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Not to Jeopardize What Has been Achieved in the Heart of Europe in 38 Years of Peace

As it becomes more and more evident that the U.S. and NATO policy of arms race and confrontation presents a direct threat to life itself, the peoples of the world and peace-loving humanity as a whole are showing increasing concern and stepping up their resistance to this policy. More and more people look to the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a bulwark of peace. They increasingly appreciate socialism's peace initiatives, which are prompted by a deep sense of responsibility and political realism, as an answer to the urgent question of how to bring about a positive change in international relations, stop the arms race and take real steps toward disarmament.

The socialist countries, which are the most powerful peace force, insist that a major task now facing all nations is to avert further dangerous developments and a drift to disaster. Their constructive proposals and initiatives for the solution of this extremely important problem of today are intended to remove the war danger and channel international development toward détente and sound relations between states.

The peace movement has never been so strong all over the world as now. This is also seen in the activity of those Asian, African and Latin American states which are linking the fight for national liberation and social emancipation more and more closely with the struggle for peace. On all continents and even in the USA and Western Europe, peace supporters opposed to the sinister imperialist policy of arms race are raising their voice, which cannot be ignored. At the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War held in Prague late in June, 3,625 delegates from 132 countries representing 1,843 national organizations, trade unions, peace, women's, youth and student movements, parties and churches as well as 108 international non-governmental organizations demonstrated the vast scope of the present-day peace movement. This is evidence that all who consider peace the most valuable patrimony of humanity can and must join efforts regardless of differences in political or ideological views or religious convictions to stave off the threat of an atomic devastation of our planet. "The strength of this broad and diversified peace movement lies in its ability to act together," says the Appeal of the Prague Assembly. "Whatever differences on other issues exist between us, we are strongly convinced that nothing must divide us in the face of our common purpose — to save peace and life, to prevent nuclear war."

Fraternal socialist countries make no secret of their deep concern about the trend of international development, mounting tensions and the threat of war, for the USA and its main allies are hardening their policy of arms race and confrontation. They

have moved on from declarations to the actual implementation of measures aimed at gaining military superiority over socialism. The USA and NATO, aspiring to a monopoly position, plan to site in the immediate proximity of countries of the socialist community new nuclear first-strike weapons that can destroy objectives deep in Soviet territory while the Soviet Union has no comparable potential near the USA (nor must have, by imperialist logic). Work is already under way in some West European NATO countries on the expansion of the bases to be used for these U.S. nuclear weapons. If, contrary to common sense, the imperialist plan for the deployment of missiles is carried through and if Pershing II and Cruise missiles are deployed in the FRG, Britain, Italy and other West European countries, this would create extraordinary dangers for the life of the peoples of Europe and, indeed, other continents.

The same threat comes from vast programs for the production of strategic land, sea and air-based nuclear weapons and the development of space weapons systems and new systems of conventional armaments coming close to nuclear weapons in destructive power.

This arms build-up, which reveals imperialism's bid for supremacy, finds political expression in the blocking of progress at all arms reduction and disarmament talks. The foregoing applies above all to the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe as well as on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments, at which the U.S. side is trying, by declarations about its alleged flexibility, to disguise the fact that from the very outset it has been programmed to drive the talks into a blind alley. Washington has been undermining mutually beneficial economic relations. As well as waging an economic war against the socialist countries, it is stepping up psychological warfare. The summit meeting of seven leading industrial powers of the West and the latest series of NATO conferences in Brussels and Paris revealed an increased effort to form a military political coalition of all the main imperialist powers against socialism and the states that have won freedom.

For all the gravity of the international situation, the leaders of socialist countries who met in Moscow expressed in a joint statement the conviction that it is possible to head off a further dangerous worsening of the situation and a drift to atomic catastrophe. Nor did they confine themselves to warnings or general calls for dialogue. They reaffirmed the comprehensive program of action for peace put forward in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries on January 5, 1983, and formulated the following pressing tasks of today in easing

international tensions and defusing the war danger:

— sign before the end of this year an agreement ruling out the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in West European NATO countries and providing for corresponding cuts in the medium-range weapons existing in Europe;

— reach an early agreement on the limitation and reduction of the strategic armaments of the Soviet Union and the USA in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security;

— freeze the nuclear arsenals of all nuclear powers, primarily the USA and the Soviet Union without delay both quantitatively and qualitatively, on the understanding that other nuclear powers will proceed in the same manner;

— a commitment not to use nuclear weapons first by the nuclear powers which have not yet done so;

— ban the deployment of any weapons in outer space to prevent the arms race from extending to that area;

— hold talks on the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe;

— hold direct talks between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization aimed at coming to an agreement not to increase military expenditures as from January 1, 1984 and on measures for their actual reciprocal reduction in the subsequent period, so that the funds released as a result could be used for economic and social advancement, including that of developing countries;

— begin a practical examination of the proposal for a treaty on mutual non-use of armed force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between NATO and WTO member-states;

— complete the Madrid meeting as speedily as possible and in a way ensuring the continuation of the multilateral process begun at Helsinki, which would give a new impetus to the policy of détente.

These proposals are indicative of the firmness and consistency of the socialist countries' realistic policy of safeguarding peace and resuming the process of détente. As for the GDR, it has a special stake, as a country situated in the heart of Europe, at the boundary line between the two most powerful military coalitions in history, in ensuring that every opportunity to take concrete steps toward disarmament is used. Accordingly, it proceeds in both bilateral relations and at multilateral talks in conformity with the common, coordinated peace strategy of the socialist countries. Its readiness to make its entire territory available for the creation of a zone free from battlefield nuclear weapons at the boundary line in question, on the principle of equality and equal security (which is a positive reply to Sweden's proposal), speaks for itself. Prompted by the same considerations, it again called on the FRG government in a joint statement of the Political Bureau of the SUPG CC and the Council of Ministers of the GDR dated July 5, 1983 to reconsider its position on the issue of nuclear arms "with due

regard to the interests of people in both German states and their special responsibility for the preservation of peace" and "not to jeopardize what has been achieved in the heart of Europe in 38 years of peace."

There is no doubt that the FRG bears a special responsibility in the present situation. It is the most important of the countries where new U.S. medium-range missiles are to be deployed, even though it has already surpassed other European NATO countries in concentration of nuclear weapons.

Should new U.S. medium-range missiles be sited in the FRG and other West European NATO countries contrary to common sense, the socialist countries, including the GDR, would be compelled to adopt measures needed for the defense of socialism and peace. To the socialist countries, this is not a matter of military ambition or prestige. The Warsaw Treaty countries want no such measures and their realistic proposals for a reasonable alternative are proof of this. But should their proposals be disregarded and should the USA persist in its unconstructive approach at the talks — an approach making the achievement of any positive result impossible — and actually deploy its Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, military counter-measures on the part of the socialist countries to maintain the military balance between NATO and the WTO and thus protect our continent from a deadly menace would become inevitable. They would be a forced step needed not only to safeguard the life and security of the peoples of the socialist countries but also to preserve world peace.

It would be a bad error fraught with grave consequences to imagine (and NATO politicians are working tirelessly to maintain that illusion) that after the deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe the Soviet Union would make concessions. Talks can lead to agreement provided the United States and other NATO countries renounce their "zero" or "intermediate" option and show readiness for mutually acceptable solutions, as the best interests of peace and security require.

The USA and other NATO countries should know that they can secure no military, political or economic advantages by continuing to block this road and seeking military superiority.

The Political Bureau of the SUPG CC and the Council of Ministers of the GDR said in their joint statement on the Moscow meeting that the meeting had reaffirmed the socialist countries' fundamental position in favor of "preventing the drift of mankind to nuclear catastrophe and switching East-West relations from confrontation to normal and mutually beneficial cooperation." This chance must not be missed.

Ernst Krabatsch

Abridged from *Einheit*, No. 8, 1983

The Imperialist Military Presence is a Threat to the Peoples' Sovereignty and Independence

Statement by the National Liberation Front of Bahrain
on the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force Maneuvers

U.S. troops are preparing for large-scale military maneuvers on the territory of Oman, Egypt, Somalia and Sudan. Similar maneuvers were held two years ago on the territory of those same countries under the code name "Bright Star." The maneuvers tested the fighting capacity of the rapid deployment force, which has been under the U.S. Central Command (Centcom) since the beginning of this year. The latter's sphere of activity covers 19 states of the Persian Gulf, Western Asia, the Middle East and the zone of the Red Sea. U.S. B-52 strategic bombers and also F-16 and F-111 fighter-bombers will be used in these maneuvers. Almost a thousand U.S. marines will land on the Somali coast and carry out joint exercises with rapid deployment force units. On the territory of Sudan and the sultanate of Oman, special detachments will practice anti-guerrilla warfare methods, in view of possible armed resistance to the corrupt reactionary regimes, and also to the U.S. militarists in countries of the region.

During the maneuvers, large landing means will be used, including almost 100 C-15 transport planes from the U.S. Air Force which will carry troops to the region selected for attack.

Of growing concern to our peoples is the fact that these maneuvers will be followed in October by fresh, joint maneuvers of the armed forces of the six Gulf Cooperation Council member-countries to be held on the territory of the United Arab Emirates under the aegis of the Pentagon. The reactionary regimes in the Persian Gulf countries do not conceal the fact that the maneuvers aim to test the effectiveness of coordinated operations in the military area in rebuffing a certain "threat," i.e. to test their ability to fulfil the role assigned to them within the framework of the U.S. strategic designs in relation to the entire region, which Washington has declared its "vital interest zone" without a twinge of conscience. Still further confirmation of this is the circumstance that the upcoming U.S. troop maneuvers will take place, among other countries, on the territory of one Gulf Cooperation Council participant — the sultanate of Oman — where the USA already carried out major exercises less than a year ago. There are also reports that U.S. tanks are to be tested on Saudi territory during the maneuvers, more than a thousand of them to be later stored in that country.

The actions of the GCC members and their political guidelines clearly show that those countries' ties with the U.S. are strengthening in a number of areas, the military area primarily. Arms and military equipment have been pouring into those countries from across the ocean, accompanied by thousands of U.S. experts and advisers. As a result of the concession of military bases and "privileges" to the

United States by Oman, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and other states, the former has considerably expanded its military presence in a number of countries of our region.

The maneuvers are scheduled for a time when the U.S.-Zionist aggression against the Arab peoples is at a culmination. The Israelis have been continuing the occupation of Lebanese lands for over a year. In collusion with the fascist forces in Lebanon itself, the Zionist invaders are dismembering the country. The threat of wholesale Israeli aggression against Syria is growing. The Iraq-Iran war has taken a dangerous turn characterized by stepped-up imperialist interference with the aim of further worsening the conflict and preserving the explosive situation, making it possible for the United States and its allies to realize their designs. It is no secret that the maneuvers are of a character hostile toward the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen since they will take place in close proximity to its borders. The holding of the maneuvers tramples on our countries' national sovereignty. Moreover, it is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that these maneuvers, which encompass a vast region — from Sudan, Egypt and Somalia to Oman — could become a rehearsal for broad U.S. aggression. There is sufficient ground for such fears, especially if one bears in mind the adventurist aggressive policy of the Reagan administration, which is gambling with humankind's fate by constantly creating threats to international peace and security, continuing to produce the most destructive and deadly types of weapons, stubbornly seeking to have medium-range missiles deployed in Western Europe, and hinting at the possibility of direct intervention in any corner of the globe to defend fascist and dictatorial regimes.

The National Liberation Front of Bahrain strongly condemns this open banditry on the part of the United States, which is trampling on our countries' sovereignty and independence, and angrily unmasks the deal made with it by the reactionary corrupt regimes among the GCC member-countries. Appealing to the masses of our people to intensify the struggle against the U.S. military presence in the region, the NLFB underscores the significance of unity of the patriotic forces, and the strengthening of cooperation between them in order to counteract the threat created by this presence. The Front calls on all forces and contingents of the Arab national liberation movement, the Arab states which take patriotic positions, and all countries interested in preserving their sovereignty and independence and in maintaining security to raise their voices and demand an end to the maneuvers and denunciation of those regimes which have made the territory of their countries available for the holding of maneuvers.

The real danger which these maneuvers represent for our peoples' security and future makes it quite urgent to take immediate action so as not to lose time and not to allow our entire region to be turned into a zone of unlimited U.S. influence.

The National Liberation Front of Bahrain calls on all peace-loving progressive democratic forces, par-

ties and organizations of the world to strengthen solidarity with our peoples' struggle to liquidate the U.S. bases and all forms of imperialist military presence in our countries, and to ensure their independence, national sovereignty and non-alignment.

July 27, 1983

Al-Fadjr, August 1983

There Is Still a Chance to Keep the World From Getting Into a New Round of the Arms Race

Yuri Andropov's Reply to an Appeal of a Group of Social-Democratic Deputies to the FRG Bundestag

Through Yuri Andropov, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a group of FRG Bundestag deputies from the Social-Democratic Party addressed an appeal to the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the question of nuclear arms limitations in Europe.

The authors of the appeal say that the Geneva talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe have entered a decisive stage. They fear that a breakthrough might not be achieved at the talks by the end of 1983. In this connection the anxiety is expressed that the current year may end in a dramatic escalation of the arms race.

The appeal says that the Federal Republic of Germany has the highest nuclear weapons deployment density in the world, with close to 6,000 nuclear munitions on its territory. A public opinion poll showed that 72 per cent of the FRG population are against the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles.

The appeal notes that with poverty reigning in many areas of the world, people more and more often ask themselves whether the world really needs an increase in the stockpiles of deadly weapons. Is it not a crime that more than 10 million children die in the world every year because much more funds are spent on armaments than on combatting starvation?

We recognize the guilt of fascist Germany, which inflicted tremendous suffering on other nations in this century, the appeal continues. Social-Democratic deputies know the horrors of war and that is why they persistently ask for support for the demands immediately to stop all nuclear armament, freeze all nuclear potentials, reduce the number of SS-20 missiles and not to install Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles.

The appeal calls for the promotion of a positive outcome of the Geneva talks. This is needed by the peoples of the USSR and the FRG. They are interested in coming closer to the aim of creating a Europe free from all mass destruction weapons, and in ensuring real security and developing mutually-advantageous cooperation.

Below is Yuri Andropov's reply.

Esteemed deputies,

Like all Soviet people, the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet share the concern expressed in your appeal about the spiralling of the arms race, about the lack of progress at the talks that must not only curb the arms race but also work toward arms reduction, the reduction of nuclear arms above all.

It is our deep conviction that what is happening now directly contradicts the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of Europe and the entire world. And it is those who bank on destabilizing international relations and gaining military superiority over the countries of socialism, and also over all other countries at the same time, that are to blame for this.

History has repeatedly upset such plans and ambitions. We are sure that this will be the case this time, too. But this calls for the most vigorous and decisive action to reverse the dangerous march of events, to save humankind from the nuclear threat, and to achieve a breakthrough at the disarmament talks.

The world does not need bigger arsenals of deadly weapons. It needs their radical reduction and the use of the released funds to meet the pressing needs of economic and social development.

Such is the firm conviction of the Soviet Union. Such is the viewpoint of all Warsaw Treaty member-states. Such is the reply to the central question of your letter. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to stop the slide toward nuclear catastrophe. It is ready for extensive cooperation with all states on this issue of key significance for the future of humankind.

You call on us to stop all nuclear armament, freeze all nuclear weapons potentials and reduce the number of Soviet SS-20 missiles if the U.S. foregoes deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Europe.

The Soviet Union fully shares and supports these demands, and is prepared to go much further. We propose a quantitative and qualitative freeze of all nuclear arms, that is, an end to the quantitative

build-up of all components of nuclear arsenals and non-deployment of nuclear arms of new kinds and types, and the introduction of a moratorium on all nuclear ammunition tests and on the testing of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles of new kinds and types. Our proposal for ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, also remains in force.

And these are not merely good intentions. We advocate that this program should be immediately translated into the language of treaty-based commitments and be then implemented step by step in its entirety. A beginning can be made by the USSR and the U.S., by which is meant that other nuclear powers would do likewise.

As to the Soviet SS-20 missiles, after the reductions in Europe the Soviet Union is prepared to keep the same number of medium-range missiles as are held by Britain and France.

We recently took a new major step in the interests of achieving agreement by consenting to liquidate all missiles to be reduced in the European part, provided, naturally, that mutually-acceptable agreement is reached on the problem of nuclear arms in Europe as a whole, including the dropping of plans by the USA to deploy its new missiles and a corresponding reduction of medium-range aircraft. This good-will step of ours means that we would forego redeployment in the Asian part of the USSR of the medium-range missiles to be reduced in the European part. Thus the concern expressed in the FRG that these missiles could be returned to the previous positions at any time would be dispelled.

Thus, the Soviet Union is in favor of a sharp reduction, by two-thirds, of the medium-range nuclear arsenals in Europe and of the non-deployment

of new types of these arms here in future. And it does not seek to have a single missile, a single plane more than NATO would have. It consents to large actual cuts in its arms. One cannot but ask what else is needed for an honest and equitable arrangement? And do the U.S. and other NATO countries want agreement at all?

In the early 70s the USSR and the FRG stood together at the cradle of détente. The peoples of our countries know the horrors of war and the price of peace. They are resolutely against the relapses into the cold war; they cannot be indifferent toward the attempts being made for the sake of interests alien to Europe to wipe out everything positive that has been created by the joint efforts of East and West-European countries for a peaceful future for our continent.

Also indicative in this respect is the fact that, as your letter indicates, 72 per cent of the FRG population oppose the new U.S. missile deployment, and favor continuation of the talks and the reaching of an accord in Geneva. You do not want the threat of war to emanate from the territory of your country, a war which would be hell for the whole of humankind. We do not want this either. Everything must be done to prevent this. This is within our abilities; this is in the interests of our peoples and of all European peoples.

I hope that the deputies of the FRG Bundestag — the country's supreme body of state authority — will act with profound awareness of the duty and responsibility resting with them. There is still a chance to keep the world from getting into a new round of the arms race.

Yours respectfully,
Yuri Andropov
Pravda, September 21, 1983

In the Name of Life on Our Planet

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Board of the German Communist Party and the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin to parties of the working class movement, trade unions, and youth organizations, and all people in Europe who want to live in peace.

We, the communist parties on German soil — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, are speaking out at a time when decisions of paramount importance are imminent which will affect the destiny of all European peoples, indeed, of all humankind. At the end of World War II, with the Nazi fascists defeated, German communists joined with German social democrats, Christians and non-Christians in an oath to do all they could to ensure that another war would never originate on German soil. This pledge was made in homage to the 50 million people killed during the war — those who fought against Nazi barbarism, those murdered by the fascists, and those who perished on the battlefields and in the air-raid shelters. We have worked and fought for that pledge for more than three decades:

— in the German Democratic Republic, by building the power of workers and farmers and establish-

ing the first socialist peace state on German soil;

— in the Federal Republic of Germany, by resisting remilitarization and by standing up for détente and social progress;

— and in West Berlin, by opposing the front-line-city politics and by working for the relations of peace and cooperation with the GDR.

In the present situation we declare that the planned deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG revives the danger of another war being unleashed from German soil, from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, because:

— these missiles are first-strike weapons targeted on the USSR and the other socialist countries;

— they are strategic weapons whose deployment would upset the military-strategic balance;

— they are weapons of mass destruction intended to serve the policy of confrontation and crusade and to make nuclear war possible in Europe.

Turning the Federal Republic of Germany into a

launching site for U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons not only involves the risk of the FRG inviting its own destruction but also threatens the security and survival of all European peoples.

