled and transformed from a praetorian guard of the confessional regime into an army defending the country against the external enemy and protecting the people, not the regime.

Upon approval of these principles, a schedule for these reforms can be negotiated. This schedule should not only set deadlines but also define the stages which, succeeding one another, will promote the abolition of confessionalism and the reform of the electoral system, of the army, etc. — until we have a country whose citizenship will be a higher value than one's identification with a community, confession, ethnic or tribal group and everything that fosters fragmentation.

(5) That radical transformations be effected in the socio-economic sphere.

(6) That an independent foreign policy be conducted.

Such are the terms comprising the minimum program of the national project for a settlement.

Al-Nida, No. 8773
September 27, 1987

Put an End to the Arbitrary and Anti-People Policy

Statement by the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia

Release political detainees and end the torture at once!

Democratic freedoms and a radical change in the country's economic and social life!

Withdraw the U.S.-NATO forces from the Persian Gulf area and end the Iraq-Iran war at once!

Developments in our country have run a dangerous course. There is, first of all, the continued and massive campaign of terrorism by Saudi Arabia's repressive authorities against the various progressive, democratic and religious national-patriotic forces. To start this campaign of sinister terrorism, the Saudi regime made use of the outcry over the events in Mecca in July 1987, and the subsequent tensions in relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and also the sharpening situation in the Persian Gulf area following the increase in the U.S.-NATO military presence in the area and escalation of the Iraq-Iran war.

That is just when the Saudi authorities resorted to wider repression and arrests of many noble sons of our people coming out against the regime's anti-people and out-and-out pro-U.S. policy. The repression machine has subjected political prisoners to terrible physical and mental torture and posed a mortal threat to their life. Thus, Jafar Hussein Hammoud recently died as a result of such torture: his ribs were broken, and his jaw crushed; there were signs of strangulation on his body.

The regime has continued to persecute and illegally detain for indefinite periods patriots, including those who voluntarily returned home after the announcement of a "general amnesty." The authorities have treacherously broken their promises that those who return home under the amnesty would not be subjected to any kind of sanctions, and that they would get their old jobs; those who returned were arrested as soon as they set foot in the country. At the same time, the regime has also applied sanctions against those who have been released from arrest. They are unable to get their old jobs, and have been deprived of passports and the right to leave the country.

Along with this, the Saudi authorities have toughened up to an extreme the "security measures" in various parts of the country, especially in the eastern provinces which borders on the Persian Gulf, where a state of emergency was introduced unannounced a few months ago. National guard units were deployed in the suburbs of towns in this province, special service agents were sent into the urban neighborhoods and villages, check-points were set up in the streets, and selective check-ups on cars were started.

The security service has summoned citizens, including old people, for interrogation, and has tried to intimidate them by fabricating false charges against them. Citizens detained on the border are likewise being deprived of their passports.

At the end of July 1987, the Saudi regime massacred unarmed pilgrims, mostly Iranians, and hundreds of people were killed or wounded. In an effort to cover up its crime, the regime put it about that there were clashes between Saudi citizens and Iranians. These events were used to stoke up a denominational hysteria in the country. Our party has wrathfully condemned the massacre and put the full blame for these events on the Saudi regime. At the same time, it has taken a principled stand against any attempts to "export revolution," wherever these may originate. Ours is the firm stand that any changes in our country are the business of its people and its national-patriotic forces. The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia believes that these events played into the hands of U.S. imperialism with its strategy of neoglobalism and its urge to build up and entrench its military presence in the region, and to involve the reactionary regimes headed by the Saudi regime in its aggressive plans covering not only the countries in this region, but throughout the Middle East and posing a threat to the southern parts of the Soviet Union.

It is quite obvious that the extensive U.S.-NATO military presence in the Persian Gulf emboldened the Saudi regime to organize the massacre in Mecca, to step up its line of confrontation with Iran and to mount the sustained large-scale campaign of terrorism in the country. The Saudi regime, faced with acute crises, failure of its political moves and promises to mitigate the crises, and with growing discontent and struggle by the people for democracy and satisfaction of their demands, could think of nothing better than to try to silence the people, to brutalize the repression against the patriots and all other honest men and women, and to create an atmosphere of terror in the country. All of that has been done under the spurious slogan of "ensuring security and stability," which, in fact, helps to enrich the members of the ruling clan, including the Minister of the Interior Nayef. As the ruling regime moves ever closer to U.S. imperialism, the source of the constant threat to the security and stability of Saudi Arabia and the other states in the region, it has tried to use this slogan to toughen up the "security" measures and to cover up its crimes against the people.

The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia has carried on a resolute

struggle against the Saudi regime's reign of terror, and for democracy and the withdrawal of the U.S.-NATO armed forces from our country and the region as a whole, and for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq war; it has worked actively to strengthen the positions of the national-patriotic forces, and to rally them to set up a broad national front to involve the broadest masses in the struggle to do away with the absolute monarchy — an ally of imperialism — and to set up a national-democratic form of government in the country. Our party has warned against the danger of switching the accent in relations among national-patriotic forces to minor differences and contradictions, for this harmed and will further harm the cause of our people's emancipation and enable the authorities to hit us one by one.

In view of the situation, the "security mania" has been increasing throughout the Persian Gulf area, and the Saudi regime has done its utmost for that purpose. Waves of repression keep rolling across one country after another. There is an increasing coordination of action between the special services of the countries within the Council for Cooperation of the Arab States of the Persian

Gulf, and this has confronted the national-patriotic forces of the region with the most acute task fortifying their combat ties and acting in greater unison.

The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia calls on the country's masses and the families of political detainees to put pressure on the government without delay, to demand the release of political prisoners and to protest against these arbitrary acts. Our party has also called on all the forces of peace and good will in the region and all over the world, on all those who cherish the ideals of freedom, democracy and human dignity, to raise their voices in protest without delay against the Saudi authorities' terrorism, to intensify the campaigns of solidarity with our people and its national-patriotic forces, and to demand of the Saudi authorities: release all political prisoners at once; ban the use of physical and mental torture; end the persecution, interrogation and arbitrary arrests of citizens; withdraw the discrimination against released detainees; ensure democratic liberties, and protection of human rights and human dignity!

Late September 1987

Statement by Arab Communist and Workers' Parties

For months now authorities in Saudi Arabia have been making mass arrests among the country's patriotic forces. Many honest patriots have been thrown into the regime's horrible prisons where they are subjected to sophisticated moral and physical torture. To give an example, in August 1987 political prisoner Jafar Hussein Hammoud died under torture, and the lives of other prisoners are also in jeopardy.

Having mobilized its military-political machine, the government began introducing emergency security measures in various parts of the country. The eastern province, which border on the Persian Gulf, was placed unannounced under a state of siege, with national guard units deployed at the approaches to the towns there. Urban neighborhoods and villages have been infiltrated by special service agents, who are staging crude provocations against the people. The Saudi regime is widely using violence, with citizens being called in for questioning, arbitrarily held, and made to surrender their foreign passports. They are being abused and have to face trumped-up charges. By terrorizing the people, the authorities are desperate to stem the drive by the people and patriotic forces in Saudi Arabia against the reactionary regime and its policy of rapprochement with imperialism.

