

information bulletin

Speech by Fidel Castro / 24

Lebanon / 9 & 38

Nicaragua / 26

**Organizing the
anti-Reagan
election wave / 40**

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

October 1982

contents

MEETINGS AND TALKS

- 3 Contribution to the further development of fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Grenada/*Official visit to the Soviet Union by a party and government delegation from Grenada*
- 5 Leonid Brezhnev's friendly meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski
- 6 Leonid Brezhnev's friendly meeting with Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal
- 7 USSR's constructive approach to nuclear disarmament: military equilibrium at the lowest possible level/*TASS interview with USSR Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov*

PLENARY MEETINGS

- 8 On the international and internal situation/*CP Greece CC plenary meeting presidium statement*
- 9 For the restoration of Lebanon's independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and democratic development/*Appeal adopted by the Lebanese CP CC*
- 11 The masses' trust and active support: an assurance of all the successes of the party/*Report by Babrak Karmal at the ninth enlarged plenary meeting, PDPA CC*
- 13 CP India calls for mass action to defend peace and the people's interests/*CP India National Council*
- 15 Deepen the process of uniting the democratic forces/*Colombian CP CC*

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

- 18 Democracy will save the country/*CP Argentina CC*
- 19 Ecuador: strengthening the Communist Party — assurance of a popular victory/*Report by Rene Mauge, General Secretary CPE CC*
- 23 Peace is our uppermost concern/*Nepszabadsag's interview with Anthony Vassallo, General Secretary CP Malta*
- 24 We are in favor of peaceful settlements, but no imperialist threat will make us step back/*Speech by Fidel Castro*
- 26 Nicaragua: let us safeguard the people's power and the country's independence/*Speech by Daniel Ortega*
- 28 Save the life of Antonio Maidana/*Appeal by the Paraguayan CP*
- 29 New dangers to democracy and how to combat them/*Statement of the CC Political Commission, Portuguese CP*
- 31 For united front of left democratic forces/*CC, CP of Sri Lanka*

FROM THE PRESS

- 33 USA obstructing nuclear disarmament/*A. Petrov, Pravda*
- 35 Fresh fit of anti-Sovietism and its repercussions/*Communist press on the U.S. administration's attacks against détente*
- 38 The Lebanese tragedy and the Middle East crisis/*Pravda*
- 40 USA: organizing the anti-Reagan election wave/*Political Affairs*
- 42 Canada: youth and the fight-back/*Communist Viewpoint*

information bulletin

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

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED  PRINTED IN CANADA

19-20 (467-468) Volume 20 PRICE: 75 cents

Contribution to the Further Development of Fruitful Cooperation between the USSR and Grenada

**Official Visit to the Soviet Union by a
Party and Government Delegation from Grenada**

Joint Soviet-Grenadian Communiqué

From July 26 to 31, 1982, a party and government delegation from Grenada led by Maurice Bishop, Chairman of the CC Political Bureau, New Jewel Movement (NJM) and Prime Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government, was on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU CC and the Soviet Government.

In the course of the visit, talks were held between Nikolai Tikhonov, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Maurice Bishop, Chairman of the NJM CC Political Bureau and Prime Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada.

During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, there was a discussion of the present state and prospects for further development of Soviet-Grenadian relations, and also of meaningful international problems of mutual interest.

The parties noted with satisfaction that cooperation between the USSR and Grenada based on the principles of equality and mutual respect has been developing successfully. A mutual striving for further expansion of trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties was expressed. The parties voiced satisfaction at the strengthening contacts between the CPSU and the NJM, and also between the social organizations of both countries.

During the visit an agreement on cooperation in the field of planning, an agreement on economic and technical cooperation, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation, a consular convention, and a protocol on the goods deliveries from 1983 to 1987, were signed. An agreement on cooperation between the CPSU and the NJM was signed.

Nikolai Tikhonov informed Maurice Bishop about the practical steps being taken to implement the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU on the USSR's internal and foreign policy, about the preparations for celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and about the USSR's struggle in the international arena to remove the threat of war, especially nuclear war, to

lessen tension in various regions of the world, and to curb the arms race.