Europe must not become a "Euroshima." There is still time to avert a new round in the nuclear arms race, a development which would further exacerbate the international situation and heighten the risk of war. Relevant proposals are on the table. Given goodwill, negotiated solutions can be found for any matter at issue. The USSR has made far-reaching offers on missile reduction. The Warsaw Treaty Organization advocates a treaty on the renunciation of the use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The GDR supports the Swedish initiative aimed at the establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in Europe. Renowned personalities and political groups in the USA and in the West European countries are arguing for a freeze on nuclear arsenals, the non-deployment of U.S. missiles and other moves which constitute a real security policy. In a peace movement that spans the world, hundreds of millions of people in East and West are demonstrating their desire for disarmament, peace and cooperation.

However, the danger keeps growing. In the USA they are adopting maniacal arms programs which risk turning not only the Earth but also outer space into the scene of nuclear conflicts. The negotiations

in Geneva are threatened with failure because the USA refuses to observe the just principle of equality and equal security and seeks to gain superiority for itself.

For the sake of preserving life on our planet for this generation, for our children and grandchildren, we call upon everyone to make use of whatever opportunities they have for political action, dialogue, parliamentary initiatives and mass protest in order to:

— prevent the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe;

— press for the conclusion of an agreement in Geneva pursuant to the principle of equality and equal security and, if need be, continued negotiations rather than missile deployment;

— campaign for nuclear weapons free zones as steps toward a Europe free from nuclear weapons.

Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party
of Germany

Erick Honecker

Board of the German Communist Party

Herbert Mies

Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

Horst Schmitt

Neues Deutschland, September 27, 1983;

Unsere Zeit, September 27, 1983;

Varheit, September 27, 1983

Ward Off the Nuclear Threat

Statement by the Participants in an Anti-War Demonstration in Moscow

An anti-war demonstration involving 800,000 people took place in Moscow, capital of the USSR, on October 1.

The demonstration and its mass character were motivated by the common striving to uphold peace on our planet and avert the threat of a nuclear war. The working people of Moscow suggested the holding of this mass action to local GPSU committees, government authorities, the Peace Committees, and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

Rallies addressed by prominent Soviet and foreign statesmen and civic personalities were held in various parts of the city.

The 800,000 participants in this anti-war demonstration unanimously adopted the statement, the text of which follows.

We, the people of Moscow, declare our emphatic protest against the plans of the USA and NATO to deploy new nuclear missiles in Europe.

Implementation of these plans would drastically intensify the nuclear threat to the peoples of the whole of Europe — of West and East. A nuclear conflict breaking out on European territory would not be confined to it, and it would spare neither the American people nor the peoples inhabiting the other continents.

This threat must be averted before it is too late!

We therefore subscribe fully to the demand of the worldwide anti-war movement: *No to nuclear weapons in Europe!*

The West is not ready for such a radical solution. But we shall continue to work toward it, and therefore already now make the demand:

No new medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe!

Reduce existing arsenals!

We stand for the simple and clear principle that there should be equal security for everybody! There is no difference between U.S., British or French missiles if they are targeted on and may hit the USSR and its allies. Our inalienable right is to have a defense against any of them! If the USA and NATO do go ahead with the deployment of new missiles the Soviet government must do everything necessary to take effective counter-measures.

We support the peace policy of our party and state, a policy aimed at bridling the arms race and achieving disarmament. Our people's will for peace is expressed in the concrete peace initiatives of the Soviet Union that open up the possibility of reaching

an honest agreement at the Geneva talks. There is still the opportunity of preventing the deployment of new missiles in Europe by such an agreement. Everything must be done to translate this opportunity into reality.

We are in solidarity with all who, during these days, in various countries of the world, especially in Western Europe and the USA, are likewise protesting against the further build-up of nuclear armaments in Europe and the rest of the world, demanding a freeze on and immediate steps to reduce these armaments. As was reiterated in the statement made by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium

of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "we do not separate from, much less counterpose, the well-being of our people, the security of the Soviet Union, to the well-being and security of other peoples, of other countries."

We extend our hand in friendship to all who are prepared, regardless of political, religious or ethical persuasions, for joint efforts to attain these aims. The nuclear tocsin is calling to action!

Halt the nuclear threat!

Together we can and must do this!

Moscow, October 1, 1983

Pravda, October 2, 1983

We Will Give a Joint Rebuff to the Imperialist Interference!

Report on a Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party of Greece CC

At a plenary meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece considered how far its latest decisions have been implemented and discussed current political events.

The Central Committee emphasizes that the Communist Party categorically rejects the agreement on the U.S. bases and that the question of their preservation or liquidation must be decided by a national referendum. It reaffirms the party's determination to continue the struggle for liquidation of these bases.

The Central Committee notes that, as the CPG warned, since the signing of the agreement on the bases the imperialists have been intensifying the campaign of pressure and blackmail in an effort to subordinate our country's foreign policy to their cold war plans. This coordinated campaign of Western European and international reaction, a campaign which has gained special scope following the Greek government's latest peace statements and initiatives, is open interference in our country's internal affairs and an affront to our people's national dignity. This interference, which recalls other times, is being carried out with the complicity of the right-wing forces, which are thereby showing once again their true face as supporters of national submission and dependence.

The Central Committee calls on all patriots and democrats to give a joint rebuff to the pressure and interference of the imperialist circles of the USA and the EEC and to demand that our country should play a still more active role in the ensuring of peace.

The CC draws special attention to the dangerous situation for universal peace resulting from the heightening of the Reagan administration's adventurist cold war policy and from the new anti-Soviet campaign launched by the imperialists under the pretext of the South Korean plane incident.

The Central Committee condemns the imperialists' military intervention in Lebanon, which is

developing into intervention against the Arab peoples, is further jeopardizing universal peace and creating the danger of our country being drawn into it, taking into account the existence of U.S. bases on our territory.

Our country and our people must resolutely express their solidarity with Lebanon's patriotic forces, which have been waging a struggle against the violence and intrigues of the imperialists and Zionists.

Rizospastis, September 18, 1983

Disarmament: Who's Against?

from the Military
Publishing House,
Moscow —
publishers of

"Whence the Threat to Peace"

pamphlet 63 pp \$2.00

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France: An Important Role in Ensuring Peace and Friendship Among Nations

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the French CP was held in Paris on September 20 and 21. A report entitled "The Communists' Responsibility and Activity for the Sake of Advance" was delivered by CC Political Bureau member Rene le Guen. Below is a summary of the section of his report which dealt with the international situation.

Numerous developments testify that imperialism, which is in a state of deep crisis, finds it hard to resist the mounting struggle whose character and intensity are varied, while reflecting the popular demands for peace, disarmament, progress, democracy and sovereignty.

The situation as a whole is becoming intolerable for imperialism, and for the U.S. leaders in the first place, as they strive to impede this upsurge and restore some of their lost positions by stepping up the policy of tensions. This explains their urge to impose forced solutions, in particular by building up the military presence of U.S. armed forces. Such is the situation in Central America, where the United States is openly involved in military operations against the progressive forces, in the Middle East, where it has not hesitated to use its troops in order to impose the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, which was signed under their pressure and which has exacerbated the grave internal conflicts in that country.

At the same time, it has multiplied its efforts and intensified its pressure on its allies in order to involve them in this policy of confrontation.

This policy, fraught with hazards which we do not underestimate, does nothing to modify our appreciation of the changing balance of forces in the world arena. This policy is not at all a sign of imperialism's strength. On the contrary, it shows that its system of domination is in crisis.

Among other things, the U.S. leaders have been forced to admit the failure of their policy of economic embargo against the USSR and other socialist countries. In addition, they are confronted with a fresh upsurge of the popular movement in Chile and mass action in countries like the Philippines and Pakistan, which they regard as vital for their strategy.

This new aggressiveness and the dangers stemming from it, on the one hand, and the growing struggle of the peoples and their urge for peace and disarmament, on the other, require us to make additional efforts to create a climate of security and international détente. Whatever their views and convictions, it is action by all the peace forces that can promote negotiations involving the West as well as the East, along the way of balanced disarmament. In this context, the meeting between our party and the CPSU is an important contribution for advancing along this way.

On the whole, only a search for political solutions through negotiation with respect for the sovereignty and integrity of states can help to end the conflicts being activated by imperialism and resulting from the policy of colonialism.

Thus, voicing our concern over the dangers con-

nected with the large-scale French military presence in Chad, we assert that the political way out of the situation lies through negotiations providing for a withdrawal of all foreign troops and assuring the citizens of Chad the free right to decide their own destiny.

The same applies to Lebanon, where a civil war rages once again, spreading death and destruction. It is the result of the urge for domination by the Phalangists, supported by the United States and refusing to carry on a dialogue to pave the way for achieving a national accord which the diversity of the communities and traditions dictates. France can play an important part in promoting these necessary negotiations and also in creating an international UN Force with a mandate to ensure such negotiations.

In view of the stubbornness displayed by the U.S. leaders on the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe, the months ahead will be largely marked by diverse actions and initiatives designed to secure positive solutions at the Geneva talks.

Several large-scale demonstrations were already held in Washington in August to mark the anniversary of the Hiroshima tragedy and August 27.

In the FRG, as in some of the other European countries, the strength of these movements, which enjoy the support of the trade unions and some social democratic parties, creates considerable difficulties for the ruling forces, which are trying to get their peoples to agree to another round in the arms race.

In France, following the success of the rally at Vincennes held on the initiative of the Appeal of the Hundred group,* the struggle is to be further advanced from October 23 to 30 on the occasion of the United Nations Week for promoting the objectives of disarmament.

At the same time, the USSR has reaffirmed its important proposals made in August and providing for the withdrawal and destruction of SS-20 missiles, with the retention of weapons to equalize the British and French nuclear forces, if the United States does not deploy the NATO missiles. However, this important proposal was passed over in silence by the U.S. leaders and their megaphones in the mass media, although they hastened to seize on the South Korean Boeing incident to mount a campaign of anti-Soviet hysteria.

However, with the approach of the date for implementing NATO's two-track decision, the idea of priority for negotiations on the missile deploy-

*A group of scientists and workers in culture in France who issued a manifesto in defense of peace and called for a mass anti-war movement. — Ed.

ment, notably a postponement of their deployment to give additional time for the negotiations, has met with a favorable response.

The recently concluded Madrid Conference, whose main outcome was the decision to hold a European conference on disarmament in Stockholm next January, showed that even the most difficult negotiations can achieve their goals despite the obstacles. The fact that this result was obtained with the participation of all the European states adds more weight to our party's proposal that the Geneva negotiations should be made open to all the states, big and small, which are directly concerned. This proposal, reflecting our adherence to the principle of respect for each country's independence and the desire to guarantee France the possibility of having at its disposal the means of protection and defense which it has, is meeting with support both on the national and international plane.

Georges Marchais recently recalled that "France has a major role in ensuring peace and friendship

among nations." Of course, France cannot do everything, but it counts both in Europe and in the world. The two component forces of the majority have signed an agreement under which they undertake to maintain France's international activity for peace and progressive disarmament. We hope that the Socialist Party will go along this way in its own forms. Men and women of different views are already advancing along this way. In the struggle, they have found the forms and the way to joint action and have helped to amplify the demand for détente and disarmament.

That is why we appreciate the initiatives taken by the Appeal of the Hundred group and the Movement for Peace, and urge all the communists, to join all the other participants in making the greatest contribution to ensuring the success of the initiatives in the months ahead.

Abridged from *L'Humanité*,
September 22, 1983

The Italian Government is in No Way Facilitating a Successful Conclusion of the Geneva Talks

The reply sent by Bettino Craxi, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to U.S. President Reagan on the vital question of the Euromissiles and the Geneva talks is an essentially negative letter full of ambiguity and contradiction.

The letter actually repeats words and concepts indicating a desire for talks and an agreement at Geneva. Practically, however, it makes not a single concrete proposal which would make possible progress in this direction. On the contrary, it confirms that the missile deployment will begin in December 1983 in Italy (in Comiso) and the other countries of Europe where they are to be stationed. All in all, the "hands of the clock" have not been stopped, and even Greece's proposal to postpone the deployment for just six months is, to all appearances, unacceptable.

One could stop at this since essentially we have said everything. But the substance of the matter is being still further aggravated by some attendant problems — three above all.

The question of the French and British missiles. The letter categorically rules out discussion of this point at the Geneva talks. But no one is demanding this. The Soviet side is only insisting that they be counted when the correlation of forces is being reckoned. The letter's response to this is that "it is impossible" but then it immediately admits that such a problem does exist by proposing that it be considered at other talks. And what is going to be done between the Geneva talks and those other future talks? In brief, on the one hand, the letter rejects the Soviet reasoning, backed up by definite figures (to repeat a phrase used by Craxi just a few days ago,

these missiles "are not exactly on the moon"), and, on the other hand, recognizes that this is a problem whose discussion cannot be avoided, and at the same time makes no concrete proposal regarding the time frame or means for its resolution.

And another thing. The letter notes that Yuri Andropov's latest proposals "remove very important obstacles," i.e. if we understand correctly, this means a dynamic proposal from the point of view of the aims of the talks. As is common knowledge, the United States has not submitted any counter-proposals since that time. But, the letter continues, it is again the Soviet government's turn to submit "new proposals capable of overcoming its biased position," which is hindering a successful conclusion of the talks.

And finally. There is a widely held opinion (shared by many — from Schmidt to Palme, from Lord Carrington to broad circles in the U.S. Democratic Party) that the U.S. negotiating position is very rigid and not seriously interested in a successful conclusion of the talks in December this year. In fact, recently the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the NATO united armed forces and the NATO Secretary General unambiguously stated that the talks will only be held after the missile deployment. The letter says nothing about these statements. Moreover, it emphasizes that Reagan has been making "proposals of great significance" for the positive development of the talks. Much has been said about this recently and we will see just what is meant. But Craxi immediately suggests that the "Atlantic alliance should formulate a new proposal as further

evidence of the seriousness of our intentions at the talks." How is that again?

And so, as a first reaction — since this question will have to be looked at again in order to discuss it in more detail — in no way is the impression given (at least on the basis of this letter) that the Italian

government is making an active and positive contribution to the solution of one of the most serious problems of today's international situation. No, it is not doing so: it is biding its time and has so far only been confirming its commitments.

L'Unita, September 20, 1983

The Struggle for Peace is Indivisible from the Struggle for Social Progress and National Independence

Extract from a resolution on problems of peace adopted at the eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labor.

During the past few months there has been a heightening of the danger of a thermonuclear war that would threaten humankind with total annihilation. Led by the USA, the forces of imperialism are stepping up their arms race and cold war course, continuing their build-up of weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological. They are conducting a cynical propaganda campaign to obtain agreement for the deployment of nuclear armaments, particularly for the stationing of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, and also recognition that a "limited" or "prolonged" nuclear war is possible.

With the help of the "Soviet menace" threat, the government of the USA and the governments of capitalist European countries are obstructing the efforts that, guided by their sense of responsibility, the socialist countries are making to halt the arms race and reduce the danger of war. They are blocking all negotiations, refusing to respond positively to the USSR's historic commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to deploy weapons in outer space, and rejecting all other proposals by the Warsaw Treaty states.

By their policy of systematically whipping up tension, which has been brought to the breaking point by the Reagan administration, the imperialist forces are counting on ending the unparalleled crisis, characterized by inflation and unemployment, that has enveloped the entire capitalist world, arrest socialism's advance in the world, and eradicate the gains made by the national liberation movement. Imperialism hopes that by imposing the heavy burden of defense expenditures on the socialist countries it will prevent them from carrying out their welfare programs aimed at further strengthening developed socialism, create difficulties for them, and generate counter-revolutionary situations . . .

Throughout the world a vast and powerful movement for peace, against nuclear war, is gathering momentum, a movement that is uniting people of different world-views and political and religious leaders against the mad policy pursued by the imperialists. Although the entire arsenal of anti-communist devices is being used against this movement it is growing in breadth, embracing diverse political forces, including the social democrats. This

is evidence of how deeply felt is the desire of the people of all countries for peace. This has also been demonstrated by the program adopted at the non-aligned conference in Delhi, which speaks bluntly of the culpability of the USA and articulates the demand of the Third World peoples for an end to the threat of war and for disarmament that would allow humankind to concentrate on the eradication of the poverty suffered by billions of people.

At its eighth plenary meeting the Central Committee of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labor declares that the struggle for peace is today the cardinal task of humankind. It is inseparable from the struggle for social progress and national independence and constitutes a most important aspect of the efforts to force on imperialism a different way out of the crisis from the one that leads to catastrophe and the death of billions of people.

The SPIL Central Committee thinks highly of and welcomes the consistent efforts being made by the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, to preserve world peace, and the concrete joint proposals that have been put forward by the Warsaw Treaty countries . . .

The SPIL Central Committee declares its unequivocal support for the peace movement's big demonstrations scheduled for October and November of this year, i.e., the period fraught with the danger of an aggravation of the risk of a nuclear conflict as a result of the planned deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe.

The SPIL Central Committee feels there is justification for the counter-measures that in this event, as was stated by the Soviet Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov, the governments of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries would be forced to take.

The SPIL Central Committee calls attention to the highly dangerous character of the foreign policy pursued by the ruling Socialist Party of Senegal, whose governments, including that led by Abdou Diouf, have drawn our country into NATO's aggressive mechanism and turned it into a stepping-stone for the repressive incursions of the French, British, and U.S. imperialists into Africa and Latin America . . .

The SPIL Central Committee calls upon the working people of town and countryside, upon women and young people to fight for the dismantling of

foreign military bases on our national territory and protest against any actions of the Abdou Diouf government that could increase tension in Chad, against its policy of "pre-emptive measures" in accordance with which our young people are sent to die for money in other countries and sow death among their peoples. In this connection the SPIL Central Committee reiterates its condemnation of the intervention by Senegalese armed forces in Gambia.

It calls for struggle for a national policy aimed chiefly at ending the crisis, of which the working

people are the sole victims, for jobs, for a dignified life, for a real health service, for the education needed by children.

The SPIL Central Committee appeals to our entire people, to all political and mass organizations, and also to all personalities striving for peace and valuing our national independence and our national security to contribute to the development of a powerful movement for information that would bring home the need for action in defense of peace, against war.

Dakar, August 28, 1983

Daan Doole, August 1983

Mobilize All Patriotic and Anti-Imperialist Forces for the Struggle Against the U.S. Dangerous Imperialist Designs

From a Communiqué on a Plenary Meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India

The National Council of the Communist Party of India met in Delhi from September 17 to 20, 1983. N.E. Balaram, secretary of the Kerala State Council of the party, presided over the session. The National Council reviewed the national and international developments since the last meeting of the National Council and adopted the report placed before it by the Central Executive Committee.

The National Council expressed serious concern over the "further sharp deterioration of the international situation due to the aggressive activities of the Reagan administration." It underlined the emergence of a "qualitatively new feature" in the situation with the USA trying to build up a "worldwide military coalition of the major imperialist forces directed against the USSR and other socialist states, against all democratic and progressive forces in the world."

The U.S. imperialists are attempting to incite conflict or confrontation with the national liberation movements, directly or indirectly, the National Council pointed out.

Sharply denouncing the stepping up by the U.S. imperialists and their allies of the arms race, including plans for space war and chemical warfare, the National Council warned that the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe would "escalate the nuclear arms race to a point of no return."

It held the U.S. imperialists responsible for engineering the Korean spy plane incident in order to use it to "whip up anti-Soviet frenzy on a global scale and carry out a diversionary attack against détente and peace" and to scuttle the crucial phase of the Geneva talks on missiles.

The National Council condemned the action of the U.S. administration in refusing normal landing facilities for Soviet planes intended for the Soviet delegation to the UN general assembly session led by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. This is a gross violation of the agreement governing the movement of delegations attending the UN session.

This is another provocation aimed at the further aggravation of the international situation.