The Saudi government has resorted to a variety of factors to mask this terror campaign. Among them is the ballyhoo over the events in Mecca in July 1987, when the regime's repressive services and national guardsmen staged a carnage among unarmed

pilgrims, which led to the deaths and injuries of hundreds of people; the tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran following these developments; the worsening situation in the Gulf zone after U.S. and NATO naval forces moved in there in force; and the escalating war between Iran and Iraq. The Saudi authorities would never have risked taking such measures were it not for the massive military presence of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, in the Gulf area, which goaded the regime on to toughen its aggressive-terrorist policies at home.

In indignantly condemning anti-humane repressive actions by the Saudi government, our Arab communist and workers' parties are urging all champions of good will in the region and worldwide to show their solidarity with the people and patriots in Saudi Arabia to help check the regime's brutalities and win an immediate release of the political prisoners, respect for human rights, and democratic freedoms.

Jordanian Communist Party

Syrian Communist Party

Palestinian Communist Party

Egyptian Communist Party

National Liberation Front of Bahrain

Iraqi Communist Party

Lebanese Communist Party

Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco

Late September 1987

Panama: For National Liberation, Genuine Democracy and Social Progress

Manifesto of the People's Party of Panama

The People's Party of Panama, the party of the Panamanian communists, aware of its historic and revolutionary role in national and social liberation, draws the people's attention to the gravity of the developments in the country since June 1987. They show the extent to which the interests of Panamanian society, the interests of its advance on the road of anti-colonial struggle for national liberation have been affected. But that road will lead us to the establishment of a truly independent state and make it possible to use in full measure the economic resources of the Canal, still the major source of our national wealth.

This historical fact sharpens the need for genuine change in our society, the need which makes itself manifest, inter alia, in the current political conflicts. The clash of interests, both external and internal, has become violent. All of them have come into

conflict with the political solution which was realized under the 1983 constitutional reforms in the establishment of the government of the National Democratic Alliance (UNADE). The oligarchic elements in that government are playing the Trojan horse while the Torrijists for their part neutralize their policy. All this has made government power ineffectual and eclectic.

The influential forces which represent the true Torrijist movement do not accept this situation.

No social force represented on the national political scene today consents to this solution of the question of government power. The only exception is a handful of bureaucrats who fatten on the privileges of power. Herein lies the essence of the political crisis gripping the country.

The main external interests, which are the key factors of the

current political crisis, are those of the U.S. monopolies and administration. Contrary to the Torrijos-Carter Treaty, providing for Panama's genuine political independence and for her right to manage the resources of the Canal, the U.S. is seeking to keep its hold on those resources, to preserve its military presence in our territory and control over the Canal and over the foreign policy of the Panamanian state. Meanwhile, the current UNADE government, being heterogeneous, does not guarantee to the United States that these objectives will continue to be met after the year 2000.

The Yankees are making desperate attempts to engineer a change of the political system in Panama because under the UNADE government they are unable to lay their hands on all the resources of the Canal zone and will have to do with a modicum of what will pass under Panama's control. Realizing the situation, the Panamanian oligarchy, traditionally a mercenary pro-U.S. force, has offered its services in the implementation of the U.S. plans. It has set out to do away with UNADE rule and regain all power in the country in order to pursue an undemocratic and predatory policy of postponing the transfer of the Canal to Panama, a policy of betrayal of national interests.

One more factor, in addition to the interests of imperialism and the oligarchy, is the democratic interests, which are being vigorously promoted by forces having diverse intentions and goals. Those latter interests are pursued, for instance, by the middle strata, because the UNADE government has become a brake on the development of democracy the nation is in need of. However, two distinctly different trends have made themselves manifest here. One part of the middle strata, acting under the cover of the so-called civil clubs and entrepreneurs' associations, is playing up interest in democratic rights to the exclusion of everything else but does not formulate any definite ultimate goals or draw up any social program. As a result, it has ended up in the camp of the oligarchy and imperialism, and the three are opposed to UNADE as a vehicle of Torrijist tactics. That part of the middle strata has aligned itself with the opposition coalition of the anti-national forces of the oligarchy and imperialism precisely because it has disregarded the imperatives of social progress. Another part of the middle strata shares the people's view that democracy should have social goals.

The political crisis also bears an imprint of the interests of the military aimed at carrying on Torrijos' strategy line and at turning the army from the anti-insurgent force into an instrument of national defense. And this necessitates, as was provided for by the Torrijos-Carter Treaty, the evacuation of Yankee troops from our territory.

That fresh proof of the nationalist position of the armed forces distances them from the oligarchy and imperialism, and for this reason the Torrijists' striving to straighten the course followed by the country is not supported by UNADE. Yet since UNADE, on the other hand, does not meet the conservative interests of U.S. domestic reaction, imperialism has come to view the current Panamanian government as unlawful. In these circumstances the concentration of fire on General Manuel A. Noriega is aimed at wrenching the armed forces from Torrijist control to place them in the service of a purely oligarchic government which would unquestionably meet all the demands made by the monopolies and the U.S. administration on Panama and enable domestic reaction to share with the transnationals the economic legacy of colonialism.

The forces advocating social progress are raising their voice in the political crisis generated by the clash of divergent interests in Panama. They include first and foremost workers, the poor and middle-level peasantry, students, a part of the middle strata and the nationalistic bourgeoisie. It is an independent popular opposition, for whom the paramount goal of all change is national liberation, and socio-economic, political, legal and cultural transformations. The independent popular forces want not just democratic changes but changes that would pursue socio-economic goals and contribute to transformations in society. Herein lies the

difference of substance between, on the one hand, the opposition of those middle strata which have joined the oligarchy and imperialism and keep holding forth on democracy in an abstract manner, out of the context of concrete obligations of society, and, on the other, the independent approach taken to the problem by the people who want democracy to be a vehicle of social transformations within the historical process of national liberation. That is why the independent popular forces regard the UNADE government as the main obstacle on the road to their goals, all the more so since under that government many of the people's gains have been negated through reforms in labor legislation, the status of the popular power bodies, etc.

We therefore have come to the conclusion that because of its legal and political character the UNADE government cannot be a consistent exponent of the interests of any internal or even external social force.

The current social conflict is due to the inability of the government to run the country since its authority is not recognized by anyone. That is why all the forces, each motivated by its own specific interests, want a change of government. Clashing with one another, these interests have shaped an intricate pattern of contradictions and close and irreconcilable positions.

The evolution of confrontation between the various interests mentioned above, on the one hand, and the UNADE government, on the other, is laying bare the true causes of the political crisis. It is rooted not in confrontation with the government since this confrontation is merely a political shell of that crisis. Its essence lies in a clash of interests which cannot be reconciled at the point when the Torrijos-Carter Treaty is about to go into effect, and in the inability of the UNADE government to achieve consensus to resolve differences.

This clash is polarizing the political forces. On one pole are the forces of imperialism and the oligarchy, which are seeking to keep our territory under U.S. control so as to contribute to the achievement of the strategic, military, political and economic objectives of imperialism in Latin America and all over the world and simultaneously to restore full power to the oligarchy to enable it to lay its hands on the property which is being returned to Panama and for which the oligarchy itself has never fought.