Maurice Bishop spoke about the development of the political and socio-economic processes in Grenada following the victory of the revolution on March 13, 1979, which put an end to the regime of tyranny and persecution in the country, and which laid the basis for building a people's democratic society.

Solidarity was expressed on the Soviet side with the Grenadian people's efforts to overcome the burdensome colonial legacy and develop the country on a free democratic basis. Support was expressed for the Grenadian people's right to build their own life without any pressure or interference from outside. Bishop expressed his gratitude to the Soviet people for their solidarity and support.

During the discussion of international problems, the parties expressed grave concern at the continued worsening of the situation in the world as a result of the actions of imperialist and reactionary forces. Of special danger is the USA's policy of stepping up the arms race, including the expansion of production and development of new means of mass destruction, and its policy of confrontation and interference in the internal affairs of states, which is undermining the process of détente, leading to the creation of new seats of international tension, and increasing the danger of a nuclear war. The Soviet Union and Grenada stressed the importance of countering this dangerous militaristic course with the line of eliminating the nuclear threat, preserving and strengthening universal peace, ending the arms race, and of disarmament.

Maurice Bishop expressed approval of and support for the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives, and especially of the USSR's decision to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, contained in the message from Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, and declared that these initiatives meet the vital interests of all the peoples.

Both parties stated that in the present complicated situation it is becoming especially important for

every country to participate in constructive quests for just and peaceful settlements of controversial international problems, and in the efforts to preserve and strengthen peace.

The Soviet Union and Grenada are convinced that one of the most important problems of the international situation today is to halt the build-up of nuclear potentials and to lower the dangerous level of nuclear confrontation in Europe. Considering the Soviet-American talks on limitation and reduction of strategic arms as a positive step, the parties agreed that the solution of this key problem on a mutually acceptable basis will be an important contribution to strengthening international security and improving the situation in the world.

The Soviet Union and Grenada reaffirm their support of the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world, considering them to be one of the measures toward regional military détente. In this connection, they note the significance of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty), and also the importance of all the nuclear powers scrupulously abiding by Latin America's status as a nuclear-free zone, express the hope that all the parties to the treaty will fully secure the nuclear-free regime established by the treaty.

The Soviet side noted the positive significance of Grenada's activity in the non-aligned movement, which plays a positive role in the struggle to preserve peace and avert nuclear war, against imperialist diktat and aggression, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, and equitable and mutually advantageous international relations.

The USSR and Grenada sternly condemned Israel's marauding attack on Lebanon and the genocide it is perpetrating in relation to the Palestinian people, which poses a grave threat to international peace and security. They believe that it is only the USA's support that has made possible the Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples. The bloody events in Lebanon are the direct result of the Camp David policy of separate deals and of the U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation."

The parties resolutely demanded an immediate end to the aggression and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territory of Lebanon. They declared their unswerving solidarity with the Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and came out in support of their legitimate rights and interests.

Maurice Bishop gave an assessment of the present situation in the Caribbean. The USSR and Grenada expressed grave concern about the persisting tension in the Caribbean and Central America, and emphasized the urgent need to settle the conflicts in the area by peaceful means, at the conference table, and on the basis of complete respect for the right of every people to decide its own destiny. They are resolutely opposed to the policy of blackmail and threats, and of political, economic and other pressure on Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other Caribbean and Central American states. The parties condemned the intervention by the USA in El Salvador, its support of the anti-popular regime in that country, and its attempts to enlist the reactionary regimes of neighboring countries in suppressing El Salvador's patriotic forces.

Both parties came out against foreign bases in the Caribbean, the setting up of a rapid deployment force, the carrying out of provocative military maneuvers, the plans to create military and political blocs so as to divide the countries in the region, and against other military acts which go against the strivings of the peoples of that region to turn it into a zone of peace, independence and development.

The USSR and Grenada reaffirmed their solidarity with the peoples fighting for national independence and for an end to all forms of colonialism and racism.

The participants in the talks spoke out in favor of reshaping international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, which would promote the progress of the developing countries. They consider it impermissible to use economic ties as a means of blackmail and diktat, as an instrument for undermining the independence and sovereignty of states, and advocate the earliest holding of global talks on the most important economic problems in accordance with the decisions of the UN General Assembly.