The National Council hailed the upsurge of the worldwide peace movement and its new phase as reflected in the historic world peace assembly held in Prague recently (which was also attended by a large and broad-based delegation from India). People in the countries of Western Europe and USA are playing a most important role in this great movement. This has naturally scared the U.S. imperialists and their allies.

The Council welcomed the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the recent constructive proposals of Soviet President Yuri Andropov as of "historic importance" and a most serious effort to break the deadlock in the Geneva talks.

The National Council expressed satisfaction at the successful observance of anti-war week and of September 1 demonstrations throughout the country, in which the trade unions led by the left parties played the leading role. The All-India Peace and Solidarity Organization (AIPSO) was able to draw broad support in its meetings.

The National Council condemned the massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka, held the Jayawardene government directly responsible for it and called upon President Jayawardene to open talks without preconditions with the organization of the Tamil speaking people.

The Council expressed complete solidarity with and support for the people of Pakistan in their heroic struggle led by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in their country, in defense of human rights and against the attempts of the military

dictatorship to turn Pakistan into a base for the U.S. imperialist designs against the countries of this region, including against our own. The democratic and anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Pakistan must be fully supported by our people.

The U.S. imperialist designs pose a danger to the peace of the world. They pose a danger to the security of our country also. The National Council, therefore, stressed that "in view of the intensified war

conspiracies and maneuvers of U.S. imperialism against India, with a view to destabilize it and to encircle it with military bases, the CPI and all left forces must be in the forefront for boldly exposing and resisting this danger." They must mobilize all the patriotic and anti-imperialist forces for this purpose.

Abridged from *New Age*,
September 25, 1983

The U.S. is Responsible for the Continuation and Spread of the Civil War in Lebanon

Statement by the CC Political Bureau,
Lebanese Communist Party

With the civil war in the hills of Lebanon reaching its greatest intensity and with a simultaneous growth in the striving of the Lebanese for a political agreement to end this war and the factors which caused it, there is a dangerous step-up in the direction and blatant U.S. armed intervention in the conflict on the side of one of the groupings. At first the U.S. marines used self-defense as the excuse to shell the positions of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) in the hilly areas, then the U.S. war ships concentrated off our country's coast delivered blows at the positions of the PSP fighters and their allies among the Lebanese patriots in the Suq-al-Gharb area. This act of open armed intervention was accompanied by statements by high-ranking U.S. officials re-affirming the United States' determination to continue the intervention under the pretext of "defending" the U.S. marines, advisers and citizens in Lebanon and rendering assistance to the Lebanese authorities. All this indicates a dangerous change in the status of the U.S. troops among the multinational forces, runs counter to the mission and role which brought them to Lebanon's land, and signifies the beginning of United States armed intervention in the civil war in Lebanon. This turn in developments exposes the real essence of the U.S. position toward the crisis in our country and the region as a whole. We have constantly pointed to the consequences latent in this position and called on the authorities to end the dependence on Washington's policy, taking into account its dangers. Now it is clear to everyone what will be the cost (and the further cost if it continues) of the U.S. intervention not only for Lebanon, which has been scorched by the flames of the civil war, but also for our entire region. The escalation of U.S. intervention in the war in Lebanon could drag out and extend the conflict, jeopardize the freedom and independence of the Arab countries, and create a real danger for peace not only in the Middle East but also throughout the world.

The U.S. marines are responsible for last year's massacre in the Sabra and Shatila camps, and also for the Israeli seizure of Beirut, the steadfastness of whose defenders for three months prevented the

aggressors from entering the Lebanese capital. After all, it is the task of the marines to prevent massacres and an Israeli occupation. Today, by building up their armed intervention, the marines, the U.S. sixth fleet and the Washington administration backing them are thereby responsible for the continuation and spread of the civil war in Lebanon. They are guilty of blocking an agreement between the Lebanese parties on a settlement of the conflict, an agreement for which the National Salvation Front, the Amal movement and other patriotic and democratic forces have been consistently calling. Such an agreement based on the national-democratic principles put forward by the opposition forces would end the bloodshed and the civil war and open a real prospect of a political settlement of the Lebanese crisis in a democratic way.

The Lebanese patriots who have been courageously rebuffing the Israeli occupation, are fighting against the conspiracy, which is aimed at tearing away southern Lebanon, and, with their unceasing actions of national resistance, daily inflict casualties and material losses on the invaders. They very strongly condemn the U.S. armed intervention as one form of aggression, similar to the Israeli invasion, whose consequences they are now fighting. Thus, the new interventionist mission of the U.S. marines is encountering a rebuff on the part of the majority of Lebanese.

We demand that the U.S. armed interventions should be immediately ended, and that the marines, who have become a side of the internal conflict, should get out of Lebanon with their ships. We appeal to all strata of our people to take up the slogan which has always been put forward by the Lebanese patriots and all the freedom-loving forces of the world in the struggle against aggressive encroachments, and for the freedom and national independence of their countries: "Yankee go home!"

We call on the peoples of the globe, the world public, those in sympathy with our national cause, and the democratic forces in the United States itself to assist our just patriotic struggle to end the U.S. armed intervention against the people of Lebanon,

its patriotic and democratic forces, and for the country's liberation from the Israeli occupationists, for a settlement of the Lebanese crisis on a democratic basis ensuring the liquidation of every form of hegemony of one of the communes in the state and

country, for the complete restoration of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for its democratic development and status as part of the Arab world.

September 20, 1983

statements & speeches

Thwart the Attempts of the USA and Israel to Dismember Lebanon

Statement by the Political Bureau of the
Lebanese Communist Party CC

Below is the text of a statement issued following a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party CC which examined the recent developments in Lebanon and also the country's internal political situation.

With each passing day Lebanese are increasingly realizing that the home and foreign policy of the government of Lebanon has led their country into a dead-end street. It is becoming evident that the continuation of this policy is a threat to the country's future, its territorial integrity and the unity of the Lebanese people and their state institutions. The events currently taking place in the hills of Lebanon,¹ the confrontation with the army in Kfarmati, the shelling of the airport and its closure, and the detention of the ministers and their subsequent release have opened the eyes of the Lebanese to the danger and made them feel growing alarm for their fate and that of the homeland. However, far from promising a correct and positive settlement of the existing problems, the choice made by the authorities and the Kataeb party of the Lebanese Phalangists is pushing the country onto a path of tough and universal confrontation.

Instead of renouncing a course which is manifested externally in a pro-U.S. policy, support for the fettering agreement with Israel, in a hostile position toward Syria, and in the fact that Lebanon has turned its back on the Arab world, Western Europe, the non-aligned countries and the socialist community, and internally in the Kataeb's domination in the state apparatus, in the pushing through of a plan to use weapons to establish fascist rule in Lebanon's hilly regions, and in the attempts to oppose the state apparatus and government institutions to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population which belongs to various religious communes, groupings have been emerging in the government and around it which are bent on maneuvering to gain time and recover from the blow received. They are also trying to unite around the slogan of national consensus, which has the broadest support of the people and the Arab and world public, but only in order to empty it of all its essence and show its uselessness.

At the same time they are attempting to dismember the ranks of the opposition forces, deprive them of allies and weaken their combat might in order to pursue their policy without hindrance. The army's intention to intrude into the hilly regions before a political agreement is reached, a situation fraught with the most serious consequences, Pierre Gemayel's statement, the publication of the Kataeb's basic aims and the organization by circles loyal to it of subversive actions in the regions controlled by the national patriotic forces, and also the tone of their statements carried by the official and semi-official media, etc., clearly show that the Kataeb has drawn conclusions which run completely counter to the national interests, common sense and prudence. This party believes that, in the external political aspect, the reasons for the crisis are: the fact that not all Israel's demands have been met, insufficient consistency of the pro-U.S. policy, and restraint on the question of a war against Syria, and internally — not enough use of force in relation to the opposition and the broadest strata of the population which oppose the policy of establishing domination and are resisting the attempts to impose it.

There is no doubt that the main thing facilitating the consolidation of the dangerous policy mentioned is the isolationist confessional-fascist plan worked out on the Kataeb's initiative, though of course one also cannot ignore the actions of the new U.S. envoy McFarlane, the promises and pressure on the part of Israel, and also the position of the advisers, who have had a negative influence on official decision-making. The Kataeb party believes that it must use its last chance now and for that reason it is going to do everything possible to implement the aforementioned plan, even though this attempt is doomed to failure.

Today, while it is not yet too late to prevent the Kataeb from plunging the country into the abyss of

all-engulfing violence, dismemberment and breaking-up, and from doing great harm to the interests of the Lebanese, the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party reiterates its call for the concerted efforts of all true patriots to stop the country's further slide toward a precipice, take it out of the impasse and direct it along the path of restoration of independence, unity and defense of democracy.

The Political Bureau believes that the possibility of so doing still exists, and its realization remains an urgent task. To counter-balance the Kataeb policy, which is essentially aimed to cause a civil war as the only alternative, it is necessary to exert every effort to realize successfully the other alternative — the reaching of a national consensus — which has the growing support of the people and the unanimous approval of the largest political forces.

The course toward national consensus is the direct opposite of a policy of capitulation to the occupationists, on the one hand, dismemberment, on the other, as well as the establishment of the fascist domination of one commune over all the others. That is why this course is at one and the same time a fighting slogan and an urgent task whose implementation does not lie in an ability to persuade one side or the other but rather in an ability to mobilize for struggle and ensure the most favorable conditions for unity, which will be a reliable obstacle to such a policy and will prevent the country from being drawn back into the abyss of war and prevent a holocaust.

Re-emphasizing its adherence to the spirit of the statement adopted at the Zegharta meeting,² and to the National Salvation Front's program, and also to the statement made after the meeting between Joumlatt and Nahib Bari,³ and to the propositions contained in the speech by Lebanese Mufti Sheik Hassan Khaled, the Lebanese Communist Party underscores its agreement with the demands of the Progressive Socialist Party and its leader Valid Joumlatt. The LCP considers it necessary to direct the efforts of the national patriotic forces toward solving the crisis in order to find a way out for the country which would make it possible to restore its independence, unity and the people's freedom. The main condition for such a solution is the removal of the Kataeb party from its position of control of the country, thereby depriving it of the possibility to realize its intentions and policy, resignation of the present government, which was just a screen for the fettering Israeli-Lebanese agreement, and the formation of a government largely representative of the national patriotic forces.

One of the first tasks of this government will be to annul the one-sided Israeli-Lebanese agreement and to withdraw from the orbit of U.S. influence, and to pursue a course toward preparation for general political and military resistance to the Israeli occupation in order to force Israel completely and unconditionally to withdraw its troops from the country's

territory without giving it a chance to tear away the south of Lebanon and subject it to its domination. This task requires that assistance be given to the fighting south of the country, to the forces doing battle with the occupationists, and to the organization of various forms of political actions both inside the country and in the inter-Arab and international arenas.

Of great significance also is cooperation with the Arab forces, with whom we are joined by unity of struggle and of our historical destinies, especially with Syria, which continues to oppose the plans of imperialist domination and the Israeli threats, firmly to support the Lebanese patriots, reject the humiliating agreement with Israel, and persistently to insist on a complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Undoubtedly, the task of returning to a balanced foreign policy is Lebanon's main task, one which can be carried out by getting rid of U.S. domination and orienting on the independent position of Western Europe, the non-aligned countries, and the friendly socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union. At the same time, there is a need to ensure that resolutions No. 508 and 509 are implemented, and to seek to have the multinational force replaced by UN troops, but without the inclusion in them of U.S. military contingents.

In terms of home policy, such a government will face the urgent task of ending the course aimed at establishing fascist domination and expressed in the unleashing of the war in the hilly regions, in the establishment of the domination of one religious commune in official and private institutions, and in the provocation of conflicts between residents in various regions of the country.

All this will be the chief prerequisite for the army's entry into the hilly regions and will create a favorable atmosphere to begin a broad national dialogue in order to achieve consensus, which will determine the country's fate, its political system, to which group of nations it belongs, and its external ties. To this must be added the taking of urgent measures to stop the economic decline and acute social crisis in the country, which is threatening an even worse catastrophe than that which the country experienced earlier.

The Lebanese Communist Party reiterates that the key to overcoming the crisis must be sought primarily in the country itself. Without account of this fact, no outside assistance, no mediation will lead to success.

1. The armed clashes between the Druze Muslims who control the country's hilly regions and the Lebanese army, which was sent there until a political agreement is reached. — *Ed.*

2. A meeting of G. Haoui, General Secretary of the Lebanese CP CC, former Lebanese President Franjich and ex-Prime Minister Karame at which the program of the National Salvation Front was adopted. — *Ed.*

3. Leader of the Lebanese Amal Shiite movement. — *Ed.*

Party Organizations Pay Special Attention to Work with Cadre

Partelet magazine's interview with Tiborral Baranyai head of the party and mass organizations department of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) CC.

Question: How has the party's structure and composition developed after the 12th congress of the HSWP? What are the main political conclusions which follow from this?

Answer: The HSWP currently has over 852,000 members, the number having grown by 40,000 since the 12th congress of the HSWP. About 10.7 per cent of the country's adult population are now members of the HSWP, promoting the party political influence in every area and at the same time giving all classes and strata the possibility to be represented in its ranks. The influx of new members into the party is primarily the result of a growth in the HSWP's prestige and the strengthening of its influence among the masses. But it should be borne in mind that the growth of the ranks did not always meet the increasing demands, which is why I want to emphasize right away that, in line with the resolutions of the 12th congress, improvement of the party's qualitative composition will continue to be a primary objective.

The party's social composition has not changed substantially in the past three years. The representation of individual classes and strata inside the party is largely in line with their social and political weight. According to their social background, 50.7 per cent of those admitted into the party following the 12th congress are workers; 8.1 per cent — peasants organized in cooperatives; 27.9 per cent — workers by brain; young people — almost 60 per cent; and 35 per cent — women. It is gratifying that party members' political, professional and general educational training has risen. The number of women and their proportion among HSWP members has increased.

The proportion of youth and workers in the party cannot be a source of satisfaction for us. There is a need to improve considerably the political work among the youth and the education of workers worthy of being party members.

The main problem of party building at present is the insufficient admittance of young people into the party. Only 4.6 per cent of the young people between 18 and 29 years of age are members of the HSWP. The absolute number and portion of youth in the party have fallen in the last eight years as a result of the fact that the party organizations have been admitting few young people into their ranks for a number of years. This especially applies to the age group under 26, including worker and peasant youth, young intellectuals and students. This situation is intolerable since the young people are the natural source for replenishing the ranks of the HSWP, and in this case it is a question of the party's future.

What are the reasons for this? The most important one is that, despite the efforts made, our work among the youth still does not meet the requirements, and the influence here of the party and the

Young Communist League (YCL) is unsatisfactory. A note of warning is given by the fact that even the politically active young people know little about the party, their knowledge is incomplete and at times erroneous. The YCL (and, we might add, the other state and public organizations dealing with the education of the youth) do not always manage to give the young men and women a practical idea of socialism and the party. It is still a fact that the young people's social activity recedes into the background because of the problems connected with settling in a job after studies, setting up a family, and receiving an apartment. The drawing of youth into the party requires that their education should be seen not only as a task of the YCL but also as direct party work. Of course, this does not mean replacing the YCL's tasks but, on the contrary, is effective assistance for it.

The proportion of the working class in the party continues to be the main political question for us; the presence of workers in the party is determinant. According to social origin, almost two-thirds of party members are workers, and according to occupation — 43 per cent. The majority of them work in factories. It is very good that the largest proportion of party members are the most politically and professionally trained workers — specialists and production leaders. Today, too, the party's working-class base is secure.

At the same time one is alerted by the fact that, though negligibly, the proportion of workers in the party continues to fall. There are less workers than we would like among the newly admitted party members.

The reasons for this vary and it is necessary to analyze them thoroughly. Undoubtedly, the structural changes in the society also have their effect, for example, the fact that the number of industrial workers in the country, including those working at large factories, has gone down. At the medium and small enterprises, and also in the service sector, the conditions for organizational work are now less favorable than before. Proceeding from experience, we see the real reason in the shortcomings of the party organizations' political activity and style of work. The last plenary meeting of the HSWP CC pointed out that party life in a number of places is not attractive enough, that individual party organizations are not completely open to non-party people, and that the communists' personal example is often absent.

As regards admittance into the party of representatives of the intelligentsia, there has been some improvement in this respect but an insignificant one so far. Party organizations frequently do not conduct appropriate political work among intellectuals and do not in fact draw them into political

administrative decision-making at the workplace and place of residence.

Question: From the point of view of realization of the party's leading political role, much depends on relations and working ties between the local party bodies and mass organizations. What has been the experience in this area? How far is the directive that each body should carry out its work in accordance with the functions given it being implemented?

Answer: It is worth noting that individual party organizations still take upon themselves a lot of work and resolve a mass of particular questions which they could freely pass on to state and public bodies. This would free a lot of time and energy for a political assessment of the most important questions and for broad explanatory and organizational work among the masses.

Question: Today the problem of links between the party bodies and primary organizations is discussed more and more frequently. Many people complain of overemphasis on form and procedure, excessive regulation of party life, which is detrimental to independence and real work, and breeds formalism and bureaucracy. What is your opinion on this matter?

Answer: There is greater and greater recognition of the conclusion that, taking into account the conditions of political work and the specific features of today's situation, the party organizations' growing independence in consequence of the greater independence of the enterprises, economic bodies and institutions is only natural. It is necessary to give the primary party organizations still broader in-

dependence since it is only in this way that it is possible to make party work more concrete and avoid abstract generalizations and empty phraseology. I emphasize that nothing can replace the local party organizations' first-hand experience. It is those organizations which can really judge how far the economic decisions taken on the spot conform to party policy.

I think it is a wrong approach when the role of the party organizations becomes an exclusively "executive" one, giving only the leading bodies the right to take political decisions. The primary party organizations' most urgent task is in their day-to-day work to take a concrete political position and make decisions and adopt resolutions in the spirit of the decisions of the higher party bodies.

Question: The decisions of the CC's April plenary meeting contain important propositions on the party's work with cadre. What are the current practical tasks of the party bodies and primary organizations in this connection?

Answer: In its resolution, the last Central Committee plenary meeting paid a lot of attention to work with cadre. It stressed that "special attention by the party organizations to work with cadre must be an imperative of more effective party leadership".

Today we already see that each party body has begun to do more and better work with cadre. It is necessary to support the leaders who work well and satisfy present-day demands by placing greater political trust in them.

Abridged from *Partelet*, No. 7, 1983

Down with the Criminal Israeli Occupation and its Supporter, U.S. Imperialism!

Statement by the Palestinian Communist Party on the Anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila Massacre

September 16-18 is the first anniversary of the hideous massacre committed by the Israeli invaders against the Palestinian refugees at Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

This massacre constitutes in fact a crime against humanity and a link in the attempt to physically liquidate our people. It was premeditatedly planned and resulted in the massacre of thousands of defenseless people: indiscriminately men or women, children and the old.

It was committed cold-bloodedly and with extreme sadism, and shocked the conscience of the whole world, evoking memories of the mass crimes perpetrated by the Nazis during World War II.

The Zionist rulers of Israel have tried for years to exploit the revulsion and indignation of world public opinion against the mass annihilation of people, including Jews, in Europe to evoke sympathy and support for their criminal objectives and provide a moral cover for their aggressive schemes against our Arab Palestinian people and the neighboring Arab

peoples in general. But the series of crimes and mass extermination which they have perpetrated against our people — the Sabra and Shatila massacre being one of them — have unmasked those racist criminals and exposed their true nature as one and the same as the barbaric Hitlerite hordes.