These true intentions of imperialism and the oligarchy are camouflaged by the demand for abstract democratic freedoms designed to win over to their side the mass of people who will be cheated if the imperialist and oligarchic forces achieve their objectives. In fact, contrary to the concluded treaty, the Yankees hope to preserve their presence in Panama for decades after 2000, to occupy our country, and to this end are pressing a military pact on us. They would like also to ensure that after the Canal has been handed back to Panama, it is run not by the state but by private dealers and become the property of transnationals, which would control and manage it with a token participation of the Panamanian financial bourgeoisie and bankers; it is the latter who have engineered the so-called Civic Crusade action.

Confronted by the ongoing Central American crisis and serious problems in the whole of Latin America, where countries are strengthening their independence and resisting economic aggression and foreign indebtedness, the Yankees are busy drawing up military strategies on the basis of the doctrine of "low-intensity warfare." Panama is the key element in that strategy and that is the reason why the USA wants our country to take its side, to withdraw from the Contadora Group, to join in the operations unleashed by it in Central America and to provide sanctuary to an anti-Sandinist government, the establishment of which they are planning. The pragmatic Panamanian oligarchy, craving power and wealth, is quite suitable for the implementation of these plans.

The other pole in this confrontation is that around which the Panamanian nation is rallying. The overwhelming majority of the nation seeks national independence, genuine democracy and social progress as well as socio-political development. That is why this majority objectively cannot concede to a military pact, to the transnationalization of the Canal, to involvement in the war policy

pursued by the USA in Central America or to the restoration of oligarchic rule, as was the case prior to 1968.

That is why we communists argue that the two positions are irreconcilable and that, as the political crisis comes to a head, the true division in the confrontation becomes clear to everyone.

A new awareness of these two poles is shaping today along with the realignment of forces around each of them. It is perfectly clear that the core of the so-called civic opposition is the alliance of the oligarchy and imperialism. At the same time, there is a clearer vision of the basis of the national liberation movement standing for a democratic road and social change; it consists of the popular political and public organizations which are winning over to their side workers, peasants, the middle strata (regardless of their present-day positions), the patriotic military and the nationalistic bourgeoisie.

Given the polarization of forces, the Catholic church, represented by its hierarchy, is seeking to place itself above the antagonists. But the Catholic church is not monolithic. A considerable part of it has taken the side of the people and rallied to the banners of liberation, democracy and progress. As for the other part, represented by the church officialdom, we recognize the common sense in its appeals for peace and dialogue but nevertheless point to its inconsistency, apparent in its ignoring the responsibility of the U.S. embassy for the unleashing of violence and the Yankees' attempts to destabilize our society, although there is clear evidence of the Yankees' intervention, to say nothing of the openly stated ambitions of the oligarchy to stage a putsch.

When their "honeymoon" with the oligarchy, which was realized in the establishment of the UNADE government, went sour and the military — followers of Torrijos — became the target of continuous attacks and attempts to subvert their prestige they turned anew to Torrijist strategy. If this trend continues, it is bound to bring the military to support the popular forces which have raised the banner of liberation, democracy and social development. Advance along this road makes it necessary that change in the armed forces — and this change should be formalized in a treaty on national defense — is not just patriotic but also political and, not the least, moral. Transformations in the armed forces should meet the interests of society and scientific precepts and pervade the whole of the army structure so as to bring it closer to the people. To correspond to the tasks of social progress, the republic's defensive armed forces should become a truly democratic national liberation army.

Unable to cope with the political crisis, the UNADE government has called for dialogue. This call cannot be trusted because, as

everyone knows, the oligarchic forces and imperialism have already entered a different sort of dialogue with the aim of imposing their own "solution" on the country. Moreover, that call does not propose any concrete date for such dialogue or its methods and contents.

In the view of the popular forces, the only subject of dialogue today can be liberation, democracy and progress without IMF diktat. If the UNADE government is unable to contribute to such a dialogue, it is bound to be crushed into the abyss along with the legal system established by the 1983 constitutional reforms and the people will have to seek an adequate alternative. The postponement of a search for an acceptable way out of the present crisis will put the UNADE government to the severe test of the mass of people, who have formulated national democratic and social demands. This is the last chance the crisis offers the government.

The popular forces, meanwhile, should strengthen their independent positions under the slogans of national liberation, genuine democracy and social progress. It is necessary to present an adequate program and fortify the popular opposition through the organization of a strong national movement which should be based on political pluralism, aim at the development of a multisectoral economic model, wage resolute struggle against a military pact with the USA, the handing of the Canal over to private capital and transnationals, the restoration of oligarchic rule, the war in Central America and for a lasting peace.

This is the only way to regroup the forces and find a solution to the crisis in the interests of the people. It is not a straight road or one strewn with roses, but we call upon all the patriotic forces not associated with imperialism and the oligarchy staunchly and resolutely to follow it. It will take us to full independence and the establishment of a genuinely just society in which the mass of people will be assured their livelihood and in which the Panama Canal will serve the cause of peace and not war.

We have made progress. The struggle continues. No to a military pact! Let those about to bow out really bow out!

The Canal must be nationalized and passed on to the state! No to its privatization!

For genuine democracy, liberation and social progress! For socio-economic transformations and against IMF diktat!

Down with imperialism! Down with the corrupt oligarchy! For the liberation of Panama!

*Political Bureau,
Central Committee, People's Party of Panama
Panama City, August 26, 1987*

The Philippine Path to Economic Independence, Popular Democracy and Social Progress

Program of the Partido ng Pilipinas Komunista for an Independent and Democratic Philippines, Adopted at the Party's Ninth Congress

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) firmly stands for an independent, democratic and industrialized economy which primarily serves the interests of the Filipino people; actual exercise of sovereignty over the national territory and patrimony, and in the conduct of relations with other countries; pluralism, mass participation, and unconditional respect for human rights in the political life of the nation; full development of national consciousness through the propagation of a truly Filipino, scientific, democratic and unifying culture accessible to all; genuine autonomy for Muslim Filipinos and other ethnic communities; and priority attention to social services to improve and enhance the living and working conditions of the people.

I. FOR AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC AND INDUSTRIALIZED ECONOMY FOR THE PEOPLE

A. Organization of the Economy

1. The national economy should be reorganized on the principle of the partnership between Filipino entrepreneurs/industrialists on the one hand and the public sector on the other. Filipino industrialists should receive the full support of the government in setting up vital and key industries. The public sector should consist of those industries which are government-owned for reasons of national security or strategic importance to the country. In close

consultation with the Filipino entrepreneurs, the government shall determine this composition of the national economy by comprehensive economic planning. In these industries, foreign capital shall be phased out in favor of Filipinization or conversion to the public sector.

(a) The following should be in the public sector: transportation and communications; public health, including operations of hospitals; education, including university education; manufacture of arms and ammunition and military equipment.

(b) Joint ventures in large-scale industrial projects shall be encouraged between Filipino industrialists and the state enterprises.

(c) Distribution should generally be left to Filipino entrepreneurs.