The parties underlined the important role of the United Nations in the present-day situation as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Both parties expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks, believing that they were useful and will promote the development of fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Grenada.

Abridged from *Pravda*, August 1, 1982

Leonid Brezhnev's Friendly Meeting With Wojciech Jaruzelski

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP CC, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, in the Crimea on August 16. Andrei Gromyko, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, USSR Foreign Minister, Konstantin Chernenko, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, CPSU CC Secretary, and Jozef Czyrek, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary, took part in the meeting.

Leonid Brezhnev and Wojciech Jaruzelski informed each other about the main directions of the policy of both parties and states. Brezhnev noted that the Soviet communists and all the other Soviet working people are making vigorous efforts to intensify industrial agricultural production. Much is being done to improve the management of the economy and to implement the socio-economic program outlined by the 26th congress of the CPSU.

Jaruzelski advised that positive changes are gradually taking place in the country as a result of the extraordinary measures, and the political and economic activity being carried on by the Polish leadership in accordance with the decisions of the ninth congress of the PUWP. The party is seeking to strengthen its links with the working class and all the other working people. The movement for national revival is developing to bring together all the Polish patriots who cherish their country's historical and socialist values. At the same time, the dire consequences of the political and economic crisis are still making themselves clearly felt. The Polish society is surmounting the difficulties by displaying calm and a sense of patriotic responsibility, and through well-ordered work. The process of taking the country out of the crisis is being hampered by the existence of a counter-revolutionary underground whose activity is being incited and supported from outside, by the USA in the first place.

Brezhnev and Jaruzelski stated with satisfaction that in all the main spheres of social activity Soviet-Polish ties have continued to strengthen on the principles of socialist internationalism, equality, respect for sovereignty, and friendly mutual assistance. All this work is being done in accordance with the understanding reached during the visit to the USSR by a PPR party and state delegation in March 1982. The expansion of Poland's economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries is helping to revitalize Poland's economy and is creating the prospects for its successful development.

Polish society, Jaruzelski said, will not allow itself to be deceived by the insinuations fabricated by Poland's enemies about so-called interference by the USSR in the PPR's internal affairs. "Soviet interference" is the regular deliveries of raw and other materials, and of components, and the credits

and orders which ensure the loading of a substantial part of Poland's production facilities. Jaruzelski expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for the great and valuable assistance being rendered to the Polish people.

Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union would, as far as it is able, continue to assist in solving the economic problems facing the Polish People's Republic.

Assessing the international situation, Brezhnev and Jaruzelski stressed that the USSR and the PPR sternly condemn the acts of the USA and some other NATO countries for resorting to economic sanctions as a means to pressure sovereign states. The U.S. administration has resorted to unprecedented pressure on Poland in breach of the norms of international law and the UN Charter. That policy aims to worsen the economic difficulties and destabilize the situation in the country in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

The leaders of both parties and states consider it necessary most resolutely to emphasize that the policy of financial and other sanctions is a boomerang which will also recoil on the interests of the countries resorting to reprehensible methods in international affairs. The USSR and the PPR remain adherents of well-ordered inter-relations, and of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic field between states with different social systems.

Historically, Poland has had an appreciable role to play in the fortunes of Europe. This role especially increased with the birth of a socialist state on Polish soil. As an integral part of the socialist community, the PPR has promoted the stability of the post-war structure in Europe and the inviolability of the existing borders through its policy of peace and neighborliness.

As in the past, the USSR and the PPR are now holding firmly to a course aimed to strengthen European and international security, curb the arms race, and reduce the threat of military and political crises and of another world war. There should be no place for diktat and arbitrariness in international relations.

Brezhnev and Jaruzelski expressed concern about the outbreak of sharp conflicts in several regions of the world, and in particular, the latest outburst of war unleashed by Israel in the Middle East. It is not only Israel, but also the United States, that is answerable for the tragedy of the Palestinians and of Lebanon.

The Soviet Union and Poland will continue to give support to the Palestine Liberation Organization, Syria, Lebanon, and the just cause of the Arab peoples. The USSR and the PPR stand for a lasting, comprehensive and just political settlement of the Middle East problems.

The meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Wojciech Jaruzelski took place in a cordial atmosphere and confirmed the complete unanimity both on ques-

tions of the development of bilateral relations and also on international affairs.

Pravda, August 17, 1982

Leonid Brezhnev's Friendly Meeting With Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, General Secretary of the MPRP CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Khural, in the Crimea on August 20.

Brezhnev and Tsedenbal exchanged information on the socio-political and economic development of the Soviet Union and Mongolia, and discussed the most important questions of their bilateral relations.

Soviet-Mongolian cooperation has been getting deeper and fuller every year. There has been a quantitative increase in the ties in the economic field, and, what is particularly important, they are becoming more effective. The Soviet-Mongolian enterprises — the Erdenet combine and the Mongol-sovsvetmet association — have been operating successfully. Last year's mutual trade obligations have not only been fulfilled, but overfulfilled.

Since 1976, 185 important economic units have been put into operation, and construction of an additional 160 has begun in the MPR with the cooperation of the Soviet Union, that is, since the program of all-round Soviet-Mongolian cooperation was adopted. The prerequisites have been created to complete the elaboration of a general scheme to develop and deploy the MPR's productive forces for the period to the year 2000.

Brezhnev and Tsedenbal gave great attention to the situation in Asia and the Middle East. Those regions have not been bypassed by the growing international tension, and the many conflicts causing suffering to the peoples remain.

For decades, the Middle East has not known peace, but only short respites between wars. The present tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine, and the tragedy of Lebanon are the logical consequence of deals like Camp David. A stable peace in the Middle East cannot be reached through separate deals or along a path like the one chosen by Israel, a path of brigandage, force and genocide. Only a just and comprehensive political settlement can assure the vital rights of all the peoples for whom the Middle East is the homeland.

The continuing war between Iran and Iraq is dangerously aggravating the situation in that region and undoubtedly contradicts the interests of both countries. The USSR and the MPR would welcome a political settlement of the disputed problems between those two neighboring states.

The Soviet Union and Mongolia note with satisfaction the recent acts of good will by the three countries of Indochina: the withdrawal of a part of the Vietnamese troops from the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and the constructive practical measures to develop a dialogue with the ASEAN countries, China, and the other neighboring states.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic proceed from the fact that the Far Eastern states are in a position to build their relations exclusively on the principles of neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation. There are no problems which cannot be solved at the conference table if those involved truly desire it, and if bias and distrust are laid aside.

The USSR and the MPR express readiness to discuss with all interested states in that region the ways to improve the situation fundamentally so that the peoples can concentrate on fulfilling the tasks of socio-economic development, and can minimize the joint and individual efforts to ensure their security.

Tsedenbal emphasized that the MPR fully agrees with the propositions regarding China made by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech in Tashkent.

The meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and was marked by complete unanimity.

Pravda, August 21, 1982

Marxist Philosophy at the Leninist Stage

L. Suvorov

How Lenin developed to a higher stage the philosophy of Marx and Engels, and an analysis of the current ideological struggle between Leninism and the various doctrines claiming to be Marxist.

Bibliography
cloth 244 pp \$5.50

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

USSR's Constructive Approach to Nuclear Disarmament: Military Equilibrium at the Lowest Possible Level

TASS Interview with USSR Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov,
Member of the Political Bureau, CPSU Central Committee

Q. For more than six months now, the Soviet Union and the United States have been carrying on talks in Geneva on limiting nuclear arms in Europe. How are these talks going and what could you say on the positions of the two sides?

A. By mutual agreement, these talks are of a confidential nature, and it will naturally not do to disclose all that is going on and being said at the talks. The Soviet Union takes this understanding seriously. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the U.S. side. Reports have lately appeared in the Western press, U.S. and West German periodicals in particular, disclosing the content of the talks. In these reports, there have been serious distortions of the Soviet position.