The Sabra and Shatila massacre has exposed not only the ruthlessness and barbarity of the Israeli invaders, but also the U.S. leaders' lack of any moral standards. The Reagan administration had pledged to protect the lives of Palestinian civilians in the refugee camps as a condition for the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut. But instead of assuming its responsibility, the Reagan administration suddenly withdrew its forces from Beirut and its suburbs to allow the Israelis and their fascist allies to commit their hideous massacre at Sabra and Shatila. By this the Reagan administration wanted to escape any moral and political responsibility, and later be able to return its armed forces to Beirut as saviors.

The most important lesson that can be drawn from this U.S. treachery, is that imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, cannot be bound by moral or legal standards and considerations. Only relentless struggle, supported by our friends, is capable of forcing Israel and its supporter, U.S. imperialism, to retreat and recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

In an attempt to dampen the indignation of world public opinion and the demands for an impartial inquiry into the massacre and its perpetrators, the Begin government formed an inquiry commission known as the Kahana Commission. The democratic forces in Israel were persistent in their demand for an inquiry, comparing the Nazi crimes against the Jews in Europe during World War II with those of the Begin government against our people. The formation of the Commission was instrumental in curbing the growing campaign of protest against the massacre, limiting the responsibility for it to a number of military and intelligence officers. The Commission absolved the Israeli military establishment — the tool of aggression, expansionism, murder and uprooting of our people — of any responsibility.

The Sabra and Shatila massacre has been added to the long list of massacres committed by Israel's criminal rulers against our people since 1948 — the massacres of Deir Yassin, Qibyah, Nahalin, Khan Younis, Kafr Kassem and many others. But it ranks in its barbarity and inhumanity with the Nazi crimes and atrocities, such as those committed in the infamous concentration camps and against villages and towns in Europe — Lidice, Coventry and others.

Our people will never forget, or let the world forget Sabra and Shatila. Its bloody memory will remain an eternal curse haunting the Zionist murderers and the fascists, demanding that justice be done. Its memory will serve as an impetus to our people to intensify their struggle to put an end to Israeli occupation, the source of all the misery from which they suffer.

We are fully confident that the memory of this massacre will also serve as an impetus to all people of good will in the world, and first and foremost the allies of our people — the countries of the socialist community — to intensify their solidarity actions with the struggle of our people — a people who are facing today increased conspiracies by the U.S.-Israeli reaction axis.

The best commemoration of the memory of the victims of Sabra and Shatila this year will be to step up the struggle for the release of the detainees at the Israeli concentration camp Ansar, who are threatened with the same fate as the victims of Sabra and Shatila.

Long live the memory of the victims of Sabra and Shatila!

Let this memory haunt the murderers until justice is done!

Long live the struggle of our people for liberation of the occupied territories and the establishment of their independent national state under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO!

Down with the criminal Israeli occupation and its supporter, U.S. imperialism!

September 10, 1983

For a Broad Campaign of Solidarity with the Fighting Lebanese People

Letter from the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries to the Fraternal Parties

Having studied the development of the political situation in the region, especially in Lebanon, and the growth of the struggle between the Lebanese national-patriotic movement on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism with its NATO allies and their agents in the Lebanese regime on the other hand, in addition to the armed U.S. and Israeli intervention, the communist and workers' parties in the Arab countries have decided to send this letter to you to present a real and objective picture concerning the situation.

The fact is that the United States of America is trying to impose its complete political, economic and military hegemony on Lebanon so as to turn Lebanon into a military base closely linked to NATO and easily employed against the patriotic Arab liberation movements, against Syria in particular, and world peace in general.

This is an important part of the U.S. global

strategy that forms an essential link in the strategic alliance agreement signed between it and Israel.

In addition to the forced evacuation of the Palestinian resistance in an effort to liquidate the Palestinian problem and eliminate the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, and intimidate Syria and undermine its consistent patriotic course, this was one of the main aims behind the Israeli aggression carried out last year against Lebanon, with U.S. support and also of all Israel's subsequent actions.

Against the background of this aggression and with the close cooperation and support of its initiators, reactionary Lebanese forces, represented first of all by the Khataeb party, have actually taken control of large areas in Lebanon, i.e., the mountain area and Beirut, carrying out kidnapping, terrorism and murder as well as staging the Sabra and Shatila massacres executed with the help of Israel in order

to terrorize the patriotic forces and make them leave. Hundreds of innocent civilians — Christians, Moslems and members of other communities, including the Druze, have been victims of this aggression.

In this situation of aggression, the Lebanese authorities represented by President Amin Gemayel, member of the Political Bureau of the Khataeb Party, began to convert the Lebanese army into a grouping serving the interests of this party, into a weapon of repression against the people, and an instrument for accomplishing the plans of the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli occupationists. This army is being re-organized and prepared for the mission which it is now carrying out. However, it is known that this army, which is now fighting against the Lebanese patriotic forces, has neither in the past nor presently ever fired a single shot against the aggressive Israeli army.

In fact it was helped by the U.S., which had tied and bound the Lebanese authorities and the country as a whole by a dangerous agreement with Israel that threatens Lebanon's security and national sovereignty and suppresses any democratic development there, and is also a threat against Syria, a neighboring brother state whose sovereignty has already been infringed upon on its own land.

The patriotic Lebanese forces and the bulk of the people there have struggled bitterly against the aggressive occupation of the Israeli forces and also against the course of the Lebanese authorities, refusing to accept establishment of an army that serves the interests of a small minority of the inhabitants, and demanding the abolition of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. They have inflicted great losses on the aggressive Israeli occupation forces, making their existence in the Chouf mountains area and around Beirut very hazardous and difficult.

The struggle of the patriotic forces naturally weakened and gradually isolated the Lebanese authorities. The patriotic Lebanese forces came together in the Lebanese National Salvation Front (NSF) which unites all the patriotic forces and parties, including the Lebanese Communist Party, and also many patriotic personalities of different communities, religions and ideologies and different political trends.

So under the pressure of the struggle waged by the above-mentioned forces, the aggressive Israeli army was forced to withdraw to South Lebanon under the pretext of saving themselves from the continuous attacks which were causing hundreds of wounded and losses. The concentration of the Israeli army in the south is really an act of preparation for the annexation of the south of Lebanon to Israel, thereby making it easier for the U.S. imperialists to pursue their aggressive policy toward Lebanon and establish military bases on its territory.

However, led by the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), the Lebanese patriotic forces have regained their positions in the mountains following the Israeli withdrawal. This was effected through fierce battles and confrontation with the Khataeb Party forces and Lebanese army units, after which the latter were

obliged to retreat and leave to the patriotic forces the regions evacuated by the Israeli forces.

Thus, what the Lebanese national patriotic forces tried to do is to restore the military balance which existed in the period prior to the Israeli occupation, prevent the domination of the Khataeb Party in Lebanon and impose a patriotic policy on the present authorities.

The demands of the patriotic forces in Lebanon are as follows:

— rejection of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement; non-use of the army to resolve internal conflicts; establishment of a national unity government that would secure the country's interests through patriotic and reasonable debate among the parties concerned and rejection of the multinational forces; preventing them from intervening in the country's internal affairs by ousting them from Lebanon.

These demands have met with the wide support of the public in Lebanon and also the support of Syria and the national liberation movements in the Arab countries.

But the Lebanese authorities have rejected these demands and insist on an unconditional ceasefire which would secure freedom of movement for the Lebanese army and keep Lebanon within the realm of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement. The Lebanese authorities depend on the support of the U.S. troops and the U.S. fleet concentrated off the Lebanese coast, in addition to the NATO support, especially through the French and British contingents of the multinational forces in Lebanon.

The Americans have bombarded the positions of the patriotic forces from land and sea, inflicting great losses on the civilian population of Lebanon.

Reagan recently issued an order authorizing the marines' commander to use the fleet weapons against the Lebanese patriotic forces without referring to Washington.

So the U.S. intervention is acquiring grave dimensions, creating a serious threat to Lebanon's security, its patriotic movement, and also to Syria and the Arab national liberation movement as a whole.

This military intervention is really a generalization of the U.S. schemes to establish its domination over Lebanon and convert it into a U.S. stronghold. This intervention is a sign of an acceleration of the United States' policy against patriotic liberation movements for it is the first time since the Vietnam war that U.S. forces have been used directly to suppress patriotic movements.

This intervention is a major step in U.S. attempts to drag the region into its aggressive anti-Soviet strategy and gradually to lure it into the NATO military schemes.

U.S. imperialism is responsible for the continuation of the Lebanese tragedy. It has raised obstacles in the implementation of Security Council Resolutions Nos. 503 and 509, which call for an immediate unconditional withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli occupation forces, and has hindered the execution of the resolutions of other interested international bodies, thus preventing world public opinion from playing any substantial role in saving Lebanon and

finding a just solution to the Middle East problems. This exposes the lies of the USA and the falseness of the claims about U.S. desire to help Lebanon out of its crisis.

There is a great clamor in some countries against the battles being waged in Lebanon. Efforts are being made to distort its patriotic, liberating and anti-imperialist character, to hide the fact that they are directed against the corrupt authorities and the fascist Khataeb Party, and to present these battles as a religious-communal conflict. This is effected by the imperialist propaganda with the help of some reactionary Arab quarters which assist the imperialist activities and policies.

So we are sending this letter to you to clear up all the facts concerning what is going on in Lebanon, having in view the organization of a wide campaign of solidarity with the Lebanese people, who are fighting against the policy of the USA, which uses its troops and weapons for military intervention in Lebanon's affairs, thus threatening its very exist-

tence and sovereignty, and also threatening Syria and its patriotic policy.

We are quite sure that your party is willing to explain the reality of the battle in Lebanon as a patriotic one, a fierce battle in which patriotic forces are struggling for the sovereignty and unity of their country, trying to safeguard its democratic foundations and maintain fraternal relations with the other Arab peoples and countries, and against the evil forces that are trying hard to make Lebanon a stronghold of colonization and an ally of Israel by repressing all patriotic movements by means of terror and liquidation.

Finally, the communist and workers' parties in the Arab countries send you warmest greetings and express gratitude for your solidarity with the struggle of the people of Palestine and the national patriotic Lebanese movement and with the Syrian struggle and steadfastness.

September 20, 1983

Speak the Truth and Speak It Ever

Response of the Communist Leaders' National Collective to the Communist Leaders' Collective of Sao Paulo state, which distributed a document entitled "It's time to tell the truth."

The "It's time to tell the truth" document declares "illegal" the Communist Leaders' National Collective (CLNC) and the discussion on legalization of the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP), which has been going on since 1981. All this indicates a clear departure from the historically established norms of our relations, and from the communists' line and concepts.

Hiding behind a hypocritical concern for the communists' "unity" and the "restoration" of their prestige, and even using groundless accusations, distortions and subtle insinuations, the authors of this document still have not managed to conceal their real objectives. The Communist Leaders' Collective of the State of Sao Paulo (CLC-SP) is trying to nullify everything which thousands of communists have achieved in the country in the last two years, hoping thereby to replace revolutionary political theory with their defeated opportunist concepts.

Contrary to what the authors of the "It's time to tell the truth" document transparently hint at, the communists are not suffering from amnesia. They have not forgotten the honest and serious steps taken by the CLNC during the discussion which concluded with the putting forward of the document entitled "Democratic Alternative to the Brazilian Crisis." In that discussion the CLNC repeatedly showed its respect for collective criticism and democratic procedures. The communists also remember that during the discussion the authors of the document under review used their unrestricted formal right and the real possibility to expound and defend their ideas, which contradict the "Theses" with which the discussion started. The communists

also recall those ideas themselves. Resurrected this time in the slogan on "returning to the renewal process," they are now being reduced by their authors to acceptance of the 12-point platform put forward by the National President of the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PBDM)* and even to refusal to fight for the communists' independent political organization.

The authors of the text express "concern about the recent events of our life" and warn against "ill-considered initiatives which could entail unprincipled squaring of accounts and other serious political risks." Placed in the category of such initiatives, which are harmful to "our prestige," threaten "our future" and hinder the "united struggle of the working people and the democratic front," are the CLNC's resolutions on the struggle to include the BCP on the electoral rolls, the concluded discussions, the internal political situation and the trade union movement. The CLNC is accused of making drastic changes in its policy and stubbornly refusing to draw lessons from the mistakes made.

Let us look at some of these questions.

We will begin with the struggle to get the BCP on the electoral rolls. Previously the authors of the document declared this struggle mistimed and contrary to the interests of the democratic front. Now, employing sophistry, they state that the legality of the communists' activities is based on their legitimacy. According to this extravagant reasoning, legalization of the Communist Party in our country is not one of the main problems of the struggle for democracy. The authors of the document deliber-

*The country's largest opposition party — Ed.

ately confuse the "legitimacy" of the communists' activities with the problem of legality. It is not by chance that the text does not once make the explicit demand that the BCP should be made legal in the eyes of the law. This, after all, is the *central question* of any truly consistent transition to democracy. The argumentation of the authors of the document is false and opportunist. For them the campaign for the party's legalization is "fallacious," "robs us of credibility" and is a "diversion" from the "profound processes of the social movement."

The falsity of these claims is obvious: they contradict the reality. The CLNC's initiatives in this area will certainly be crowned with success; they will raise the prestige of our organization and allow the communists *as communists* to participate in the country's party-political life on a legal basis. It is this which annoys the authors of the document.

The "argument" about "robbing" us of credibility is also ridiculous, as shown by the numerous statements by social organizations, political parties and individual leaders. The campaign for the official recognition of the BCP has been broadening the scope of the "legitimacy" and "legality" of the communists' political work in Brazilian society, including among the workers. Notably, this is indicated by the public opinion polls published in the *Folha de Sao Paulo* newspaper. But the main thing is that the campaign is becoming an effective instrument for linking the communists with society and with all political forces in the propaganda and substantiation of our proposals, and in the unification of the democratic front.

In fact, the authors of the document deliberately confuse "legitimacy" and "legality" in an effort to push aside the question of the BCP's juridical legalization, reserving for the parties of the ruling classes, and also for other parties whose activity is permitted by the legislation in force, the exclusive right to political representation of the masses and freedom of action to consolidate their hegemony. This is capitulation to the regime and the concepts of the most unstable liberals. Through their work, the communists have won the legitimate right to a place in the life of the Brazilian society. And now internal reaction and imperialism are seeking to prevent this actual legitimacy from gaining legal force as well. The authors of the document are at one with them in this.

Neither do those authors recognize the CLNC's competence. The pretexts used for this are varied, sometimes even slanderous. For example: the CLNC, it appears, is "residual" in character because some of the leaders have been eliminated by the regime while others are "alienated" (which is a blatant lie). The remaining comrades, i.e. those neither killed nor "alienated" and who have remained at their posts fulfilling their duty, have "lost their legitimacy" as leaders. In this way, if one follows the logic of the authors of the document, it is enough for reaction to kill some communist leaders and for a number of others to take divisionist positions or depart from social activity altogether for the leading collective to "lose its legitimacy."

The CLNC is not only legitimate from a formal point of view. It is also legitimate because its line and concept are respected and defended by the overwhelming majority of Brazilian communists, and because, always fulfilling its obligations even in the most difficult of times, it fought against right and "left" opportunism and convened the *National Meeting of Communists for Legalization of the BCP*, a meeting which made it possible for all communists, freely expressing their opinion, to formulate a policy in keeping with present-day conditions, and also to decide the question of their leading bodies. The CLNC is also legitimate because it — and it alone — is recognized in Brazilian society and its institutions.

All the communists know that their leaders always avoid rash action, take the political situation strictly into account, act in conformity with the need for ever more open and legal activity, and rely on the whole democratic front. Further indication of the CLNC's legitimacy is its composition, which is determined by democratic criteria, i.e. the only ones which are legitimate for us. In its turn, only this composition has the authority to resolve disputes, and that is why the CLNC is by right directing and guaranteeing the present process as well.

Our opponents are making a mistake if they think that they will manage to deceive anyone with rhetoric which does not correspond to the facts. They declare that "what separates us from the CLNC is that it concentrates its efforts on the actions of 'those at the top' while we rely on the struggle of the masses." If this were so we would gladly congratulate these comrades on having overcome their illusions regarding the regime and compromise with the enterprise owners, for it was none other than they who in 1982 proposed the idea of raising production by "creating 100,000 jobs," an idea which was instantly and categorically rejected by the trade union and working class movement.

The question is an entirely different one. We believe that the present political situation and its possible development are determined primarily by the socio-economic crisis.

On the other hand, we say that this situation requires *immediate changes* in favor of democracy, progress and a better life, and that the conditions for such changes exist. We have always affirmed that, above all, these changes require mobilization of the working people and their united struggle jointly with all interested forces. The program of this struggle should envisage the reaching of a political agreement on the ways to overcome the crisis, the holding of direct presidential elections, and the convocation of the National Constituent Assembly. As is evident from material published in *Voz da Unidade* and from our practice, in our day-to-day political work we place the main emphasis on moving the working class and its closest and most consistent allies to the center of the country's political life.

The authors of the "It's time to tell the truth" document have a different view. According to a document distributed in February this year, the CLC-SP believes that "the main question which has

arisen in the post-election period and which has begun imperceptibly or clearly to dominate over all others is the question of the next president." Thus, the key question is not that connected with the problems of the socio-economic crisis but rather the discussion of the presidential candidates.

The question arises as to what is the role of the working people and the trade union movement in the turning of the next presidential elections "into a political alternative to the crisis." The same February document explains that two currents have the decisive role: "the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, which, with its recent successes and proven slogans, *could be the main guiding factor*; and the working people's trade union movement. Expressing the aspirations of millions of the masses, the latter *should take on the task of fighting against those aspects of the crisis and the government's activity which do the most detriment to the interests of the majority and should aggressively put forward some serious proposals to resolve these problems*" (our emphasis — CLNC).

The formulation is clear: it is in this that the CLC-SP sees the task of the struggle, the meaning of the masses' entrance onto the scene, and the working people's *offensive*. Could there be a more unambivalent admission of their tailing, passive acceptance of the bourgeoisie's leading role, and readiness to reduce the struggle of the working people and the trade union movement to pure economism?

Our differences on the question of the forms of struggle are also quite serious.

For example, in the present concrete conditions the call for a general strike was made without account of the real situation in the country and the different levels of struggle and organization of the numerous segments of the Brazilian trade union movement. The results of the strike, which still went ahead on July 21, confirm the correctness of our slogan on *combining strikes and demonstrations*, which were in fact successfully held throughout the country.

However, it is the *political platform* of the authors of the document which shows most concretely the gap between their positions and ours.

First, the "unity of action" which the authors of the "It's time to tell the truth" document propose to the communists does not take into consideration our program and political orientation, the norms of our relations or concepts. They only speak in favor of "unity of action" of the opposition, in particular unity of the opposition around the PBDM on the basis of the 12-point program brilliantly expounded in the Chamber of Deputies by Party Chairman Ulisses Guimaraes. An expanded version of the five-point draft put forward by Governor Franco Montoro, the program is to be the pivot around which the Sao Paulo combat forces will concentrate in order to take Brazil out of the crisis and ensure democracy.

Second, the CLC-SP calls on the communists to struggle "for unity of the trade union and working class movement on the basis of a minimum and natural (sic) program of actions: opposition to De-

cre-Law No. 2045* and interference in trade union affairs." This is a proposal which is hopelessly inferior to the unitary demands of even those trade unions and trade union leaders that are the least politicized. It shows the limited role which the authors of the document reserve for the trade union movement in today's conditions.

Even more incredible, and therefore "natural," is the third proposal. It would be hard to find a clearer example of demagogy or a better sample of ideological capitulation: we want "to strengthen brotherhood between Brazilians," which, if one remembers the northeast drama, means the "brotherhood" of those responsible for the "intolerable misery" and their victims!