(d) Production should be reoriented to provide the basic needs of the people, not the demands of the export market.

2. Foreign investment shall only be allowed in special fields. Foreign companies, in particular transnational corporations, shall be strictly regulated especially with respect to: (1) repatriation of profits, (2) availability of credit resources from domestic sources, (3) conditions of transfer of technology, and (4) relations with the Filipino workforce.

3. Priority shall be given to the build-up of industries which will overcome the basic problems of the country. The geographic fragmentation of the economy calls attention to the need for the basic shipbuilding and repair facilities and other transportation infrastructure that will bring various parts of the country into closer relationship. This will lay the material basis for national unity and accelerate the spread of benefits of culture and education to the less developed parts of the country. Basic drug manufacturing in the hands of Filipino entrepreneurs or the public sector shall also be a priority area.

4. Comprehensive planning for industrial growth shall be instituted, with emphasis on the development of capital-goods industries which will absorb the mineral resources of the country. The policy of consigning mineral resources to export shall be revised to give way to that of planned industrial growth.

5. A democratic and pro-Filipino land use policy shall be instituted, including a comprehensive agrarian reform in all crop areas which take into account the interests primarily of the marginalized farmers and the landless rural workers, and urban land reform for landless urban dwellers.

6. In agricultural production, the formation of cooperatives shall be promoted with full state support to overcome uneconomic results of land fragmentation and on the principle of social justice for agricultural workers. This shall be complemented by government-subsidized production by Filipino entrepreneurs of farm implements, fertilizers and other farm inputs.

7. Management of the country's foreign-exchange resources should be based on the following considerations: protection of Filipino industries, discouragement of conspicuous and unproductive consumption of such resources, stimulation of industrial growth as outlined above, and restriction of foreign-exchange outflow from foreign investments. This will mean that foreign-exchange earnings should not be used for importation of non-essential and luxury goods and goods which are adequately supplied by local manufacturing firms or Filipino capital; repatriation of profits and other earnings of foreign companies should be strictly regulated; and foreign investors shall not generally be allowed to draw from local sources of credit.

8. The state must establish a conservation policy with respect to the exhaustible raw material resources of the country.

9. Economic and technological relations with the socialist countries should be expanded as part of the policy for laying the country's industrial base for economic independence.

10. The public sector must establish a strong presence in banking and financial institutions.

B. Economic Interests of the Working People

1. The system of minimum wage should be periodically up-

graded, expanded and strictly implemented with the end in view of raising the standard of living of the broadest ranks of the working people.

2. Security of tenure of workers in the private sector should be guaranteed by law.

3. The right to strike should be defined by law without conditions.

4. Internationally accepted health and safety standards should be enforced strictly in all workplaces.

5. Shorter working hours should be adopted in employment under hazardous conditions, such as in the mining industry.

6. Government corporations should create a social fund made up of a fixed percentage of net profits. The fund should be disposed of by decision of the union of government employees in those enterprises for their benefit.

7. Rural banks should be transferred into rural cooperative banks to be run by cooperatives in agriculture.

8. The state should give full support for the establishment of small-scale industries by agricultural cooperatives.

9. Irrigation facilities and structures should be considered part of public works, like highways and bridges, and their use should not be subject to payment of fees.

10. The government should enforce a minimum salary level for each professional sector, such as teachers and nurses.

11. The government should support professionals through their professional organizations by providing them facilities for research, professional and cultural growth, as well as for securing housing facilities and social services.

12. The principle of equal pay for equal work should be strictly enforced, in the interest of women workers.

13. Workplaces should provide special facilities for pregnant and nursing mothers.

14. Working women should enjoy security of employment during marriage, longer maternity leave and community-based nursery facilities for babies and young children.

15. Training program and placement opportunities should be provided for women of low educational level, especially those in the rural areas.

16. There should be full implementation of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

II. FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. No foreign military bases shall be allowed in Philippine territory. Existing U.S. military bases and other facilities should be phased out. Agreements relating to them should be denounced or abrogated as early as possible. Failing in that, the U.S. Military Bases Agreement shall not be renewed or extended beyond 1991.

2. The Philippines should be declared a nuclear weapons free zone, and in addition, it should conduct negotiations with major powers for treaties that will respect its status as a nuclear weapons free country.

3. Assertion of national sovereignty in relations with the United States shall place emphasis on independence in military and security matters. The military aspect of national independence requires a thorough review of the dependence of the Armed Forces of the Philippines on the Pentagon, with the result that the AFP has been transformed into a creature of U.S. strategy and an instrument of its counter-insurgency and police functions.

4. The country's national security as an independent and sovereign nation demands that it must free itself from the security system of one major power and seek a regional or Asian system of security which takes into account the interests of all parties concerned on the basis of equality and mutual respect — a multilateral security system based on the principle of nuclear disarmament, equality and cooperation.

5. The country's foreign debts have been used by international monopoly capital as an instrument of blackmail by which the IMF, the World Bank and the foreign creditor banks have effectively controlled the main economic directions of the Philippines and usurped governmental powers in vital areas of economic and political decision-making. Existing governmental policy on foreign borrowings should be overhauled. The Philippines must suspend debt service payments, including interest. It must seek a collective debt strategy together with other debtor countries and work for an international regulation of foreign debt on a political basis.

6. Existing investment guarantee agreements should be denounced or abrogated. Investment guarantees make the Philippines an insurance firm that guarantees the safety of foreign investment in the country from political risks.

7. All treaties and agreements, especially those with the U.S. and Japan, should be reviewed with the view of asserting national sovereignty and equality.

8. The Philippines should strive to be a member of the non-aligned movement by eliminating obstacles to her acceptance in the movement.

9. The Philippine government should conduct its foreign relations on the basis of the principles of the New International Economic Order and the New International Information and Communication Order.

10. All discriminatory measures that impede the expansion of trade, diplomatic and cultural relations with socialist and Third World countries should be removed.

11. The Philippines should consolidate its ties with ASEAN with the view of transforming it into a regional organization independent of the interests of transnational corporations and imperialist military forces.

12. The Philippines should actively work in the United Nations and in ASEAN for the establishment of Southeast Asia as a nuclear weapons free zone.

13. The Philippine government should negotiate for an ASEAN security arrangement based on the principles of self-determination, equality, peaceful coexistence, settlement of conflicts through peaceful negotiations, non-alignment with military blocs, respect for each other's territorial integrity, non-intervention and a ban on nuclear weapons.

14. Mass educational campaigns should be conducted to support all the above measures and the worldwide struggle for peace and detente, in particular for the full implementation of Section 7, Article II of the new constitution: "The state shall pursue an independent foreign policy. In its relations with other states the paramount consideration shall be national sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interest, and the right to self-determination."

III. FOR POPULAR DEMOCRACY

1. All political parties, especially parties of the working people such as the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, should be allowed to participate fully and meaningfully in elections and other political activities with the same rights and freedoms as the parties of the ruling groups.

2. Planning and implementation of social and economic programs should be done with the active participation of the people through their mass organizations, and for this purpose the government should provide facilities for barangay or village councils to hold general assemblies of their constituencies at least every quarter to discuss and decide on national and community problems directly affecting them.