I understand the great interest among the public as regards the content of our position at the talks. The Soviet Union has put forward proposals in Geneva envisaging the establishment of a large European zone for reducing and limiting nuclear weapons from the Arctic Ocean to Africa, and from the mid-Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. Within this zone, it is proposed to reduce the existing medium-range nuclear arms (with a range of 1,000 kilometers and over, but not intercontinental) so as to ensure that five years after an understanding is reached neither the USSR nor NATO should have more than 300 units of that class of weapons. Cuts should be made in all types of medium-range nuclear arms: both missiles and aircraft. The proposal also envisages a ban on the deployment of new types of nuclear weapons in the zone, naturally including such U.S. missiles as Pershing-2 and Cruise.

The Soviet proposals do not envisage any commitments on the part of third countries. But the total number of 300 units of medium-range arms also includes British and French missiles and aircraft. The Soviet Union cannot ignore the fact that these arms are part of the NATO countries' total medium-range nuclear arsenal. They are targeted on the USSR and its allies.

Our proposals also provide for parallel measures in Europe to limit nuclear arms with a range of under 1,000 kilometers. Such limitations of these numerous arms are undoubtedly in the interests of all European states. We have also proposed that outside the European reduction and limitation zone, medium-range nuclear weapons should be deployed so as to prevent their reaching the other side's targets within the specified zone.

As for the stand of the USA, it has continued to cling to its notorious "zero option," that is, the total elimination of all land-based medium-range Soviet missiles. This proposal, which was put forward even

before the talks began, is obviously meant to thwart an understanding. The USA does not want to dismantle a single unit of its own or its allies' medium-range nuclear arms, and are even seeking to increase these. At the same time, they demand that the Soviet Union should unilaterally dismantle the land-based missiles it has had for more than 20 years. These missiles are part of the long-standing balance of forces in Europe.

The Soviet Union — as Leonid Brezhnev declared at the highest level — will not agree to unilateral cuts in its medium-range nuclear weapons, as the U.S. insists. At the same time, it has been working hard to ensure the success of the talks with the USA on limiting nuclear arms in Europe and strategic arms as a whole. Our proposals open up a real possibility for meaningful arms cuts. The Soviet Union also reaffirms its readiness to free Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

Q. For some time now, it is often being claimed on a high level in the West that the USA allegedly "lags behind" the Soviet Union in strategic arms. What could be said on this account?

A. This is a deliberate distortion of the substance of the issue. Assertions about the USSR's "nuclear superiority" are meant to mislead people.

Everyone knows that right from the time when the USA first acquired nuclear weapons the Soviet Union was obliged to maintain its defense capability and ensure the security of its allies solely by responding to the actions of the USA and NATO, which kept diversifying their nuclear weapons and means of their delivery. The rough balance of forces that took shape between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO still exists both in the field of strategic and other nuclear weapons and in the field of conventional forces. The existence of a rough parity has been repeatedly acknowledged by many Western politicians and military leaders, especially those who have a good knowledge of the question. The existence of a balance of forces has also been reflected in corresponding Soviet-U.S. agreements. We state once again that the USA's alleged "nuclear lag" simply does not exist. Those who seek to present the rough equilibrium as a "U.S. lag" are doing this solely in order to justify the unjustifiable nuclear arms race.

What is the actual state of affairs? U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger made an indicative statement on this account. On August 9, he told U.S. journalists without mincing his words that all Pentagon measures are aimed at attaining superiority over the USSR in a nuclear war and its completion on

terms advantageous to the USA. As he put it, the USA's nuclear capabilities should exceed those of the Soviet Union at every stage of such a war.

The Soviet Union rejects in principle the line for military superiority. It does not aim at such superiority, nor does it believe that anyone else has the right to do so. The military-strategic equilibrium that has been attained between the socialist countries and the capitalist world is the factor that contains the aspirations of the aggressive forces. The Soviet Union's constructive approach to nuclear disarmament is

that the military equilibrium should be at the lowest possible level.

A mutual freeze on nuclear arsenals would be a major first step toward ending the nuclear arms race. This would rule out the possibility of a nuclear arms build-up and would create favorable prerequisites for the earliest adoption of effective decisions on nuclear arms reductions and limitations. It would help to strengthen confidence among states and stabilize the situation.

Pravda, August 20, 1982

congresses & plenary meetings

On the International and Internal Situation

CP Greece CC Plenary Meeting Presidium Statement

The plenary meeting of the CC of the party, held in early July, discussed international and internal developments and the party's tasks, as well as the CC theses for the 11th congress.