The fourth proposal calls on the intelligentsia to contribute to "the Brazilian people's struggle for progress and democracy." Putting aside the question of the ideological scale of the intelligentsia's participation, it must be considered symptomatic that this document does not speak about socialism. This is "natural" for those who are seeking *indiscriminately* to strengthen the institutions of the cultural movement as if they were all equally democratic. On this point the CLC-SP is trying to take credit for the progress made by the communists in *interrelations* with the intelligentsia since 1958.

Finally, the last proposal. The authors of the document call for "unity of action in deciding our specific questions and for a return to the renewal process." No doubt the "return to the renewal process" means a return to the practice and concepts which these comrades have stuck to all these years in Sao Paulo and which bear the stamp of opportunism — the same opportunism which they implanted and tried to maintain in *Voz da Unidade*.

These remarks end our examination of the "It's time to tell the truth" document. Their publication has a definite aim — to acquaint the communists with the discussion which we have long been holding with CLC-SP members.

Each communist should reflect on the question as to why this polemic has arisen now and whom it serves.

At a time when there are some signs in the political situation that it is possible to resolve the problems in the interests of the country and the communists, when we are making progress in implementing our political proposals, resolving problems of the BCP's legalization and completing the discussion, and when the adherents of our ideas are growing in number and the *Voz da Unidade* circulation is increasing appreciably (all issues of the newspaper are fully sold out) — it is at this time that attempts are being made to cause a crisis in our midst.

We will not be misled either by the liquidationists or by the pitiable role which, having lost their class spirit, they are seeking, consciously or unconsciously, to play in the ranks of the communist movement.

Sao Paulo, September 5, 1983
Abridged from *Voz da Unidade*,
September 9-15, 1983

*Decree-Law No. 2045 limits wage increases in connection with retail price rises. To be approved by Congress. — Ed.

An Important Step in Uniting the Left Forces

From the Political Accord on the Establishment of a United Left Forces Front in the Dominican Republic (ID)

In view of the specific character of the present economic and political situation, the organizations which up to now have been members of the Socialist Unity (US) and the United Left (IU) blocs, have decided to conclude the present Political Accord so as to work together in implementing a policy of revolutionary opposition to the government and the ruling class. The signatories of the document proceed from the community of their tactical propositions and the identical tenets of each organization's revolutionary strategy.

Our unity, our struggle, our opposition policy will be based on the political considerations and the programmatic concepts set forth in this document. This accord is to be subsequently complemented with a synthesis of coincident concepts extracted from our respective programs. The organizations which have signed this document undertake to start this work without delay, being guided by the already available programmatic outlines.

On the strength of this revolutionary decision and the identity of political views, we shall carry on a revolutionary opposition to the policy of the big bourgeoisie, U.S. imperialism and the present government by exposing every aspect of the system which they represent. We shall combine the struggle for tackling individual tasks, satisfying the vital requirements of the working people and all the other oppressed, implementing socio-economic reforms and extending political democracy with revolutionary action of a strategic character differing in scope for the benefit of the nation and the people as a whole.

The fundamental orientation of our tactics will be a revolutionary opposition consisting in the exposure of the anti-popular and anti-national character of the measures being taken by the government of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the exploiter classes, in organizing and mobilizing the working people of town and country and the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia and middle strata, whose interests are infringed by government policies.

A permanent and fundamental objective of our policy is exposure of the pro-imperialist character of the PRD government, acting in the interests of imperialism and the big entrepreneurs, and liberation of the popular masses from bourgeois influence in order to lead them along an independent way. Then, having gained strength in the battles, the revolutionary left forces will develop into a real alternative to the political power.

The country's acute economic crisis has forced the Salvador Jorge Blanco government to resort to methods of open interference in the system of the working people's exploitation, and this has clearly shown it to be an instrument of the big entrepreneurs, the latifundists and the foreign concerns in

oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the popular masses.

The mass struggle against the effects of the economic crisis inevitably develops into a struggle against the government of the big entrepreneurs and the imperialists. The country's economic bankruptcy and the capitalists' voracity for profit have produced a situation in which the most elementary demands put forward by the working people and the representatives of the popular strata provide causes for clashes with the government.

Our immediate tactical tasks are the following: to organize resistance by the working class and the popular masses to the plans of the big bourgeoisie, imperialism, the PRD government and the International Monetary Fund, to strengthen and expand democratic freedoms and to restore national sovereignty.

In the course of an open struggle, we shall insist on the fulfillment by the government and the PRD of all the promises which to any extent meet the interests of the people and the country. But we shall not rest there and shall call on the masses to put forward other demands for improving living and working conditions (transfer of land to the peasants, wage increases everywhere, prohibition of dismissals for trade-union activity, etc.), an extension of political freedoms, an end to the U.S. domination and U.S. interference in our domestic affairs. Our tactics also provide for the exposure of the demagogic nature of the government's promises and its class essence, something that make its commitments impossible to fulfil.

The revolutionary movement which we represent will resolutely act against the social pacts or any other form of class conciliation to which the government and the capitalists resort in order to prevent the working people from uniting and to paralyze their action.

Guided by our decisions, we shall strive organically to combine the struggle for social reforms and satisfaction for the most vital demands with the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

In our view, these are complementary actions, especially where the struggle for reforms is a means of improving the well-being of the working people and of the people as a whole, an instrument for mobilizing the exploited masses against the ruling classes, which stubbornly refuse to satisfy their demands, and as an effective method for preparing broad strata for action to attain higher political goals. The masses must be convinced from their own experience that reforms which do not go beyond the framework of the existing system are limited, and that the bourgeois government is inconsistent even with respect to its own programs and reformist and populist promises.

The economic crisis and the various political factors have induced the masses to join in the movement for satisfying their legitimate demands. In this connection, we intend to activate work in developing initiatives and strengthening the revolutionary energy of the masses so as to safeguard the movement from any political influence of the existing system.

Consistently pursuing this course, we shall promote the creation and development of the necessary conditions for enhancing the political revolutionary consciousness of the masses, for preparing them to participation in the struggle, something that will help us to start the process of approximating to them.

We are aware that our movement will remain alien to broad popular strata, and that they will not take a resolute stand for its goals until we come out for the immediate improvement of the people's material living conditions. We seek to make the revolution an urgent need of the majority of people, which is why our policy should reflect the present aspirations of the masses without, however, being confined to them.

There is a need to realize firmly that in the conditions of the crisis, the struggle for satisfying immediate demands tends to acquire an exceptionally powerful revolutionary intensity. The united left-wing forces should take this into account and in the course of their action help to intensify it further.

By participating in the struggle for satisfying the demands of the masses, we not only help them to improve their organization and enhance their militancy, but also to develop democratic principles within the movement so as to enable the working people, who bear the brunt of the hardships, to take the decisions themselves, to choose their delegates, to hear their reports, and to use their right of recall if delegates fail to fulfil the mandates of their constituents. In strengthening our ties with the working people, we shall take account of the vital requirements of each concrete category and also the specific features of the present political situation in the country. The purpose of this work is to make the working people conscious supporters of the popular power. To do this there is a need to explain to the masses from a class stand the substance of every event, every proposal and every burning problem. Simultaneously, we shall work to increase the resistance of the masses and call them to action against the present political power.

COMMON MECHANISMS OF COORDINATION, DIRECTION AND WORK. CONSTITUTING A UNITED LEFT FORCES FRONT

Starting from the identity of political views and the programmatic propositions set forth in this document, and also the programmatic orientation which we shall adopt, the organizations within the Socialist Unity and the United Left Forces have decided to work out common mechanisms for coordinating the work and directing their alliance which is to be a front uniting all our parties, blocs and groups under the name of *Dominican Left Forces* (Izquierda Dominicana).

The new form of alliance raises to a higher level the ties which had existed between the Socialist Unity and the United Left Forces blocs and is an important step in creating a front that will include all the organizations that are members of these blocs.

We shall strive to extend the framework of this alliance by involving in its ranks other forces, strata and individuals prepared to center their activity on the tactical tasks and programmatic tenets set forth in this Accord.

This Accord is not only a commitment to take unitary action for the purposes of its practical realization and strengthening of the common positions, but is also a guarantee of free, critical and creative discussion of problems by all the signatories for the purpose of bringing out and overcoming any differences, drawing the right lessons and making the necessary corrections.

Within the framework of the new unitary front, all the political organizations, blocs and groupings comprising it (now or in the future) retain their organizational, political and programmatic independence, having the right to stand up for their views and also to carry on independent campaigns and action.

The present Accord can and must provide the basis for a broad discussion of problems confronting our organizations, and of proposals aimed to win support from the masses which is so necessary for fulfilling the tasks we have outlined. In so doing, there is a need to refrain from any manifestations of sectarianism and from focusing attention on the existing differences, something that hampers the further consolidation of unity.

Consensus is to be the basis of decisions at every level of coordination of the activity of the unitary front.

UNITY AND OVERCOMING OF ERRORS

The organizations within the ID attach exceptional importance to efforts to eliminate sectarianism and bureaucracy, something that will help to multiply their forces and further strengthen the considerable political and numerical potential which the left organizations now have.

Simultaneously with the strengthening of unity there is a need to conduct a clear-cut and consistent line for correcting erroneous methods, views, positions and styles. The eradication of schematism and dogmatism, attempts to manipulate the mass movement, right and left deviations, irresponsible improvisations, bureaucratic practices and other harmful phenomena is an organic part of the work to strengthen the unity of the left forces and to raise its level. These tasks acquire special importance in making the leadership more effective, in uniting and increasing our ranks, and in consolidating their revolutionary political positions so as to make our alliance a serious material force capable of vigorous action.

UNITY OF ACTION

Our organizations will promote unity of action — both spontaneous and agreed in advance — with other forces at various levels: in the struggle by the

workers and the popular masses for the satisfaction of their vital requirements, in defense of the national interests, in actions of solidarity with the fighting peoples, and also in resisting the measures aimed to worsen the living conditions of the masses, to increase our country's dependence and to subordinate its policies and economics to foreign interests.

We shall not spare our united efforts in fighting for the class independence of the trade unions and participating in strikes by workers and masses of people, in supporting the peasants' protests and demanding the return of their lands. However, this should have no effect on our political independence or minimize the importance of the social protest as such against the governing circles, the ruling classes and the government.

THE PRESENT STATE OF IMPERIALISM AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE FIGHTING PEOPLES

The world capitalist crisis and the mounting struggle of the proletariat and the peoples on all the continents create favorable political conditions under which the balance of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution tends to change in favor of the international proletariat, national liberation and social revolutions.

The weakening of the hegemony of U.S. imperialism in the capitalist world as a whole is one of the main consequences of the crisis. In this situation, imperialism is incapable of effecting its counter-revolutionary intervention on the old scale, as a result of which the oppressed peoples of Africa, the Middle East, Indochina, Latin America and especially Central America and the Caribbean have scored considerable successes in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

The general crisis of the capitalist system and the relative weakening of the positions of U.S. imperialism have gone to aggravate the inter-imperialist contradictions. Striking evidence of the emergence of such contradictions, which over the past two decades were reduced to a minimum because of the incontestable economic, military and political hegemony of the United States, is the political conflict between European and Latin American social democracy with Washington's policy, on the one hand, and the clash of commercial and political interests of the EEC countries and Japan with those of the United States, on the other.

The recent successes scored by the peoples in their struggle for national liberation and social revolution also promote the loss by the United States of its dominant influence.

When considering the advance of the peoples' struggle, special mention must be made of the situation that has taken shape in Central America and the Caribbean owing to the victory of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua, and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, and also as a result of the emergence of a revolutionary situation in El Salvador and Guatemala. Central America and the Caribbean have become one of the world centers of revolutionary struggle, and this is having a crucial effect on the course of the class battles in the Domin-

ican Republic and Haiti. Here, as everywhere else in the region, there is an open confrontation between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

With Reagan's ascent to power, imperialism started a general counter-offensive in an effort to recoup its losses. It is expressed in the aggressive anti-communist line of the United States, in the arms race, in "Reagan's Caribbean Initiative," in the stepped up militarization of the imperialist states, in the conduct of harsh austerity policies aimed against the working class and the popular movement in the industrialized capitalist countries, and in the offensive against the positions of the fighting peoples in the Middle East, above all of Palestine and Lebanon, and also of the peoples of Central America.

The marked weakening of the might of U.S. imperialism, the succession of its aggressive military and economic acts against the peoples of other countries, and also the worldwide upsurge in the revolutionary struggle induce various groupings and ruling circles in underdeveloped capitalist countries to seek solutions in that situation which increasingly distance them from the U.S. political line and, as in Latin America, result in greater independence of these countries in their relations with imperialism. This trend has markedly intensified following the U.S. support of the aggressive acts of British imperialism against Argentina, which wants to establish its sovereignty over the Malvinas.

In the atmosphere of bitter confrontation between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, Central America and the Caribbean have once again become the arena of growing revolutionary struggle by the Latin American peoples and simultaneously the place of a fierce military counter-offensive by U.S. imperialism against the triumphant revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, against the insurgent movements in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, and against the liberation movement in Puerto Rico.

The destiny of these processes is inseparable from our own liberation plans, which is why solidarity with them will be a component part of our future unitary action.

Our organizations declare their solidarity with the struggle of the proletariat and the working people of the whole world in defense of their class interests and for the attainment and consolidation of their freedom.

Our organizations voice support for the national liberation movements of all the peoples and oppressed nations.

They undertake the solemn commitment to strengthen their militant solidarity with the Haitian people and its revolutionary organizations in the struggle for the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship and successful completion of the process of national liberation and social emancipation.

On behalf of the ID parties, the Accord was signed by:

Lucas Vicens, Revolutionary Communist League (LCR)

Ramon Tejada, Working People's Socialist Organization (OST)

Miguel Mejia, Militants of the United Left (MIU)
Juan B. Mejia, Dominican Working People's Party (PTD)

Ignacio Rodriguez Chapini, Patriotic Anti-Imperialist Union (UPA)

Narciso Isa Conde, Dominican Communist Party (PCD)

Leonardo Mercedes, José Villa, Fafa Taveras,

Socialist Bloc [Working People's Socialist Movement (MST), Socialist Party (PS), Working People's Communist Nucleus (NCT)]

Roberto Duverge, Movement for Socialism (MPS)

Santo Domingo, June 14, 1983

Abridged from *Hablan los comunistas*,
June 30-July 7, 1983

The People's Party of Iran is Fighting On

Statement of the Exterior Committee of the PPI

In the seven months that have passed since the regime began to persecute the People's Party of Iran, thousands of party activists were unlawfully put behind bars. They are denied all contact with the outside world, including visits from their kin. A real psychological war using intimidation and groundless accusations is going on against the PPI and other progressive organizations which advocate further progress of the Iranian revolution. The arrested are tortured and otherwise subjected to psychological pressure. The originators of these repressive measures are imperialism and reaction, who regard the PPI, a champion of national independence, freedom and social justice for more than 40 years, as the chief obstacle to their counter-revolutionary plots.

U.S. imperialism would like to implement the "Brzezinski Plan," aimed at nullifying the achievements of the Iranian revolution. The contemptible plots of the enemies of the revolution are intended to foment discord among the revolutionary forces, set them against one another, worsen relations between Iran and the friendly Soviet Union, which supports our revolution, and thus to rob Iran of this support.

The offensive against the PPI, which has invariably given everything to the defense of the revolution and fought for goals meeting the interests of the people and the country, is a major component of the plan mentioned above.

The PPI, a member of the family of fraternal parties, has been carrying on an explicit policy for independence, freedom and social justice in our

country, proceeding from its own experience and conclusions. It frames its policy independently, with due regard to the national interest. The Iranian people and the world see the more than 40-year-long struggle of the PPI as proof of its unshakable loyalty to the interests of its people and country. Imperialism and home reaction, who want to destroy the party of the working class, misrepresent its struggle in trying to justify their treacherous activity designed to liquidate the party.

The PPI declares emphatically that the offensive against it and the farce of alleged "confessions" are elements of a conspiracy against the Iranian revolution hatched by imperialist agents, by the class and political enemies of Iran's working class party. Imperialism's policy is aimed at reimposing its control on Iran and extending its "crusade" against communism and the Soviet Union on the international level.

The PPI insists that the false accusations levelled at it over relations between it and fraternal parties are intended to falsify its history by means of violence and torture. The record of our party indicates that ever since it came into being, it has served the independence and freedom of its country and goes on serving these noble objectives.

The People's Party of Iran is fighting on in spite of what the enemies of our country and people say or plan against it.

September 9, 1983

Abridged

Loyalty to Torrijos' Ideas is a Guarantee of the Deepening of the National Liberation Process

Manifesto of the People's Party of Panama

Two years after the curious death of General Omar Torrijos Herrera, the enemies of Panama's independence and national development, primarily the Reagan administration and the reactionary forces which are entrenched both inside the oligarchic opposition and in various government bodies, are doing everything possible to implement the Santa Fé Plan, worked out by U.S. presidential aides, which proposes the "removal" of "Omar Torrijos's extreme

left-wing and brutally aggressive dictatorship," and then, "if the present treaty is revoked, the placing of the Panama Canal under the control of the Inter-American Defense Council" . . . The Panamanian people and the world public understand that, desperate about the loss of Somocist Nicaragua, imperialism vented its anger on Omar Torrijos, who supported the Latin Americans' great fight to break the fetters of colonialism.

As international tension is heightened by the bellicose circles of the United States with their gunboat policy and as the structural crisis of the dependent countries of the capitalist system, including Panama, worsens, the figure of Torrijos is revealed in all its greatness.

Now some timid and vacillating elements are retreating from Torrijos's ideas because his great truth, his correct foresight and his wholehearted service to the masses and not to the local and foreign exploiters are beyond them.

For their part, the masses are daily becoming more convinced of the justness of General Torrijos's immediate and long-term objectives, and understand that the crisis in the area and the country can only be overcome if the government is guided by his ideological legacy, maintains close ties with the people and directs its efforts toward implementation of the pending program of national liberation, advocating genuine Torrijism both inside the country and abroad.

In the present situation, the Panamanian people no longer wish to tolerate more concessions to the local and foreign robbers and do not plan to bear the entire burden of the crisis, giving the privileged classes the possibility to profit by the unemployment, poverty, the feeble educational system, starvation, production rollback, high prices, low wages, and our national resources. The peasantry is not prepared to agree to the liquidation of the new forms of production; the indigenous population has no intention of continuing under the landowners' oppression; and the workers will not hesitate to defend the Labor Code.

It is necessary to expose the slanderous attacks against Torrijos by the supporters of the Sante Fé Plan and the International Monetary Fund, attacks designed to bury Torrijism.

On the eve of the election campaign, the so-called opposition parties, weakened by the crisis, are experiencing the failure of their bourgeois pro-U.S. policy and are not in a position to solve the crisis but can only worsen it. Hence they have no alternative but to set their hopes on demagoguery, lies, bribery and the activities of certain mass media to corrupt the consciousness of the people, who are anxious for effective solutions. It is this political dump which has thrown up the dirty anti-communist campaign,

the projects for military solutions and the plans to apply the provisions of the infamous Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Aid in order to justify intervention in Nicaragua's affairs. It is through these right-wing parties, groupings and organizations that the embassies of the United States, Israel, Chile and other breeding-grounds of anti-national and fascist ideas have been carrying out their work of destabilizing the situation and confusing the population.

Commemorating the second anniversary of the death of Omar Torrijos, the People's Party of Panama, the Panamanian communists, appeal above all to the working people, the advanced intellectuals, the youth, the military, the indigenous population and to those entrepreneurial circles interested in the country's development not to allow Omar's enemies, the enemies of our independence, to divide the forces of progress and reinstate a regime obedient to the United States and at the service of the financial interests of the exploiters, the landlords, landowners and the agents of the yankee monopolies.