3. The people's right to communication (to receive and impart information), to free expression, assembly, self-organization, and freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, searches, seizures and torture shall be guaranteed.

4. The supremacy of civilian authority over the military and guarantees against abuse of authority shall be ensured.

IV. FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

1. The educational system should be thoroughly reorganized on the principle that education is a right and not a commodity.

2. Ownership and management of all existing schools should be Filipinized.

3. State universities and colleges should be increased and expanded. All state educational institutions should be managed by a policy-making board composed of government-appointed officials and democratically chosen representatives of faculty members, employees and students.

4. Filipino should be adopted as a medium of instruction in all schools, including universities.

5. The state shall give full support to the development of literature, music and the arts of the various regions, including those of cultural communities to enrich national culture.

6. Muslim culture as well as the synthesis of the culture of ethnic communities should be taught in all schools as part of general education of Filipinos.

7. Filipino as based on the development of the various major languages of the country should be taught in Muslim schools as a requirement of national unity.

8. The state should end foreign domination of churches in the Philippines. All religious institutions should serve the spiritual needs of the Filipino people, not the material and political interests of foreign groups.

9. Education should be democratized by providing free and high-quality education to all up to secondary level, and by instituting a broad system of scholarships at the university level.

10. Ownership of and access to mass media should also be democratized.

11. The influx of destructive foreign influences through advertising, mass media, etc., should be controlled in order to protect and rebuild the Filipinos' cultural integrity.

12. Local science and technology should be developed to serve the ends of independent industrialization and to build the economy's productive capacity in the service of the people; Filipino scientists, inventors and technologists should be supported to this end.

13. Labor education, with emphasis on workers' rights, should be integrated into the general curriculum.

14. Cultural relations with socialist and Third World countries should be strengthened and the study of different social philosophies and systems should be promoted.

15. The working and living standard of scientific and cultural workers should be upgraded.

V. FOR AUTONOMY OF MUSLIM FILIPINOS AND OTHER ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

1. Autonomy is premised on the necessity to strengthen national sovereignty and to defend the country's territorial integrity. Autonomy should therefore be conceptualized and applied with the view to actualize the contribution of the Muslims and ethnic communities in strengthening national unity despite cultural and religious diversity. It must harness their energies to consolidate solidarity for national independence and against foreign domination.

2. Autonomy must involve the right to preserve and develop their cultural and historical heritage, in particular their religion, the free use and development of their language, and the right to organize their social and economic life on the basis of their traditions and values.

3. Autonomy requires a geographic base and thus they have the right to the use and enjoyment of natural resources in the lands they have traditionally occupied. The development of these resources should primarily benefit them.

4. This autonomy can only be realized by a mechanism of substantial and fuller political power in the hands of the Muslim Filipinos or the ethnic communities.

VI. FOR BROAD SOCIAL SERVICES

1. Social services such as education, housing and health care should enjoy high priority in budgetary support from the national government.

2. Public transportation should be nationalized and planned on a rational basis. An efficient, centralized mass transport system should be made available to the commuting public at reasonable rates in both urban and rural areas.

3. The state should establish, with the aid of private organizations, public nurseries, kindergarten schools and other facilities for the care of children, to be managed by trained nurses and teachers. Maternity and medical benefits for working mothers should be expanded.

4. Public parks, health clubs, playgrounds, recreation halls and resorts should be provided by the state for the benefit of low-income families who should enjoy these facilities without payment or at minimum cost.

5. The solution of environmental problems should be given priority particularly in areas where industries are thickly concentrated. Well-planned anti-pollution measures should be standardized and enforced to minimize, if not eliminate, health problems associated with pollution. Peasants and agricultural workers should be protected from poisoning caused by farm chemicals. The livelihood of fishermen should be guaranteed by guarding rivers and lakes against pollutants.

6. An integrated health care system with emphasis on community-based, people-powered primary health care, to be complemented by nationalized basic drug manufacturing which can produce inexpensive medicines that the people can afford to buy, should be established.

7. Affordable housing for the working people should be built.

8. Special protection and privileges to retirees, pensioners, the aged and the disabled, should be provided.

The PKP believes that the full implementation of the above program can bring about a truly independent, democratic and progressive Philippine society. This program reflects the Filipino people's deep longing for a life free from insecurity, poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, discrimination, exploitation and oppression.

The PKP, however, maintains that this program can only be achieved through the organized strength of the masses themselves, in unity with the national leadership that is aware of its own historic role in attaining economic independence and social progress. It is their collective wisdom that will shape the appropriate policies that can bring about the realization of the goals outlined above. It is their collective pressure that will ensure that these policies are fully implemented. It is their collective determination that will see to it that the fruits of progress are equitably distributed.

To sum up, the PKP believes that the Philippines can only move forward by taking the nationalist and democratic route of social development. To achieve this, there is no substitute for mass education, mass organization and mass mobilization.

The broadening and deepening of the democratic process in this country through the implementation of the above program will create conditions for further development toward a higher form of social organization which is socialist in nature. The basic problems of society can only be fully solved under a socialist system. Socialism after all is the concentrated expression of democracy which makes possible the abolition of exploitation of people by others and one nation by another, the elimination of poverty, ignorance, and economic and social inequality for all time. Under socialism, the achievements of science, technology and culture are not limited to the use of a few, but serve the interests of the whole society. Socialist society is not ruled by a few profit-seekers for their own selfish ends but rather is a humane society ruled by the people for their own full and all-round development. Under socialism, the full and creative development of society will be the prerequisite for the development of the individual.

Building a socialist Philippines is the sacred task of the Filipino people. Only the Filipino people themselves can accomplish this historic duty. It can only be achieved and its success guaranteed if they have a full appreciation of their collective patriotism at this stage of history.

The struggle for socialism should be seen as the logical continuation of the Filipinos' struggle against imperialism and all forms of exploitation. It is the culmination of their struggle for real freedom, peace, progress and equality. With the attainment of socialism, living in a collectivity called society will have a new and positive meaning to the lives of millions of Filipinos. It will express the richness of Filipino culture as defined by centuries of struggle, and it will show the Filipino people's unity with all the other working peoples of the world in their struggle for national freedom, social liberation and the socialist future of humankind.

Legalize the Communist Movement in Turkey

On October 7, 1987 the Communist Party of Turkey (CPT) and the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT) stated at an international press conference their desire to form a United Communist Party of Turkey (UCPT).

In view of the new situation that has arisen in the short period following the press conference, the leadership of both parties suggested that Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CPT Central Committee, and Nihat Sargin, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, come back to Turkey from political exile abroad to start UCPT legal activities.

The CPT and WPT leadership realized the great risk of this undertaking under an anti-democratic authoritarian regime now in power in Turkey and Penal Code paragraphs banning the communist movement in the country. But it found this step the only correct one in the struggle for free activities, not only of the UCPT but also of all left forces, for ensuring full political freedoms for all democrats, and for Turkey's democratization.

On their arrival in Turkey on November 16, 1987, WPT General Secretary Nihat Sargin and CPT CC General Secretary Haydar Kutlu were immediately arrested in the presence of the 30 foreign guests who accompanied them on the flight, among them members of the European parliament, lawyers and journalists.