The CC discussed and approved unanimously the report made by General Secretary C. Florakis. The CC plenary meeting ascertained the new intensification of U.S. imperialism's aggressiveness, as manifested by the arms build-up, by the development of new weapons and militarization of space, by its economic war against socialist but also against Western European countries, and mainly by its open support and incitement of the Israeli Zionists' criminal invasion of Lebanon.

This adventurist cold war policy of U.S. imperialism creates great dangers for international peace. It is imperative that the efforts for further development of the anti-war and peace movement be stepped up. The plenary meeting underlined especially the need for further development of the movement in defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and emphasized the need for the resolute exposure of the role of U.S. imperialism, which strengthens and in essence participates in the barbarous incursion of Israel in Lebanon.

At the same time, it emphasized that there is a need to uncover the efforts of various circles to disorient the people with theories alleging abandonment of the Palestinian people by the Soviet Union, theories which cultivate not only anti-Sovietism but also defeatism and compromise with imperialism.

Concerning internal developments, the plenary meeting points out that the government's whole policy not only fails to proceed with the change needed by the country but it retreats from PASOK's pre-election declarations. It emphasized especially the anti-CPG stand of the government which cannot be explained otherwise than by the fact that the CPG persistently supports the policy of real change and is struggling for its realization.

This attitude on the part of the government weakens the front of the progressive forces which are essential for the promotion of every democratic measure and for confrontation of the plans of reaction. The anti-CPG attack favors and strengthens the right and every kind of "godfather of change," to raise a wall dividing PASOK and the CPG, in order to hinder the united popular demonstrations in support of the aims of change and to strike against not only the CPG but also PASOK itself.

The plenary meeting stressed that in the new situation all the possibilities must be used in order to develop a powerful united mass popular movement which will struggle to extend its gains in all sectors, and to shift government policy on to a positive direction and for the imposition of a different course for political developments in the direction of change.

The right, whose policy is bankrupt, is undesirable in the eyes of the great majority of the people. The solution for the real change, the plenary meeting underlines, must be sought in a democratic government relying on all the democratic forces which, to one degree or another, are striving for change, and on the mass popular movement. The CPG will make its decisive contribution in this direction.

The plenary meeting discussed the progress made in the party's preparations for the battle of the local elections and it took a series of measures for the mobilization of the democratic forces and personalities so that municipal and rural leaderships are chosen who will fight to raise the role played by local government, for democratization, peace and national independence.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee discussed and approved in principle the draft theses for the 11th congress presented by the Theses Committee. Observations were made for their further improvement. When the theses are finalized they will be publicized.

The Central Committee decided that the 11th con-

gress will be convened in the week of 12 to 19 December, 1982.

It also decided to launch an economic campaign

for the two months November-December in honor of the 11th congress.

Rizospastis, July 11, 1982

For the Restoration of Lebanon's Independence, Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Democratic Development

Appeal Adopted by the CC Plenary Meeting,
Lebanese Communist Party

An extraordinary plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, chaired by comrade Nicolas Chaoui, the party's Chairman, was held in Beirut to discuss a report by General Secretary Georges Haoui on the present situation and the position of the party under the U.S.-Israeli aggression, and on the ways to counteract the occupation and restore Lebanon's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. The meeting unanimously approved the report and drafted a number of practical and organizational measures aimed to intensify the struggle of the masses, the patriotic movement and the communists against the Israeli occupation. The meeting ended its work with the adoption of an appeal to the Lebanese people, the text of which is published below.

Heroic Lebanese masses!

Workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia of Lebanon!

Patriots and communists!

We appeal from besieged Beirut, where incendiary bombs are exploding and where there is a lack of water, electricity and shelter, from the capital of Lebanon covered with the legendary staunchness of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples in the longest, hardest and most sacred battle, which has been going on for a month now on its soil, in the south, in the hills and on the coast, against the Zionist enemy, boastful of his strength, armed to the teeth, using his entire military machine and relying on full support from U.S. imperialism, from heroic Beirut we appeal:

- to the masses of our great people;
- to the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia of Lebanon;
- to the fighting patriotic resistance movement;
- to the activists, members and supporters of our party who are in the enemy's prisons, on the territory under the heels of the enemy's nazi troops, in the front line, on all the fronts, and who are fighting in the still free regions to rebuff the enemy under the slogan "*Battle to Victory or Death*";
- to the fighters in the united armed forces, to the heroes of the Palestinian revolution, to the courageous troops of the Syrian Arab army.