Panamanians! It is time to face the problems with resolute and courageous actions, with the spirit of Victoriano Lorenzo, José del Carmen Tunon, and Omar Torrijos, whose slogan was "We will never be forced to our knees!" It is our duty to strengthen solidarity with the glorious Sandinist revolution, with the Salvadoran and Guatemalan peoples, and with the invincible Cuban revolution, for our freedom depends on the victory of these and other peoples, who are loyal to Bolivar's dream of a united Latin American continent independent of the United States.

Long live Torrijism!

Long live the unity of the Torrijists and the popular forces!

We will bury the traitors to the homeland in the 1984 elections!

The Contadora Group — yes! Blockade of Nicaragua — no!

No Guantanamo! No School of the Americas!

Long live the Salvadoran and Guatemalan patriots!

A canal for peace and not for war!

We will not stop halfway; the struggle continues!
Panama, July 1983

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It is the Duty of Every Communist to Master All Forms of Struggle

From a report by Jorge del Prado, CC General Secretary, Peruvian Communist Party, to the June 1983 PCP CC plenary meeting.

The political situation in the country has seriously worsened in the three months since the last plenary meeting. This worsening is making more evident than ever before the contrast between the bourgeois-democratic constitutional form of government and the real content of the regime. The facts analyzed in this report confirm the correctness of our conclusion that the present government is rapidly becoming a military-civilian dictatorship, a process which could lead to an ultra-reactionary coup.

The suspension of constitutional guarantees and introduction of the state of emergency throughout the country shortly after the calling of municipal elections, which, by the way, have been neither cancelled nor postponed, objectively show the correctness of this conclusion. In any case, it is not only a question of breach of juridical norms but also of political unscrupulousness unprecedented in the history of the republic.

The government is trying to justify its line with the need to cut short the terrorist and guerrilla actions of "Sendero Luminoso" and to prevent their extension to other parts of the country. The immediate pretext for the introduction of the state of emergency are the massacre in Lucanamarca and the fire at the Bayer factory in Lima.

THE GOVERNMENT'S CLASS INTERESTS AND SELL-OUT POLICY

If one accepts the fact that the suspension of guarantees and introduction of the state of emergency is aimed against the people's growing opposition and especially against their fighting units, which are waging a vigorous and effective struggle for substantial change in the government's economic and labor policy, one cannot but ask: Why are these measures being taken now?

Obviously, this is happening because three factors, which have been operating during the entire period of the Belaunde regime, are at present bringing extreme pressure to bear on the regime's policy.

These are:

(a) *The unbearable economic crisis and the obligations assumed by the government in relation to the IMF and the transnational corporations.* As we said at the last plenary meeting, the economic policy of present Economics Minister Carlos Rodriguez Pastor, longtime vice-president of the Wells Fargo Bank, is worse than the policy applied by Manuel Ulloa. Evidence of this are the following indicators: inflation rose by 44.7 per cent in the first months of this year; on average, family incomes cover only 31 per cent of family expenses; the pay of employees now values only 52.8 per cent of what it valued in 1973, and of workers — 63.1 per cent; the number of underemployed and unemployed persons has risen

substantially: the former make up 52 per cent of the work force and the latter — 12 per cent.

These indicators are based on official figures and are far from reflecting the true level of the people's impoverishment and social despair.

The government is trying to make us believe that the inflation is the result of excessive public spending since the state budget deficit is nearing five per cent of the gross domestic product. Rodriguez Pastor is thus killing two birds with one stone. On the one hand, he has a pretext for declaring that it is necessary to fight against inflation, to which end public spending has to be cut. (Naturally, the government in no way plans to reduce spending by cutting the bureaucratic apparatus that has grown fantastically under the Belaunde regime, but by cutting the subsidies on the essential services for the population and slashing the provincial budgets, as is already being done.) On the other hand, this approach shades the real culprit of the inflationary process — big finance capital, which engages in speculation. Rodriguez Pastor's program will not reduce inflation; on the contrary, it will only promote its further growth. It is expected that inflation will reach 120 per cent this year as against 72.9 per cent a year ago.

The government says that the crisis is a consequence of the economic recession now affecting the capitalist world. From our point of view, this is only a part of the problem as the basis for the crisis lies in the country's economic dependence, which is being increased by the present government's sell-out policy. The influence of the external crisis has been increased by the neoliberal economic policy pursued by the Belaunde regime on the recommendation of the IMF. This policy has not only meant the impoverishment of the working people and the entire people but has also destroyed our incipient national industry by wiping out control over legal imports and contraband.

All this has resulted in the closure of numerous national industrial enterprises and a reduction in the country's dollar reserves. The official figures show that in May this year the foreign debt stood at \$11.7 billion, to which must be added the \$2 billion in new loans just negotiated by Rodriguez Pastor. According to former Economics Minister Ulloa, debt service payments (principal and interest) will reach \$1.732 billion in the current year. However, more realistic calculations put the figure at \$2 billion, which is 55 per cent of our exports and 54 per cent of the national budget.

According to National Statistics Institute (INE) figures, the rate of growth of the gross domestic product fell sharply from 10.2 per cent in 1981 to 0.2 per cent in 1982² because of huge rollbacks of all the productive sectors.

Instead of resolving the problems of the agrarian sector, the regime is trying to use them to justify the objectives of the so-called "Agricultural Promotion and Development Law," which will parcel out and transfer to private landowners and transnational corporations the lands belonging to the agrarian production cooperatives. This policy is having a disastrous effect on the food and, notably, the dairy industry, on the agricultural complexes, and the production of corn, wheat, coffee, sugar, cotton and oil-producing crops.

The industrial recession is equally grave. It can even be said that it is this sector which has suffered most from the regime's neoliberal policy. The tendency toward recession, which began last year when industrial production fell by 2.4 per cent, greatly intensified in the first three months of this year (a fall of 11.3 per cent), affecting almost all the industries which developed during the last decades.

The industrial and agricultural recession has seriously depressed trade. While there was a small rise of 1.9 per cent in this sphere in the first half of 1982, a drop of 9.4 per cent was registered in the same period this year. This situation is caused not only by the sharp competition of the contraband goods, which the government tolerates, but primarily by the reduction in the population's purchasing power.

In these conditions, characterized by ever greater weakening of the economic foundations, an unprecedented crisis of the country's financial system is developing.

It can be proved convincingly that the present government's economic policy is deepening to an unprecedented level the contrast between the unbearable poverty of the majority of the Peruvian people and the incredible enrichment of a handful of big foreign capitalists and their local partners. Up to 1972, 51.3 per cent of the national income fell on workers' and employees' wages and salaries, while 17.5 per cent, on enterprise profits. In 1982 the wages and salaries dropped to 41.4 per cent while profits rose to 26.8 per cent. According to the figures for last month, 43 per cent of the national income was pocketed by 10 private companies.

And the enterprise owners enjoy scandalous privileges in the area of taxation as well. While workers earning from 60,000 to 300,000 soles pay 7.5 per cent of their income in taxes, persons with an income of over a million soles pay only 4.7 per cent. The passage of the so-called "Kuczynski Law," which gives transnational oil and mining enterprises tax relief of over \$150 million, shows the extremes to which the authorities went. The big U.S. companies which have invested \$600 million in Peru annually receive \$400 million in income, i.e. 66 per cent of their investment. But, as if that were not enough, the government now plans to sell to the transnational corporations two industries of basic and key importance for the country's independent national development and prosperity. These are "Pesca-Peru,"³ "Sider-Peru"⁴ and others mentioned in the bill on state enterprises, discussion of which has begun in parliament. The nationalized mining industry is also faced with the same threat.

(b) *Active resistance of the people.* As noted at previous plenary meetings of the PCP CC, the present government's anti-people and anti-patriotic offensive is running across the active resistance of the working class, the peasantry and the broad masses. This rebuff is perhaps one of the most characteristic features of the present political situation and is undoubtedly a product of the growth in the working people's anti-imperialist and democratic consciousness and of the rise in their organizational level.

The unprecedentedly large national strike of agricultural workers last November was followed on March 10 by a national strike called by the CGTP⁵ with the support of influential independent federations of working people.

The widescale actions taken during the national strike of agricultural workers facilitated the process of uniting the peasants, a process which culminated last month with the first National Agrarian Congress, attended by representatives of the four most important peasant organizations, and also by all the federations and associations uniting various sections and strata of agricultural workers. The conclusions of the congress resolutely condemn the present regime's disastrous agrarian policy. The congress elected a permanent central body responsible for implementing the decisions taken. The March national strike had similar results. A permanent coordinating body also emerged during this action to strengthen trade union unity and prepare the working people for fresh and even larger battles to end in a national civil strike.

All the foregoing major events differed from earlier actions in that they were more organized, in other words, they were prepared beforehand and strategic and tactical leadership was evident in them. The congress and strikes did not restrict themselves to promoting the working people's demands; they also aimed to build up the forces, strengthen the working people's fighting contingents and give their dissatisfaction political direction, fostering a spirit of struggle and unity. These measures facilitated the development of the most favorable conditions for merging the various contingents of the working people into a broad popular national movement capable of realizing structural changes in economic policy and other aspects of the country's administration, which implies a struggle for their own alternative, i.e. for a truly patriotic and democratic government.

Activization of the Left Unity coalition at the level of its National Directive Committee and district organizations in Lima and Callao is of great significance in the problem of accumulation of forces, a difficult problem and one not free of contradictions.

(c) *The situation in Central America and the southern cone.* International events also leave their imprint on the internal factors considered above. The U.S. State Department and the Pentagon have been bringing strong right-wing pressure to bear on the Belaunde government, inclining it to adopt the yankee point of view. The main problem of concern to imperialism on our continent is undoubtedly the situation in Central America. The imperialist circles

are trying to change the existing correlation of forces and to enlist the support of the majority of governments in their interventionist and aggressive plans. The Reagan administration intends to include the present Peruvian government in this campaign at any cost. If it succeeds in doing so, this would mean an even greater move to the right in the government's home and foreign policy, and also a speeding up of the process of its conversion into an ultra-reactionary military-civilian dictatorship, which is fully in keeping with yankee economic and political interests in the southern cone of the continent.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND THE DANGER OF AN ULTRA-RIGHT COUP

Under the circumstances, the Action Party-Popular Christian Party regime is faced with a serious dilemma. In order to maintain a semblance of constitutionality and "representative democracy," it has to hold municipal elections in November this year. But, judging by how events have been developing, the government is risking a crushing defeat which will reduce the AP's chances in the 1985 general elections. To avoid defeat, the regime will have to resort to fraud by changing the electoral statutes and postponing the elections indefinitely. But, in its turn, this will unmask the dictatorial character of the government, which openly relies on the armed forces to such an extent that it runs the risk of being ousted by them. Nevertheless it seems that this is the road which the Belaunde government has taken with the passing of the elections bill.

If the plans we have looked at are implemented, a real prospect will emerge of, if not a coup, then at least an "ultra-righting" of the regime. The events of the past few days show the existence of such a tendency and the government's attempts to justify it with the need to struggle against "Sendero Luminoso."

As for the communists, we have clearly stated our position toward "Sendero Luminoso" and we consider our position correct. We do not share that grouping's strategy and tactics and even less so its Pol Pot methods, but at the same time we are aware of the state of backwardness, extreme oppression and discrimination of the peasant population of the zone in which "Sendero Luminoso" operates. The population is not only burdened by tough racial and social discrimination and abject poverty but also by the abuse of power by a pro-fascist regime which is waging a dirty anti-people war under the military and political leadership of General Clemente Noel and the special *sinchis* counter-insurgency group.

We express solidarity with the residents of those regions, who are defending their right to life and are often forced to rebuff the *sinchis* and General Noel's para-military forces. We demand normalization of the situation in this zone, a change of the methods used in relation to "Sendero Luminoso," and the taking of measures which would considerably improve the living conditions of the peasants and other working people. These demands also fully apply to the development of the political situation in the country, meaning the need to wage a vigorous struggle against the gradual militarization of the state

apparatus and against the existence in the country's central regions of a situation in which judicial power virtually does not function and the civilian and political authorities — prefects, vice-prefects, local governors and alcaldes — play no role. We believe if such things are happening under the influence of the state of emergency declared in that zone, the same thing could occur at any moment in all the other regions in connection with the suspension of constitutional guarantees throughout the entire territory of Peru and the creation of conditions facilitating the complete subordination of civilian power to the armed forces, in which the most reactionary and corrupt circles predominate.

This complex and contradictory situation obliges the left parties, and especially the PCP, to prepare for the urgent mastering of various forms of struggle, and for a possible sharp change from a relatively calm situation to increased tension and violence, which makes it necessary both to defend and effectively to use the remaining democratic institutions.

What has been said with respect to the PCP applies equally to the Left Unity and all the parties included in that coalition. It should be underscored that defense of the democratic institutions does not mean defense of the AP-PCP government but the upholding of the democratic rights won, including suffrage and the constitutional guarantees. Legal activity and participation in elections allow us actively to propagandize our program, ideology, and political line, and to launch a broad campaign to build up forces on the basis of effective work with the masses, and also of a correct and dynamic policy of alliances. But this is not our central objective. All the foregoing is aimed at the winning of power. We do not at all mean by this that legal or bourgeois-democratic activity is for us the sole or best form of struggle for power. In a situation of deepening political crisis, which could at any moment boil over into a revolutionary crisis, the struggle for power can assume different forms, including the masses' self-defense, which will develop in the context of the struggle for the people's demands. It would be a very serious mistake if the prospect of elections and the need to defend the democratic institutions forced us to lose sight of the struggle for political power in the belief that this power can only be won through elections. At present it is necessary to work in both directions and to master both forms of struggle.

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It is with these criteria that one should assess the content and significance of the Left Unity's "Political Declaration" dated June 13, 1983. In it we appeal to all the people's organizations and opposition parties, including the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), to hold a national meeting for the defense and broadening of democracy. All the forces mentioned are equally interested in this objective, but we are not calling for unity with them to gain political power jointly. We are aware of the programmatic differences between the Left Unity and the other opposition parties, including the APRA. Moreover, it is clear to us that for the APRA this is the most favorable opportunity in its more than 50-year history to gain political power. Having successfully carried out a process of uniting and strengthening their party organizationally, the present APRA leaders believe that their party is in a position independently to act in the upcoming elections. We are also aware of the APRA's confidence that, under the two-stage electoral system, it will not need an alliance with the left forces before the first election results are announced since those forces will have to support that party in the second round of voting anyway.

LEFT UNITY, THE PCP AND PSEUDO-MARIATEGUISM

If unity of the left forces and coordination of their work with other opposition parties is now an objective historical necessity for our nation, of equal importance is the defense of the Left Unity from the attempts to divide it or break it up from within. The reference is to the plan to merge the coalition's member organizations into a single party misnamed "Mariateguist." In principle, we are not opposed to the unification of different left forces. We envisage the possibility of forming a single Marxist-Leninist party in the not too distant future, but only after the taking of power, in the period of socialist construction. But what we do not understand and of which we do not approve are the plans to do this at a time when a revolutionary political front like the Left Unity already exists, and when preliminary work has begun within its framework to nominate candidates for the offices of alcaldes and the provincial and district councilors. In addition, we object to the

proposed name since neither in Mariategui's works nor in his ideas and deeds is there anything resembling these activities, which are essentially divisionist and aimed at creating a parallel party.

DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE
OUR FORCES.

DO NOT HIDE FROM THE DANGERS,
DO NOT LOSE CONFIDENCE
IN THE MASSES' SUPPORT

The foregoing shows that the current political situation is extremely complex and fraught with grave dangers, which is why our primary and most important task for the future must be to strengthen and raise the party's influence among the masses in order to lead the proletariat and all working people, and to reinforce their organizational basis. We will be able to strengthen our political influence only through party work across the length and breadth of the country.

Conscious discipline, complete dedication and selflessness in party work and revolutionary vigilance combined with a broad and flexible approach to one's natural or potential allies must be a norm of our conduct. Organic and constructive self-criticism must also become a natural and constant norm of the communists' conduct. Our immediate task is to adapt the forms of party work to the conditions of persecution and clandestinity in which the party could find itself if the enemies in power are able to impose them on us. The mastering of all forms of struggle should not remain a mere objective but should be a daily concern and the result of the practical work of every PCP member.

Lima, June 25, 1983
Abridged

1. "Sendero Luminoso" ("Bright Road") — a Maoist-type ultra-left para-military terrorist grouping. — *Ed.*
2. The INE has calculated that the rate of growth in the GDP fell by 13 per cent in the first quarter of 1983 as compared with the same quarter last year. — *Ed.*
3. Includes enterprises producing fish meal and fish oil. — *Ed.*
4. An amalgamation of metallurgical industry enterprises. — *Ed.*
5. The General Confederation of the Working People of Peru — the country's leading trade union center, member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. — *Ed.*

Safeguard and Deepen the April Gains

From a Speech by Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party, at the *Avante!* festival.

The essence of the present policy of restoring the positions of capitalism is: all for big capital, nothing for the workers and working people.

For the big capitalists, for the monopolists of the epoch of fascism, this means a continual flow of money and public boons. For example, 1,000 large stockholders received 84 billion escudos, that is 84 million escudos per person, as so-called compensation, while 245,000 small and medium shareholders were given only 20,000 escudos each. The

new policy means that the moneybags do not have to pay their enormous debts. For example, the two billion escudos owed by the Mellos group to the nationalized banks and insurance companies have been "remitted," the capital of banker Pinto Magalhães, which was the security for a three billion escudos loan, has been "unfrozen," and the prosecution of ex-banker Jorge de Brito has been stopped, thereby practically giving him a gift of 10-14 billion escudos.

For the working people and people in general, this policy means a merciless attack against their working and living conditions.

The socialist and social democratic government can be "proud" that in its first 100 days, prices in the country have risen like yeast dough, causing a very sharp fall in the purchasing power of the Portuguese.

The latest price rises affected bread, milk, sugar, codfish, eggs, chicken, potatoes, kerosene, diesel oil, gas, electricity, water, fertilizer and fodder; postal tariffs, telephone and transport rates, and car insurance premiums also went up.

Prices are rising so rapidly that people do not even have time to recover from one increase before another one occurs.

At the same time as prices are rising, the government has everywhere been delaying the payment of wages and salaries and pursuing a policy of mass unjustified dismissals.

The delay in wages and salaries payments is not only a consequence of the profound economic crisis into which the policy of restoring capital's privileges has taken the country, but also a fraudulent and criminal form used by the enterprise owners to increase their capital by putting the unpaid wages and salaries into circulation.

If one thinks about it, a six-month delay in the payment of wages and salaries to 100,000 people could bring the enterprise owners over a billion escudos in profit!

In their relations with the working people, the big reactionary enterprise owners are much like the Mafia, and the government not only screens this Mafia but also does everything to encourage it and protects it with laws which give legal cover to their crimes.

The mass unjustified dismissals are also becoming a legalized measure used under the pretext of the "difficult economic situation" of the enterprises and the need to make them "viable."

The law on dismissals is one of the most monstrous instruments of exploitation which a Portuguese government has ever placed in the hands of big capital at its demand. That is why the fascists of the *Dia* newspaper call this law an "historical event," for according to their calculations it could serve as the basis for depriving 800,000 working people of work.

Minister Almeida Santos has stated that in the socialized mass media there are 2,500 "surplus" workers, 500 of whom are employed in the state information agency Empresa Publica Noticias e Capital.

There is also talk of 50-100,000 "surplus" working people in the public sector and more than half a million people in the private sector.

The trade union organizations have calculated that unemployment could reach one million soon under the SP/SDP government.