A wide campaign of protest swept the country immediately upon their arrest. Definite steps were taken by the European parliament sponsored by its socialist and communist factions. Efforts to legalize the UCPT will continue until the goal is achieved. The Turkish communists would welcome the support of the fraternal parties and the world public.

Below are the documents adopted jointly by the CPT and the WPT.

Joint Statement by the Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Turkey

The question Turkey is facing now is whether there will be a transition to democracy or not. We feel responsible for meeting the desire of our people, the desire for democracy. We believe we have taken a step toward fulfilling this responsibility through the merger of the Communist Party of Turkey and the Workers' Party of Turkey.

The disunity of the left in general and the revolutionary left in particular, which prevent them from playing their role fully in the struggle for democracy, is a fact known to everyone. The CPT and the WPT are aiming to prove the opposite by becoming united in a single party.

The United Communist Party of Turkey emerges with a new identity. It is an effort to find realistic solutions to the urgent problems of our people, to pursue a policy of thwarting the schemes of pro-American, reactionary and militarist forces, a constructive and consistent policy promoting unity.

In our draft program, the key role is given to democracy. Today we put forward a democratic alternative within the framework of capitalism. We believe the path leading to socialism involves moves to protect and strengthen democracy, and the only way to socialism is through democracy; socialism can evolve only through the development of democracy.

Our party will not be a sectarian and inward-looking one. We are not claiming to be the sole representatives of the working class. Nor do we claim a monopoly on truth. We will always derive from the views of other political forces, intellectuals and the working people. We will try to project a peaceful, democratic and humanistic way of thinking onto the political system, the parliament, and the administration of the country.

We are for lively discussions. Democracy will be an inalienable norm of our party life. We shall always be in favor of constructive exchanges of view with other forces. What our country needs is a free, civilized political culture of discussion, a new culture of democracy. There is no other way except establishing a dialogue and producing common views on the solution of the country's problems for rallying the Left and reaching an understanding among the democratic forces. For that reason, we are making our draft program public and we would like to discuss it with everyone.

The United Communist Party of Turkey will take part in the political struggle with a contemporary identity shaped by the basic ideas of communism, constructive policies, realism, criticism, coherence, and some other democratic elements, profiting by the whole revolutionary legacy of our country and the communist and workers' movement since the 1920s.

The ban on the Communist Party, Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, and the persecution of our parties are all a disgrace for Turkey. The Evren-Ozal regime has launched an onslaught against both parties to obstruct the unification of the CPT and the WPT and prevent the growth of the role of the communist movement. We are urging all democratic forces and the press to roll back this onslaught. To make our new program as effective as possible, the United Communist Party of Turkey is already pressing for legality.

Haydar Kutlu
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Turkey

Behice Boran
Chairman,
Workers' Party of Turkey
Brussels, October 7, 1987

Communique

The general secretaries of our parties have returned to our country. The information we are receiving shows that the government is trying to stop this initiative for democratic stability by primitive police actions and rude violence. But no effort can prevent the success of the just initiatives by comrade Kutlu and comrade Sargin. The demand of our parties for legal activity has already gained broad support in our country and in the world.

Both parties knew about the risks their leaders were taking in returning to our country, of which the first symptoms were to be observed at Ankara airport. The force which made it possible to venture these risks was the feeling of being in the right. In front of the whole public, those who demand their rights and those who steal them have now been brought face to face.

Since comrade Kutlu and comrade Sargin have entered Turkish territory, a new possibility has arisen for all our citizens who long for democracy. It is now possible to stop those who poison our political life by banning all the progressive ideas and making them illegal. It is possible to save people from the fears, worries and insecurity in which they are forced to live because of their political thinking. It is possible to create a new political culture where different political trends and ideas can coexist in a civilized way. Above all, this step has been undertaken for the freedom of the broad left forces. Even if they do not agree with our ideas, a lifting of the anti-communist bans will enable these forces to freely take part in political life. An end to the anti-communist bans will also abolish the obstacles in the struggle for burning demands of the workers and working people in general. In a

country where the ban on the communist party is abolished, no one will be able to defend the present repression of the trade unions. Once these bans have been cancelled, the world of arts and sciences will also be free of censorship and oppression, and cultural life will develop freely; likewise, people will not be harried by these bans only because they want to have peace and disarmament.

All this shows the deep democratic nature of the decision by the general secretaries of the two parties to return to the country. But the answer of the government to it has been quite the reverse. It wants, in a spirit of the time of the Inquisition, to abolish the chance the two men have created by risking their lives for the cause of democracy. President Evren has also shown once more with his latest speech that he is a representative of the same reactionary thinking and that he also wants to keep alive the source of political instability and tension.

All the democratic forces, all our people must now support freedom against the bans. Above all, Nihat Sargin and Haydar Kutlu must be wrested from the hands of the police and released. The democratic conscience of the whole world is supporting this just demand.

On behalf of the CC,
Workers' Party of Turkey
Osman Sakasiz

On behalf of the CC,
Communist Party of Turkey
Mehmet Karaca

November 17, 1987

Behice Boran

We should like to inform you with deep sorrow that just before mailing this letter to you, Chairman of the Workers' Party of Turkey, Behice Boran, passed away at the age of 77.

Comrade Boran was an exemplary communist who joined the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism as a young scholar in the social sciences, a writer, and an editor of a number of progressive journals rolled into one. In the 1940s, she joined the political working class movement. In the 1950s, she was active in the struggle for peace as founder and chairwoman of the Association of Peace-Lovers of Turkey. In 1965, she was elected to parliament as a leader of the Workers' Party of Turkey and set

a fine example of using it to promote the struggle of the working class. In 1970, she was elected Chair of the Workers' Party of Turkey and remained in this post to this day.

Following a military coup in 1980 the WPT was outlawed and comrade Boran, who had been persecuted and imprisoned several times in the past, was forced to live away from her motherland and deprived of her citizenship. Her uninterrupted and persistent struggle had its crowning achievement in the unity of the communist movement.

Communist Party of Turkey

Workers' Party of Turkey

Nepal CP Leader Incarcerated

Communist Party of Nepal General Secretary Bishnu Bahadur Manandhar has been in the jail of King Birendra of Nepal for over 27 months now.

Manandhar was expected to be released on September 7, 1987, on completion of his third nine-month period of detention. Broad sections of the Nepalese political circles, including former prime ministers and sitting members of the national parliament, have been demanding his immediate and unconditional release.

The communist leader is being held in prison since June 4, 1985. No charges have been levelled against him.

He had been arrested along with thousands of political workers, including most of the Central Committee members of the Communist Party of Nepal, following protest actions, meetings and demonstrations organized by the Nepali Congress Party, the Communist Party of Nepal and other political parties demanding an end to the "partyless" system and restoration of democracy in the kingdom-state.

While all other political prisoners were released after a few months of detention, Manandhar continued to be held under the

preventative detention act which provides for a maximum of nine months of detention. On expiry of each nine-month period, he was served with fresh detention orders, thus prolonging his imprisonment.