Mota Pinto exceeds the bounds of cynicism when, on the one hand, he declares seemingly candidly that "the burdens must be distributed equally" and that it is necessary to put an end to the "privileges" and,

on the other hand, says that it is supposedly the workers who are "privileged."

So for these agents of big capital, to have a job and receive a salary is a "privilege" which must be ended.

Scoffing at the working people's suffering and hunger, the government propagandists go so far as to claim that the mass dismissals will eventually help to create new jobs.

It is an unseemly spectacle to observe the insane joy with which the bosses of big capital and their criers speak about the delay in wages and salaries payments, the price increases, and the mass dismissals of hundreds of thousands of Portuguese.

The present government's policy is one of hatred and unbridled exploitation.

The struggle against the policy of the SP/SDP government is becoming a struggle to save the Portuguese people from unemployment, hunger and poverty, and must therefore be waged with firmness and determination.

Thousands and thousands of Portuguese men and women are taking and will take part in this struggle, men and women who voted for the socialist and social democratic parties but in the first 100 days of the government have recognized its essence and are now actively joining the opposition and the struggle of the masses.

While holding forth on the need for a solution to the crisis and the revival of the economy, the SP/SDP government continues the offensive against the national and agrarian reforms.

As regards the nationalization, the SP/SDP government has re-adopted the law passed by the "Democratic Alliance" on the so-called "delimitation of the sectors," which is already opening the door for private capital to take over the banking and insurance systems, and the production of cement and fertilizers. We are sure that the Portuguese people will support the initiative put forward by our parliamentary group on August 18 demanding that the Constitutional Tribunal examine this law and declare it unconstitutional.

However, the SP/SDP government's offensive against the nationalization is not confined to this law. The government has been taking more and more measures and decisions to disorganize, paralyze and dismember the numerous nationalized enterprises, ruin them and force them to resort to mass dismissals. It should be noted that some of these enterprises play a key role in the national economy.

So the government is being ever more obedient to the directives of the Confederation of Portuguese Industrialists, which is demanding a new revision of the constitution which would either "end the nationalization" or bring the nationalized enterprises into a state of near ruin which would allow private capital to take them over easily.

As regards the agrarian reform, the declarations and measures of the SP/SDP government in this area leave no doubt about the beginning of a fresh offensive against its positions and fresh attempts to

strangle the collective production units and the cooperatives.

What are the consequences of this offensive of the government?

The facts clearly show that the attacks against the nationalization, the agrarian reform and the working people's rights are taking the country increasingly into a crisis, and causing disorganization and recession in industry, the collapse of agriculture, a general chronic deficit, a constantly increasing and already enormous trade and balance of payment deficit, continual devaluation of the escudo, the sale of gold reserves and an increase in the foreign debt, which is straitjacketing the country's economic activity and seriously threatening our future development.

Contrary to the promised and widely advertised restoration of the economy, national production has fallen.

The government admits that at the end of 1982, Portugal was indebted to foreign creditors to the tune of \$13.6 billion and was forced to pay \$1.2 billion in interest on that debt. It has also been officially admitted that the government is continuing to sell the country's gold reserves in order to pay the foreign debt.

If this policy is continued Portugal will inevitably end up in the grips of a severe crisis and foreign bondage, which will certainly lead to complete insolvency and bankruptcy.

It is necessary to end this policy of national disaster. It is necessary to stop the illegal attacks against the nationalization and agrarian reform. Portugal needs a policy which would recognize and respect the various economic structures created by the democratic revolution, and would use the great and unique possibilities of the nationalized branches and enterprises, and also of the agrarian reform, to increase national production and resolve the crisis.

Our party is going to firmly continue the struggle to defend the nationalization and agrarian reform, which are a component part of the economic structure of the Portuguese democratic regime.

The policy of restoring the power of the monopolies is anti-patriotic. Such a policy sacrifices the national interests for those of big capital and imperialism, with which it is connected. It is also an anti-national policy.

The struggle against the SP/SDP government in defense of the interests of the people and the gains of the revolution is not only necessary to save Portugal from disaster and bankruptcy. It is also necessary to *save Portugal from dependence and war* because the policy of restoring the power of capital and liquidating our people's democratic gains is accompanied by growing economic, financial, political, diplomatic and military concessions to imperialism. Portuguese big capital, which is closely connected with big foreign capital as it was during the time of fascism, is an instrument for subordinating the national interests to those of imperialism.

The following two principal aspects are evidence of the scandalous growth in economic dependence.

First, *acceptance of the shameful IMF condi-*

tions. This means a cut in national production, price rises, mass dismissals, a wages and salaries ceiling at state enterprises and in government bodies, attacks on the government enterprises, suspension of the capital construction plans, renunciation of the large projects (especially in the ferrous metal and petrochemical industries), higher interest rates and continued inflation.

Second, *the insistence on joining the Common Market*, which, if realized, would mean complete disaster for our national economy, the ruin and liquidation of thousands of small and medium agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises, and the dominance in our economy of the multinational corporations and local bigwigs like the Mellos, Champalimaud, Espirito Santo and Bulhosa families and others.

It is necessary to fight against the SP/SDP government's policy of submission and national capitulation, and to struggle for a democratic alternative based on national and patriotic criteria, a policy which would save Portugal from dependence and ensure the development of our economy in accordance with the national interests.

It is necessary to save Portugal from the danger of war because the submission of the SP/SDP government to U.S. imperialism and Reagan's directives is seriously jeopardizing our country's territorial integrity, its security and very existence.

It is urgent for all Portuguese to recognize that the international situation is extremely grave, and for them to understand that the danger of war once again exists, the danger of a nuclear war which would mean the destruction of entire countries and a sizable part of humankind.

It is urgent for all Portuguese to reject the malicious, provocative and hysterical anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda on TV, radio and in the reactionary press, and to again take the same attitude which they had during fascism to their reports: "If they say something is there it's because it's not there. And if they say something is not there it's because it's there."

It is urgent to explain to the broad masses that the deterioration in the international situation is currently caused primarily by the policy of arms race, aggression, provocations and war pursued by U.S. imperialism and the Reagan government, and that, in contrast to this very dangerous policy, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been making concrete constructive proposals which are a solid basis for curbing the arms race and removing the danger of a nuclear war.

The installation or non-installation of new U.S. missiles in Europe in the months ahead is a central and decisive question. We are against this deployment. We strongly object to expansion of U.S. and NATO military bases on the territory of Portugal, whether in its continental part or in the autonomous areas, to the use of the military base in Beja by the U.S. rapid deployment force, and to the stationing of missiles on our territory. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the permission for U.S. and British nuclear submarines to put in at the port of Lisbon,

permission which constitutes a very grave danger for our capital.

The Portuguese people desire peace. They do not want foreign bases and U.S. missiles to be deployed on our land. According to an "Expresso" poll, 83 per cent of Portuguese are against that, and this is probably a conservative figure.

The government's propaganda seeks to make one believe that its policy of poverty, economic disaster and foreign indebtedness is "an inevitability," and that there is no other possible policy.

We have been hearing this for some six years. Successive governments persistently promised that, by imposing "austerity" on the working people and liquidating the gains of the revolution, it will be possible to overcome the crisis and restore the economy.

But the reality, in which the crisis is worsening, proves precisely the opposite.

Figuratively speaking, the Portuguese economy is dying from the poison which the policy of restoring the power of big capital, latifundism and imperialism has been for it. Only a "healer" like Dr. Mario Soares could say that it is possible to cure the economy through even greater doses of that poison.

Experience has shown that the cause of the difficulties of the Portuguese economy does not lie in the nationalization, agrarian reform and improvement of the working people's condition, but in the systematic and destructive war which has been waged against them by successive governments in the last six years.

Portugal cannot come out of the crisis by continuing and deepening the policy which provoked and incessantly aggravated it. This policy must be ended.

Portugal cannot come out of the crisis with a policy of stagnation and recession of national production. It is necessary to mobilize the national effort, provide the unemployed with work, use the national resources, our abilities and possibilities in industry, agriculture and the services, expand the country's domestic market by improving the living conditions of the Portuguese, and to fight for an expansion of the foreign market, to which end there is a need truly to diversify our international ties.

Portugal cannot come out of the crisis by sacrificing the economy's basic sectors, leading them, and along with them the country's entire economy, to collapse and ruin.

It is necessary to give effective assistance to the nationalized sectors and enterprises, and to turn them into a dynamic and determinant factor of our economy.

Portugal cannot come out of the crisis by ignoring the problems of the country's agriculture, paralyzing it and ruining it. The situation will not be helped by an attack against agrarian reform, an attack which would mean destruction of the agricultural crops, elimination of the land-improvement system, a cut in agricultural production and cattle, and plundered and deserted lands; the situation will not be helped by forced curtailment of the activity of the agricultural producers, especially of the small and

medium landowners, leaseholders and farmers suffering from the low and unguaranteed purchase prices for their products, from the lack of a ready market, price rises on fuel, fertilizers, fodder, pesticides, vaccinations for domestic animals, and also from complete neglect on the part of the government and its refusal to compensate for losses incurred in the event of such calamities as frosts, flood, droughts, etc.

It is necessary once and for all to end the attacks against the agrarian reform, and give back to the peasants the lands stolen from them. The government must pay the collective production units and the cooperatives the money it owes to them, and give the working people a chance to develop agriculture and livestock farming and to use their produce for their own benefit and for that of the other farmers and the national economy.

In contrast to what the government is now doing, it is necessary to give the farmers credit on favorable terms and to lower rather than increase the interest rates on these credits.

It is necessary to renounce the mass dismissals and give work to those who have none.

All the measures taken by the SP/SDP government in order, as it declares, to overcome the crisis, have been having the completely opposite effect: *they only worsen the crisis provoked by the government policy, and push the country toward complete disaster.*

Radical change is needed in the Portuguese policy. This means desisting from restoring the power of the monopolies and latifundism, observing the constitution, and respecting the existing form of government, the national specific features and the will of the Portuguese people.

We are fighting for this change and will eventually secure it!

Abridged from *Avante!*
supplement, September 15, 1983

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None But Deep-Going Transformations and a Determination to Resist Pressure from the Right Can Lead to a Real Change

Statement of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Spain

On analyzing the domestic situation and government policy, the Executive Committee of the CPS has decided to publish the following statement:

The Executive Committee considers that the main aspects of the government's policy are out of keeping with the task of bringing about the changes necessitated by the situation in the country and demanded by the majority of our people. The activity of the government is increasingly at variance with the electoral promises of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SSWP) regarding important issues like economic and foreign policy, the attitude to NATO and democratization of the state.

The CPS is perturbed by this situation and is prepared to act resolutely and responsibly. Our party is convinced that the only way to bring about a real change and win widespread support among the people, without which all policy for change is doomed to failure, is to pursue a policy of deep-going transformations and show a determination to resist pressure from the Right.

The effort of the CPS in the period ahead will be aimed at paving the way for a different policy, one based on a resolve to consolidate and expand democratic freedoms and autonomy and to give priority to the struggle against unemployment and for peace and neutrality. Prompted by these objectives and a desire to acquaint the people with the communists' specific alternatives, the EC has decided to organize public actions all over Spain and mobilize the people to resist the offensive of the Right and bring about a fundamental change in government policy.

The EC holds that resistance to this policy should rise to a new plane and be based henceforward on mass criticism of those of its aspects which are detrimental to the working people and the country.

The political document drafted by the Central Committee for the 11th CPS congress contains an in-depth criticism of the economic and social policies of the government. Events of recent weeks have proved our criticism correct. Indeed, the government has announced the following proposals:

- a substantial cut in appropriations for the creation of new jobs;
- a considerable reduction of wages, which are to grow more slowly than prices;
- a freeze on pensions, if not their reduction in some instances;
- the lowering of discharge payments and the introduction of a more flexible employment system to use temporary contracts more widely;
- a renouncement of the law reducing the working week to 40 hours;
- a restructuring of crisis-stricken industries

without adopting an alternative industrial development plan that would make it possible to avert a reduction in jobs;

- the privatizing of the social security system;
- a freeze on the implementation of the needed structural reforms, which are particularly urgent in agriculture, as well as the planning of the economy on democratic lines;
- unwillingness to increase the working people's role in the economy and to strengthen the trade unions in production centers and economic institutions.

All this is, in effect, a monetarist program for "tightening the screws," which the government intends to implement to the detriment of the workers and the people without any real discussion. The EC rejects this plan because it runs counter to the general interests of the nation.

The EC states again that the requirements of the majority of the population can only be met by an economic policy providing for the following:

- a comprehensive agrarian reform and an agrarian policy taking account of the existence of different types of agricultural production in Spain, with a view to gradually ridding the country of foreign dependence and strengthening its agriculture;
- an effective restructuring of industry according to the exigencies of the international market without a reduction in jobs;
- the democratization of the public sector;
- a reform of the financial system and progressive control over it;
- an improvement of the tax reform to make it more progressive;
- a reform of public administration;
- a reform of the social security system while maintaining state control over it;
- the planning of the economy on democratic lines, in conformity with Article 131 of the Constitution, which assigns the public sector the chief role in economic development;
- a solidarity policy of combatting unemployment, which hits youth hardest of all.

The CPS EC is of the opinion that the government should revise its stand on social forces, especially the trade unions, and begin real talks with a view to attaining the following social goals: reducing unemployment, maintaining the purchasing power of pensions and wages, increasing unemployment relief, enforcing the law on the 40-hour week and extending the workers' participation in economic management, primarily in the public sector and social security system.

The EC calls on all party members and sym-

pathizers to join efforts in widely criticizing the government and supporting the initiatives put forward by the Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions. The CPS believes that this work should invariably be carried on as a responsible massive effort contributing to the unity of the working people and trade unions.

The CPS identifies itself with the agricultural workers of Andalusia who are fighting for a fair solution of the problem of unemployment and jobs and demanding a comprehensive agrarian reform.

In the light of the pressing need to democratize the state and promote autonomy, the CPS attaches great importance to the ruling of the Constitutional Court on the law on autonomy. This ruling is not only in full accord with the constitution and the Statutes of Autonomy but is also evidence of the political failure of the strategy of running down the trend toward autonomy which found expression in the agreement on autonomy signed by the Democratic Center Union and SSWP in July 1981.

However, the government regrettably persists in its effort to have an unworkable law on autonomy approved, thereby aggravating the situation and complicating the transformation of a centralist and authoritarian state into an autonomous and democratic one.

The EC is concerned about the government's information policy. Instead of firmly defending freedom of speech and information pluralism, this policy is making Spanish television increasingly subservient to the interests of the SSWP.

The EC is perturbed by the government's policy toward the pressing issue of democratization and reform in the armed forces, security and troops, agencies and the Civil Guard.

The CPS emphatically condemns terrorism, in particular the attack on the National Police barracks in San Sebastian, made at a time when the Basque people are exerting tremendous efforts to ease the effects of floods.

The EC urges the masses to isolate terrorists and reaffirms its readiness for cooperation in re-establishing the Basque Country on the basis of a broad agreement between the Basque democratic forces in defense of the status of Guernica, a policy of solidarity in combatting the crisis and solving the problem of economic restructuring.

The EC considers that for a number of reasons, international tension has increased in recent weeks and so has the war danger.

The CPS calls for still greater solidarity with the peoples of Central America whose freedom, sovereignty and independence are seriously threatened by economic and military pressure from the Reagan administration, which backs the Salvadoran dictatorship and engineers continuous acts of aggression against the people and government of Nicaragua, operating from Honduran territory.

The CPS identifies itself with the Chilean people, who are fighting against the Pinochet dictatorship,

and calls for actions demanding a complete restoration of democracy in Chile, such as the big demonstration held in Madrid on September 11.

The CPS takes a positive view of the final resolution of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. However, the growing tension between military blocs became particularly manifest at the closing of the Conference, which makes the struggle for peace, disarmament and the simultaneous and gradual dissolution of all military blocs a priority task.

With due regard to the present international situation, the CPS considers that the Spanish government should renounce its policy of gradual concessions to U.S. demands and embark on an active policy of peace and neutrality, a policy of détente, independence and sovereignty.

In this contest, the EC appeals to all citizens and all political, trade union and cultural organizations irrespective of their political orientation to join actively in the fight for peace and against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe, for the reduction of existing nuclear arsenals, the withdrawal of Spain from NATO and the dismantling of U.S. military bases on Spanish soil.

In the weeks to come, the CPS is going to launch a campaign to collect signatures to the demand for a referendum that would make it possible to take Spain out of NATO. In addition to mass demonstrations to be held all over Spain in October, the CPS plans to organize rallies, demonstrations and other actions in the major cities of the country in order to demand an immediate referendum, the abolition of U.S. military bases and an end to attempts to use the territory of our country for foreign troops exercises, like those held in Cabaneros.

The EC holds that the realization of these political and social initiatives should go hand in hand with discussion and propagation of the political document of the 11th CPS Congress. The EC reaffirms the intention of the Central Committee to make preparations for the congress a mass political action including publicity for our alternative solutions and making it possible to continue the political and organizational restoration of the party.

The EC CPS calls on all party committees, organizations and members to lend a broad democratic character to preparations for the congress. The activity of the whole party in the pre-congress period and the fulfillment of political tasks coupled with the discussion of the drafts of the congress documents will help regain the party's prestige among the working people and in society and restore the reputation of the CPS as a mass Marxist party, a necessary instrument of pursuing a new policy and bringing about real changes in our country.

Madrid, September 13, 1983
Abridged from *Mundo obrero*,
September 23-29, 1983

Shame of Sri Lankan Violence Against Tamils

The anti-Tamil racist violence of July 1983 is the worst that Sri Lanka has ever known. The atrocities that took place must make every Sri Lankan who values the country's good name deeply ashamed and indignant.

In material terms, the damage done has not yet been fully estimated, although the Minister of Finance has stated that the country's development has been set back by between three to five years. The adverse consequences to Sri Lanka's political and social development, not to speak of the unity of its different nationalities, are incalculable.

However much President J.R. Jayawardene and his United National Party (UNP) government may try to create diversions or find scapegoats, they cannot escape their main responsibility both for creating the situation that led to this racist violence and for the violence itself.

It should be noted that this is the fourth major outbreak of anti-Tamil racist violence since this UNP government assumed office six years ago.

Although the leaders of all Sri Lanka's bourgeois parties have, at various times, used racism to further their class, political and personal purposes, President Jayawardene and his government have added special features and given new dimensions to this despicable reactionary practice.

SECRET MEETINGS

First, they have relied mainly on military and coercive, rather than on political, means to find a solution to the problems of Sri Lanka's minority Tamil nationality.

President Jayawardene's government was elected in 1977 on a promise to work out a political solution to the Tamil problem through an All-Parties Conference.

But it abandoned this position soon after it took office. Instead, it held secret, protracted and eventually fruitless discussions with bourgeois leaders of the Tamils. These discussions had little or nothing to do with ending the inequalities and injustices that the Tamils experienced.

Their main purpose was to entice the bourgeois leaders of the Tamils, in return for minor and largely symbolic "concessions," to join with the UNP in a united capitalist front directed against the left movement and the democratic forces.

When opposition from radical forces among the Tamils made this impossible, the Jayawardene government resorted increasingly to draconian laws, virtual military occupation and rule in the Tamil-majority areas, and state terrorism in order to enforce its will on the Tamils.

This repression has, in turn, encouraged fissiparous tendencies and given a big boost to the demand for a separate state which had, up to then, enjoyed only limited support among the Tamils.

It also provoked retaliatory, sporadic and essentially counter-productive armed attacks by small groups of Tamil youth on government supporters and military patrols in the Tamil areas.

The Jayawardene government used these isolated counter-attacks, which were played up in a big way by the mass media it controlled, to spread alarm among the Sinhalese people and to step up racism and repression.