On September 7, still another order of detention was served on him at the Kakhu jail of Kathmandu valley. The CP Nepal has in a statement issued at Kathmandu expressed surprise and indignation at the continuing imprisonment of the communist leader. It appealed to all politically conscious people to raise their voice to demand his unconditional release.

As we go to press, news has come from Kathmandu that Communist Party of Nepal General Secretary Bishnu Bahadur Manandhar has been released from jail after having been kept in detention for over 27 months.

CPI National Council Secretary M. Farooqi, in a message to the Nepalese communist leader, has expressed happiness at his release from the long jail term. The message added: "We wish you many successes in your work."

New Age, October 11, 1987

Tunisia: Violence Should be Stopped

Statement by the Tunisian Communist Party

The state security court is getting ready to try leaders and members of the Islamic Tendency Movement (ITM). This will happen at a time when a mounting tide of violence and terrorism is adding to tensions in Tunisia. Aware of its responsibility to the nation, the Tunisian Communist Party re-emphasizes:

1. The national community should condemn the acts of violence and terrorism and thus put at bay those bent on violence and adventurism.

2. Equally, the TCP resolutely turns down any attempts to equate the fight against terrorism with repression against members of whatever political or ideological movements whose direct complicity in terrorist acts has not been validated.

This is why the TCP denounces the clamp-down on leaders and members of the ITM, which is a political movement, irrespective of whatever view is taken of its nature and objectives, as well as of dangerous repercussions for the country of the use of religion as a tool for disseminating religious fanaticism and unifying society on a religious basis.

3. The TCP considers it unacceptable to have the ideological

and political struggle on a democratic basis superseded by repression. Neither the latter nor the use, apart from police, of vigilante squads, could ward off the pending threat or deal with the taxing problems facing the country.

We know from experience that repression can only worsen the situation and the problems.

4. To save the country from the deadly threat to its advancement, safeguard and promote national wealth, and preserve everything that is progressive in our Arab-Moslem heritage, there should be urgent moves to remove whatever is in the way of political and trade union freedoms and denies the democratic and progressive forces the opportunity to express their views and be active in home politics.

The time has come for all democratic forces, whatever their tendencies, to show their full responsibility and make a joint stand to keep the situation from deteriorating still further and create conditions for the country to advance along the road which would conform to the interests of the masses and the aspirations of youth.

Tunis, August 27, 1987

Guatemala: For a National Dialogue and Genuine Peace With Respect for Human Dignity and Social Justice

Joint Statement by the Central Committee and
the National Leadership of the Guatemalan
Party of Labor Marking its 38th Anniversary

September 28, 1987 will mark 38 years since the founding of our party, whose entire political work has been to advance the basic needs of workers and peasants, the indigenous population and peoples of mixed races, the interests of our country and those of fraternal peoples fighting for social progress, global peace and peaceful coexistence.

The party's 38 years have seen successes and mistakes, gains and setbacks in an uncompromising fight against the national oligarchy and its chief repressive body, the ultra-reactionary and opportunistic military; against the 1954 outrageous intervention by U.S. imperialism, which wrecked our democratic process and forced on us first the puppet regime of Castillo Armas and later successive venal governments which stepped up repression and corruption, oppression and exploitation of our people.

Despite its severe reverses and showing fortitude in the face of terror and persecution which led to defeatist sentiments, our party, driven underground, only 24 days after President Arbenz had been toppled came out with a manifesto describing the new government as reactionary, anti-popular and anti-communist, and a docile tool of the U.S. Denouncing the government and its genocidal policy, the manifesto urged an uncompromising fight against it and a readiness for long battles with U.S. interference and in defense of people's rights.

Deep underground, the party started reorganizing itself under the leadership of its intrepid comrades Bernardo Alvarado Monzon and Mario Silva Jonama.

The party has been operating against these heavy odds for 33 years now.

Long gone are the five years of its legal work. The party has gone through numerous trials, including a damaging spell of internal discord caused by lack of a unified approach to the correction of mistakes and shortcomings; eventually this blunted its revolutionary edge and made less effective the entire party work.

Over the same period assassins took the lives of many of our illustrious and combative leaders, talented top and middle-level party members, and fearless rank-and-file comrades totally committed to the party's cause.

And yet the party has always been and ever will be at one with its people, will contribute to the drive for their present and future demands, and will promote the armed revolutionary movement led by the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, an organization which is fighting for our country's genuine freedom, social justice, and our right to life under peace and social progress.

We have made headway in a critical issue like party unity as evidenced by unity trends on a principled ideological, political and practical basis and with an eye to the actual situation in the country, which is very dynamic and complex.

We are repeating our fraternal appeal to our comrades, communists in other organizations or operating independently, to join this unity process, for to be effective we must resolve our internal problems together.

SOME TRENDS IN WORLD DEVELOPMENTS

As we are approaching the 38th anniversary of our party, we are glad to see new signs of world tensions being defused in various trouble-spots around the globe, particularly in Central America.

It is equally true that provocations by the Reagan administration, which is bent on the arms race and more war hysteria, are still keeping the world on the brink of thermonuclear war.

Yet the nations and realistic governments are moving vigorously for peace, against the arms race, for a complete end to nuclear tests, for withdrawal of missiles from various countries, and for international detente and peaceful coexistence of states.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the sole alternative to the war-mongering Yankee policy, reflects the concerns of entire humanity, and guarantees people their right to exist. The practical steps the USSR has made and its far-reaching initiatives are clear evidence of its desires for peace and reaching an agreement with the U.S. on medium-range missiles, strategic armaments and peaceful uses of space as early as possible and on a mutually acceptable basis.

Central America is still a very volatile region. Still the democratic, progressive and revolutionary elements wedded to the cause of peace and respect for human dignity and social justice are being increasingly active there; in each of the countries they are making rational political proposals to help implement the accords the Central American countries' presidents reached at their meeting in August, 1987. On the contrary, U.S. imperialism and the arch-conservative and reactionary quarters and corrupt governments are throwing up barriers to understanding and wrecking the progress of the accords, and are desperate to resolve the region's conflicts by military force.

Well aware of the danger of a total military conflagration which could flare up in Central America if the U.S. aggression continues, we Guatemalan communists welcome all efforts to establish peace in our region and in each of its countries. We have much regard for the activities of the Latin American Contadora Group and the Support Group which together with Nicaragua's courageous and able diplomacy have deterred direct military aggression by the U.S. against that sister country.

BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

With the people's struggle on the upswing and an armed movement capable of holding its own against overwhelming odds, one can thus assess the situation in the country:

1. The socio-economic crisis is deepening and hurting primarily the ordinary people; the rich are getting richer while the common people still poorer. Class contradictions are growing more acute as are divisions within the ruling classes.

The so-called "linkage policy" failed to deter clashes between diverse groupings within the ruling quarters, notwithstanding the concessions by the Democratic Christians to the ultra-conservative oligarchy group involved with agricultural exports.

As before, tax rises and timid attempts at reforming the taxation system, launched in a situation made explosive by the crisis, only led to an illusory reconciliation of the economic interests of the present civilian government, on the one hand, and a so-called private initiative and the army, on the other.

2. The political situation remains tense.

Counter-insurgency measures are still widely practiced, ranging from massive bombings of peaceful villages, political assassinations, missing people, and use of torture, to broader powers of

bodies watching over the people. On the other hand, the authorities' many statements giving a guarded support for democracy have not been matched with democratic changes in politics and economic and public life.

3. The people are growing more militant and united in pursuing their vital needs. Demands for higher wages, turning the land over to those who till it, resolving the housing problem, introducing price controls are being supplemented by still broader democratic demands like more respect for the right to life and the inviolability of the individual, freedom of association, a release of the abducted and the missing, and punishment for the military responsible for mass killings.

4. The domestic armed conflict is still the predominant factor on the home scene. At the same time, the futile attempts by the army to launch an offensive in various conflict areas have emphasized the impossibility of resolving the present problems militarily.

5. Peace action is gaining momentum nationwide. Because of it, the National Revolutionary Unity has proposed talks to the government to promote a national dialogue and seek a political settlement of the domestic armed conflict and a peaceful, democratic and genuinely popular alternative to end the crisis.

FOR A NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND GENUINE PEACE WITH RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

We are going through hard times, which increasingly emphasize the historical need for resolving regional and local armed conflicts by negotiations. The militaristic interventionist policy of the Reagan administration in Central America aims at bringing to heel the peoples there. The Reagan administration continues its aggression against Nicaragua, will not abandon its military aid to the Somocists, and props up economically and militarily Napoleon Duarte's murderous regime; it is sending military advisers and arming Honduran and Guatemalan troops, is anxious to destabilize the Panamanian government, and is giving aid to the regional quarters opposed to democracy and peace.

The peace accords signed in Guatemala by the presidents of five Central American states have helped outline prospects for a political settlement of conflicts in this region. Their effectiveness will depend on just how honest and politically responsible further moves will be. There is still a lot of ground to be covered for the decision to take practical effect. Allied with the most diehard elements in the signatory countries, the Reagan administration is throwing up all manner of barriers in the path of the accords.

In our country the Christian Democratic government has been fainthearted and vacillating in terms of practically implementing the pledges it had made. For its part, the army is eager to exploit the present situation to get the better of the armed revolutionary movement on the battlefield, which is a totally doomed attempt. The local oligarchy is still clinging to its antiquated system of exploitation and oppression. But peace and democracy are of a

piece with social justice, respect for the rights to life, self-determination and independence.

We Guatemalan communists wholeheartedly uphold the principled statements and proposals by the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala on talks with the government and a national dialogue; we believe it to be the only road leading to peace. The government must show flexibility and openly acknowledge the need for a dialogue.

We are urging all Guatemalan patriots in urban and rural areas, people of mixed races and the indigenous population, men and women, to abandon political and ideological sectarian attitudes and jointly demand that the government be true to the Esquipulas II accords and start a dialogue with the National Revolutionary Unity without any delay or subterfuge.

IN MEMORY OF HEROES AND VICTIMS

Marking yet another anniversary of our struggle and outlining further prospects for the communists and revolutionaries, we are paying tribute to the founders of the party, foremost fighters for its cause, who fell in battle with the enemies of the Guatemalan working people and for our country's independence. We hold sacred the names of party leaders like Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Mario Silva Jonama, Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Huberto Alvarado, Carlos Rene Valle, Octavio Reyes Ortiz, Jose Luis Ramos, Francisco Hernandez Alvarez, Leonardo Castillo Flores, Augusto Turcios Lima and many, many others.

We are lowering our heads to the shining examples of leading communists at all levels, activists, party associates, men and women, who gave their lives fighting for the just cause of the Guatemalan working people.

As we celebrate our party's 38th anniversary, we are expressing our respect for and solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the victorious Bolshevik revolution. We are saluting the Communist Party of Cuba and paying tribute to the memory of valorous guerrilla Ernesto Che Guevara, who died 20 years ago in Bolivia.

We express our admiration and support of the People's Sandinist Revolution and the heroic people of Nicaragua. We are greeting the intrepid people of El Salvador and their vanguard the FMLN-FDR. We are sending our fraternal revolutionary greeting to the military-political vanguard of the revolutionary movement in our country, the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala.

For Guatemala, Revolution and Socialism!

Guatemala Party of Labor
On behalf of the Central Committee
Carlos Gonzales
General Secretary

On behalf of the National Leadership
Mario Sanche
General Political Questions

Ecuador: A Historic Step

Editorial of *El Pueblo*, Communist Party of Ecuador CC Newspaper

The emergence of the united left is a response to the challenge of history and a start to a new stage in the ideological and organizational fight against imperialist attempts to get us still more fettered by dependence; it is also against the policy of the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie and its Social Christian government and venal parties to help enslave our homeland. This is a clarion call to all workers and peasants, forward-looking intellectuals, all anti-imperialist, progressive and patriotic forces in the country.

Dependence or emancipation — such is the chief conflict at

the core of the present crisis in Ecuador. The order of the day is to build up a political force capable of taking power into its hands and go ahead with fundamental revolutionary change. This requires an alliance of all anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive elements. The schemes of the oligarchy should be wrecked and it itself should be made disunited. This is why we say that the emergence of the unitary left front with a program reaching beyond the needs of the movement relative to the elections due in January 1988 has historic importance.

We communists should do all we can to upgrade the subjective factor and raise our political awareness and organization. We are responsible for our emerging as a critical force in forging a proletarian vanguard and broadening unity.

Basically, the united left front concretely embodies the idea of alliance of diverse left, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical forces, each with its own tactics but brought together in the mainstream of the liberation movement. Its emergence has filled the need to forge a revolutionary vanguard capable of fulfilling the prime task of the revolutionary moment. It offers fresh opportunities for a close ideological and political alliance through mutual enrichment in terms of experience and creative Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The front is an effective political tool helping to raise political awareness and organization to a level required for making a national liberation revolution.

But no revolution will be possible in Ecuador unless we bolster unity and join hands in shaping a great national liberation front. This is precisely the message of the 10th party congress resolution based on an objective appraisal of and full attention to domestic and international experience. Thus, revolutionary vanguard unity is an historic need whose idea is beyond the grasp of various sectarians, opportunists, dogmatics, all those guided by personal

ambitions and consideration and taking their cue from the factionalists.

Our party has been promoting a unity campaign for many years now. There have certainly been cases of people with less than full appreciation of the significance of unity; domestic and international developments have forced us to fight on our own, including election campaigns. Now the general rise in political awareness helps us Marxist-Leninists to link up with other left forces. This shift toward unification indicates that our unity strategy is taking hold, while any other policy signifies an unredeemed political blindness and an inability to appreciate the rationale of consistent policy.

The experience of joint action and our commitment to proletarian internationalist principles helps us to make the biggest contribution to shaping unity, broadening its scope, and advancing joint action in every province and in every canton.

It is about time to show our revolutionary and party consistency amid a mounting unitary campaign and in the ideological contention, bringing to the fore matters of principle uniting us and discussing, in the spirit of fraternal collaboration, issues on which we differ. We should be working steadfastly in the firm belief that the idea of a national liberation front and its vanguard will become a reality.

El Pueblo, August 28 — September 3, 1987

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