Secondly, under the Jayawardene government racist violence against Tamils, which had hitherto been confined mainly to those who have lived in Sri Lanka for over 2,000 years and are its citizens, has been extended to include Tamil workers (coming from India — *Ed.*) in plantations situated in the hill-country of the main Sinhalese areas.

Thirdly, the escalating anti-Tamil racist violence is increasingly organized and politically motivated. It enjoys the patronage and open support of a powerful group of ministers and MPs of the UNP government.

This group, which represents the most reactionary and chauvinist circles of the Sinhalese capitalist class, is both anti-left and anti-Tamil. With Industries Minister Cyril Mathew as its main spokesman, this group has strong connections with sections of the bourgeois mass media and influence in the armed services and the police.

Moreover, it controls special storm-trooper "goon squads" which, in recent times, have attacked and murdered strikers on picket lines, beaten up distinguished academic and cultural personalities who have dared to disagree with the Jayawardene government, intimidated Supreme Court judges who upheld constitutionally-guaranteed democratic rights which the government had violated, and led the anti-Tamil racist violence of 1981 and 1983.

In 1981, President Jayawardene admitted that members of his own party had played a leading part in the racist violence of that year. His failure to take any action against them only encouraged them to unleash even greater violence in 1983.

The state terrorism and racist violence that the Tamils have experienced under the Jayawardene government are not isolated phenomena. They are part and parcel of this government's general onslaught on the democratic rights and institutions of the people of Sri Lanka as a whole.

BANKRUPTCY

The neo-colonial "open economy" policies that the Jayawardene government has followed over the past six years in agreement with the World Bank and other international financial institutions of imperialism have produced a major crisis and, on the president's own admission, have brought the country to the verge of "bankruptcy," where the government cannot even pay the annual interest on its immense

foreign borrowings or finance its ever-mounting budgetary deficits.

Desperate appeals for still more loans and grants from the Reagan administration and its allies, as well as from the World Bank and the foreign commercial banks have been met with demands for even more extreme concessions in the financial, trade, investment, foreign policy and strategic spheres.

The Jayawardene government's increasing shift from its earlier authoritarianism to more and more openly dictatorial and terroristic forms of rule, in which even the norms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy are being struck down, is closely linked with its efforts to fulfil the preconditions insisted upon by its imperialist friends before new loans can be sanctioned, and to prove its "stability" to hesitant foreign investors.

Fourthly, another new feature of anti-Tamil racist violence under the Jayawardene government has been the involvement of some sections of the armed services and the police in such violence, either directly or covertly. This has made it possible to spread this violence, which was formerly directed against interspersed Tamil minorities living among the Sinhalese, into the two provinces where the Tamils are in a majority.

The general pattern of the racist violence of July 1983 indicates that it (1) enjoyed a large measure of official government support, and (2) was intended to achieve clear and definite objectives.

The fact that the government was compelled, belatedly and after the worst damage had been done, to take steps to quell the disturbances suggests that it did so only when what was intended to be a "limited" racial riot got out of hand.

The dangerous implications of the recent racial violence are, however, not merely an internal affair of Sri Lanka. The whole question of the fight to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and security is also affected.

In defiance of the wishes of the United Nations and the littoral states, the Reagan administration has been recklessly pursuing a policy of tension, military build-up and nuclearization in this ocean.

It has, in recent years, shown a keen interest in Sri Lanka's central and strategic position in this ocean, including its proximity to the main U.S. base in Diego Garcia.

Negotiations with the Jayawardene government to supply the U.S. Seventh Fleet with support facilities at Trincomalee and to expand the existing Voice of America facilities near Puttalam into a propaganda-cum-naval telecommunications base could not be finalized due to widespread public opposition in Sri Lanka.

BIG LIE

Our country also occupies a strategic position in relation to U.S. attempts to encircle India with hostile states and thus be able to pressure and destabilize its fight to maintain peace and security in the region where the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation is a major bulwark favoring détente and regional cooperation.

The Jayawardene government knows that it cannot hope to get the large financial assistance it wants from the U.S. unless it does something concrete to accommodate the Reagan administration's desire for a military presence in Sri Lanka.

To make this acceptable to the Sinhalese people, who have vigorously opposed it, the government first came out with the "big lie" that the riots had been caused by a "powerful foreign nation" (the obvious implication being the Soviet Union) acting through three left parties in Sri Lanka, including our party, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

This slanderous attack on the Soviet Union is fully in line with the bogey of a "Soviet threat" which the Reagan administration uses to justify its militarization and nuclearization of the Indian Ocean.

It was followed by open demands in the government-influenced newspapers that Sri Lanka should sever diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, particularly the USSR and the German Democratic Republic.

But the allegation was so absurd and untenable that it was received with both disbelief and ridicule. So much so that the government has been wriggling to back away from it ever since.

In order to "prove" this concocted charge, the government banned our party and two other left parties. As far as the CPSL is concerned, our general secretary and several members of our political bureau have been detained without any official charge against them and for an indefinite period.

Government ministers have accused other CPSL leaders of going "underground" in order to avoid arrest and asserted that the only way they can prove their "innocence" is to surrender. Our offices, newspapers and other publications, as well as printing establishments have been closed.

Our party denounces the charge that we had anything to do with this or any other racial violence as a totally false, despicable and absurd slander. Our record in the fight against racism and for national unity is known to all.

We have been in the forefront of the fight for a solution of the problems of the Tamil nationality through political means, and against all attempts to use military means and state terrorism for this purpose. Only a couple of weeks before the recent violence began, our party wrote to President Jayawardene drawing his attention to the deteriorating inter-communal situation which was being aggravated by the policies of his government, and asking him to convene the all-parties conference he promised earlier.

If he had done so, much of what has now happened might have been averted.

As Marxist-Leninists, we have always opposed terrorism as a diversionary and counter-productive means of carrying forward the mass struggle of the working class, and other oppressed and exploited sections of the people.

Our party has come out against the division of Sri Lanka into separate "dwarf" states. We have openly advocated a political solution of the problems of the Sri Lanka Tamils through negotiations based on mutual acceptance of the twin principles of

- (1) self-determination of the Sri Lanka Tamils, and
- (2) preserving Sri Lanka as a united country.

Concretizing this, we have proposed regional autonomy for the Tamils within a united Sri Lanka. We have also advocated that every "stateless" Tamil plantation worker of Indian origin, who wishes to do so, should be given the opportunity to become a citizen of Sri Lanka on the basis of equality with other citizens, while arrangements should be made with the Indian government about the future of any of these workers who wish to be Indian citizens and return to that country.

SCAPEGOATS

The three left parties which the government has accused have many sharp differences over international and domestic policies. But what they have in common is opposition to the government's use of state terrorism and military coercion against the Tamils. This is why they have been selected as scapegoats.

Our party is grateful to the fraternal parties and

other democratic parties and organizations abroad who have condemned the banning of our party and other parties, and who have demanded that these bans be lifted and all leaders and others who are detained should be released unconditionally. We urge them and others to continue this campaign, which is of great assistance to us.

The situation in Sri Lanka remains serious. Its outcome affects both the future of democratic development in our country and the international fight for peace and security.

A common international effort to get the bans imposed on opposition political parties withdrawn, their imprisoned and detained leaders released, and a political, rather than a military-repressive, solution of the problems of our country's inter-communal relations is therefore of great importance.

Pieter Keuneman,
Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party
of Sri Lanka
Morning Star, August 31, 1983

When Will Washington Give the Answers?

The U.S. administration, with the active participation of President Reagan himself, has continued to fan the anti-Soviet hysteria over the gross provocation against the USSR, which the United States itself organized, and which involved the dispatch of a South Korean plane with special reconnaissance tasks into Soviet air space in the Far East.

It has now been clearly established that this involved the pursuit of the following main objectives.

First, sharply to spiral international tensions and assure Washington of a cover for realizing its militaristic preparations. It cannot be considered accidental that after what happened the U.S. Congress passed a decision approving an unprecedentedly large military budget well in excess of all the Pentagon requirements for the development and production of new types of weapons, nuclear weapons in the first place.

Second, to divert world public attention from the pressing international problems and to try to discredit the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, which are meeting with ever greater support in the world. Simultaneously, to make it even more difficult to achieve a mutually acceptable understanding at the disarmament talks and in the atmosphere of war hysteria to drag its new nuclear missiles into Europe.

The organizers of this provocation hope that by inflating the atmosphere of hostility for the USSR and shamelessly speculating on the "humane" aspect of the whole matter, they will manage to conceal the truth to mislead the people and so to cover up their tracks and escape responsibility for the crime they have committed. However, from day to day there is a growing conviction in the world that the U.S. authorities are engaged in a piece of deliberate deception, trying at all costs to lead public opinion along a false path. In short, they are resort-

ing to a device which is, as a rule, used by offenders. And as this is being revealed, the men in Washington are feeling ever more nervous and losing their composure.

On the strength of a thorough investigation, the Soviet Union has presented a photographically precise picture of events. It has been incontrovertibly shown that U.S. special services, with the sanction of the highest authorities of the United States, mounted a large-scale operation involving a whole complex of facilities: spy planes, warships, and space systems. Various agencies of the United States, Japan and South Korea were brought into the operation.

All the actions of the South Korean Boeing evidenced that it was not a plane that had accidentally strayed off course. Its flight-path, which lay over important Soviet military installations, had been planned beforehand, controlled and corrected by the corresponding services. By dispatching this plane into the air space of the USSR for intelligence purposes, the special services of the United States deliberately took that criminal step, and in the event it was cut short, had planned to turn the whole operation into a political provocation of international proportions.

The Soviet side has published data indicating that the actions of the air defense in the area in connection with the violation of the USSR's air borders were justified.

The U.S. authorities have continued to cling stubbornly to the legend they had fabricated in advance, which, as the U.S. press has also recognized, is already splitting at the seams. The White House is finding it ever harder to deny the established facts. As a result, there are ever more contradictions in the statements by U.S. officials between what they asserted earlier and what they are now saying. Having

once resorted to deception, Washington is sinking ever deeper into it.

For instance, it was initially asserted in Washington that the U.S. services had no radio communication with the South Korean plane. It then transpired that there were constant radio exchanges between its crew and the air control services of the United States. It was said that the Boeing had strayed off course because of a technical fault. It was then admitted that the air navigation equipment of that type of plane completely rules out such a deviation. At first nothing was said about the presence of a U.S. reconnaissance RC-135 along the flight-path of the South Korean plane. They were then forced to admit this as well. For some time, manipulation was made in Washington of some kind of recording of conversations between Soviet pilots and ground control centers. Here, the fabrication has been evident from the outset. So they were altogether confused when they subsequently began to detect in these recordings something that for some reason had not been noticed there before. But once again this had to be admitted under the pressure of the facts.

The facts are not only being dishonestly manipulated, they are being hushed up. There is obviously a good reason why the U.S. side has up to now failed to make public, for instance, the recordings, which it undoubtedly has at its disposal, of reports from the Boeing 747, of the conversations with the reconnaissance RC-135 plane which was in the Kamchatka area at the same time, and over matter relevant to the case.

Washington has stubbornly avoided giving answers that would inevitably shed light on what actually happened on the night of August 31 in the Far East.

Question One. If that was an ordinary flight, how is one to explain the fact that a plane, equipped with first-class avionics piloted by an experienced crew and serviced by the ramified air control system of the United States and Japan, and in the presence of the duplicating general purpose and military radio navigation systems at the disposal of the United States, strayed from the international route to a distance of up to 500 kilometers, penetrating the air space of the USSR for a long time?

Question Two. Why did the crew of the Boeing 747, having its own radar system which makes it possible to establish reliably the location of the flight — over land or over sea — fail to correct its flight-path when passing over the Kamchatka Peninsula, but continued on its course, although it was perfectly aware that the whole of its flight-path up to the Japanese islands should have been over the ocean?

Question Three. Why did the flight-path of the intruder plane pass exactly over areas where key

strategic installations of the USSR are located, with the plane having duly to maneuver for that purpose when in Soviet air space?

Question Four. Why did the U.S. side fail to take any measures to terminate the gross violation of the USSR's air space — a fact which it had admitted from the outset — and to return the plane to the international route, although it had every possibility of doing so? Why did it not occur to the U.S. authorities to establish communication with the Soviet side and to provide the necessary data on the flight of that plane, if it had strayed off course by mistake?

Question Five. Why were numerous facilities of the U.S. air and naval forces made operational simultaneously with the Boeing 747 in the period of its flight? Why was the Boeing's flight precisely synchronized with the appearance over the area of the U.S. Ferret-D reconnaissance satellite?

Question Six. How is one to explain that the U.S. State Department statement said that the South Korean plane had reported its location only according to pre-arranged check-points and not the actual geographical coordinates, whereas, according to the official statement of Japan's Foreign Ministry, actual data were transmitted from the said plane on its location over the Sea of Okhotsk 600 kilometers southwest of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky.

Question Seven. How is one to explain the series of "accidents" in the behavior of the Boeing 747 crew: it failed to fulfil its duties in checking on the work of the navigation equipment, to use other instruments helping to determine the location of the plane, to obey the signals sent out to it by the Soviet pilots and ground services on the international distress frequency, and the maneuvers by the Soviet planes, and to respond to the warning shots fired with tracer shells?

Question Eight. How is one to explain the unusually large crew of the plane? Was the additional personnel perhaps required to handle the special intelligence equipment? Why are not all the members of the crew named in the published lists?

All these questions — and their list can be continued — demand direct and honest answers. The U.S. government has the duty to provide them.

Finally, and most importantly, who, after all, benefits from what has happened? Does it benefit the USSR, which resolutely calls for doing away with the high tension, for improving the international situation and strengthening confidence? Or does it benefit those who, cranking up the arms race, are forcing up the militaristic hysteria and spreading hostility among the peoples?

Here, the answer is already clear. The line of the U.S. administration's policy and its practical actions speak for themselves.

Pravda, September 24, 1983

Prototype of New Power in the Liberated Areas of El Salvador

More and more new tasks are arising before us as the revolutionary forces consolidate their power in this or that area of the country. People's government bodies have sprung up in the liberated areas; in a short period of time, they have become the principal instrument of our everyday activity.

These bodies have their specifics on every front but they all set themselves identical goals and accomplish similar tasks.

ADMINISTRATION

People's power is a system of local government bodies elected by the population. Elective offices are not held by men alone. A high level of organization also enables women to cope with leading work.

People's government bodies decide on the main tasks in areas under guerrilla control and direct their fulfillment. Local government bodies functioning on the principle of political democracy see to the satisfaction of the people's needs in conformity with laws made by the people themselves.

Every government body is composed of a general secretary, a chief of militia and a supply chief. The general secretary provides general leadership; the supply chief is in charge of food supply for the population and plans the production of goods for the people; the militia chief is responsible for security in the zone.

It is the duty of people's government bodies to supply the population with foodstuffs and therefore militiamen not only join in fighting but also participate as far as possible in production effort. They also have other functions, the more important of which are health care, education system and the military-political training of the population.

EDUCATION

People's government has many rural teachers engaged in a vast literacy campaign among children and adults. The campaign involves both fighters and civilians and is being carried on even in areas far from guerrilla-controlled zones. Our educational methods are aimed at helping fulfil tasks of the liberation struggle; by teaching the people to read and write, we want to put traditional cultural values within their reach. Our points of departure are classes for children of school age and regular literacy campaigns under plans made by the people's government body of the zone concerned.

Conditions are not very favorable, of course; we are short of aids and furthermore, recurrent attacks by government troops compel us to change the location of schools, which entails considerable difficulties. Occasionally these troops destroy a school during a sortie and then we are forced to do the teaching in the open.

Despite these inconveniences and dangers, people's government bodies ensure education and combat illiteracy in the zones controlled by the

Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

People's government bodies are compelled to build air-raid shelters for school children because government planes drop 500 and 250-pound bombs on the defenseless population.

HEALTH CARE

Care of the health of civilians and fighters in the guerrilla-controlled zones is another priority of people's government bodies.

This work is being done by men and women on an equal footing, primarily doctors, hospital orderlies and the medical students, who are scattered over the various areas. They are aided by special teams operating in hospitals and pharmacies and participating in sanitary campaigns among the population as well as making and supplying medicines of vegetable origin. We have also set up classes for hospital attendants.

Medicines in common use like aspirin are no particular problem in guerrilla-controlled camps and zones but special medicines needed in an emergency are in very short supply. People's government bodies and the leadership of diverse organizations are doing their best to solve the problem by joint efforts.

In Guazapa, for example, medicines are made from herbs; they are available to both fighters and civilians. There is a hospital and while it lacks the kind of up-to-date equipment used in cities, its staff has made some of the necessary instruments by itself and uses them successfully, specifically in surgery. It also has a maternity department.

In Jucuaran we have field hospitals operating on small farms. Surgery is carried out in the light of oil lamps and where there is a power station electricity is used in strict accordance with black-out regulations. During an offensive by government troops, hospital staff are compelled to move into shelters and to work underground in the light of electric torches.

All these inconveniences are evident. We still lack surgical instruments and well-equipped hospitals, which we need so badly to return our fighters to the ranks.

Sanitary inspection and hygienic measures adopted by people's government bodies in the zones controlled by FMLN units play an important part. Special teams visit every home once a week to check their sanitary condition and instruct tenants on health care. Many houses lack flush toilets and this makes the prevention of communicable diseases a priority task.

FOOD SUPPLY

People's government bodies made a point of developing agricultural production. Large tracts of land are planted to rice, beans and millet, which are staples in the FMLN-controlled zones.

The revolutionary fighters and the civilian population are making heroic efforts to accomplish this task. They pose a real challenge in the military, political and economic spheres to the ruling classes and the regime's armed forces, who are trying in vain to destroy the population of the villages backing the guerrillas. Men and women, old people, and children over 13 work in agriculture on an equal footing.

People's government bodies requisition the livestock of reactionary landed proprietors which help to solve the problem of supplying children with milk and making cheese for the population. But requisitioning is an infrequent occurrence, for the enemy, who would like to starve us, has set out to destroy livestock in the same way as it destroys civilians.

In all guerrilla-controlled zones, civilians and fighters cultivate large tracts of land on a collective basis. On Farabundist Labor Days, when the whole population of every liberated area works in the fields, work quotas are also assigned to fighters. Besides, the revolutionary movement as represented by people's power encourages individual production to enable families living in guerrilla zones to produce grain for their own use. However, we have so far been unable to achieve adequate results due to the war situation and the lack of fertilizers and implements needed to increase output.

WORKSHOPS

People's government bodies attach great importance to the setting up of sewing and shoe workshops as well as bakeries.

In addition to their direct function, these workshops are used for vocational training and the

organization of collective labor. And while the construction of a new society is a problem of the future for us, new human relations are taking shape already. This is seen in child care. Nurseries set up in the liberated zones enable women to join in production and fulfil socially useful tasks.

Biscuit and candy shops have gone into operation. We are studying the problem of canning, which is new to us; its solution would provide us with reserves in the event of an enemy offensive and the evacuation of civilians.

We make and repair uniforms and footwear for fighters. Besides, there are sewing and shoe workshops meeting the demand of civilians, primarily children. There are also pottery and art workshops.

SELF-DEFENSE OF THE POPULATION

This is a great responsibility of the people's power. Regardless of what our comrades do in their everyday lives, they all join together in building bomb shelters, digging trenches, organizing evacuation during enemy attacks or air raids and guarding the zone around the clock.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that forming under people's rule are the foundations of a new, strong society; new production relations are developing which, for all their simplicity, give an idea even now of what our future will be like.

The gains of the people's power show that the overwhelming majority of the Salvadoran people no longer believe in the old structures and regard them as the cause of exploitation and the crisis in which El Salvador finds itself.

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