Our people's heroic staunchness is heaping ignominy on the United States and Israel, is frustrating the plans of the USA, Israel and Arab reaction, is laying bare the extent of the United States' deep foul hatred for Lebanon, our homeland, and Israel's baseness manifested in the systematic and criminal destruction of our beautiful homeland's cultural values, and in the urge to wipe out national independence, unity, and democratic freedoms, and to undermine our inherent love for peace.

This legendary staunchness has completely torn off the masks from the Arab regimes which were faint-hearted, some even making deals with the aggressor; from those who overtly or covertly took the Camp David road and became bogged down in civil strife, wasting their forces and those of their allies; and from the regimes which could neither show real resolve nor follow a firm and stable course of resistance, and which confined themselves to making empty statements, thereby losing the economic, social and military leverage so necessary to the resistance.

Our people's staunchness is also exposing the extent of the threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world posed by Israel and U.S. imperialism.

It puts to a serious test the effectiveness of international solidarity in the contemporary epoch and stimulates the forces of socialism, liberation and peace to play an effective role in curbing the aggression and forcing the invaders unconditionally to withdraw their troops from all Lebanese territory.

While the aims of the aggression are clear in terms of the Arab world as a whole — and they are: to wipe out the Palestinian people and the Palestine problem; to bring Syria to its knees and compel it to sign a humiliating surrender treaty; to make betrayal an official course through its approval at the forthcoming inter-Arab summit conference — the purely Lebanese aspect of the aggression is equally dangerous. Israel's intentions in Lebanon are becoming clearer every day: they are not confined to the south of the country or simply to forcing Lebanon to sign a humiliating treaty, but concern the mountainous part of Lebanon, the Bekaa Valley, the north of the country, and also Beirut, the capital. The Israeli aggression aims to do away with independent and sovereign Lebanon and to secure the necessary prerequisites to reconstitute the country

and state on the basis of the suppression of the vast majority of the people and their subordination to the minority, which is linked with the Zionist enemy and which seeks to establish in the country a racist and fascist regime modeled on the Israeli one. And when the Zionist enemy intrudes deeper and deeper into Lebanon, flings in hundreds of thousands of his officers and men, subjects the occupied regions, the south in particular, to foul terrorism, carries out his policy of genocide toward the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples in its most brutal forms, systematically plunders the country's wealth and suppresses the citizens, he thereby seeks to secure absolute predominance of these strata of the isolated minority which are linked with him and which are following his tanks over the overwhelming majority of the people from all the communities, including the Christians. The enemy aims to bolster the system of confessional inequality, bloody fascist domination and foul terrorism, which is fraught with the spread of religious dissension to the mountainous part of Lebanon and to other regions where the inhabitants have so far withstood the enemy's will, and to force the people to bow before the invaders. The enemy's main target is Lebanon. And the aggression is aimed not only against the Palestinian resistance, but also against Beirut itself.

Beautiful Beirut, besieged Beirut, working Beirut: Beirut is the real bulwark of the patriots and the center of true Arab national liberation. We appeal for every effort to save it, to prevent its devastation, to support the staunchness of its sons and bring them together in a single unit.

Only an honest and balanced settlement of the Lebanese problem ensuring Lebanon's unity and territorial integrity, the coexistence of its inhabitants, its sovereignty, national independence, Arab character and democratic development, can save Beirut and avert the threat to its civilian population.

The main target of the aggression is Lebanon and all the strata of its people, all its communities. The Israeli occupation threatens the Lebanese Christians, their homeland, territory, life and dignity, their property and livelihood, their future and destiny, just as it threatens the representatives of the other communities of our people. Those who today, on behalf of the Christians, are justifying their conversion into an instrument of the occupation, are the first traitors to the Christians and to all Lebanese inhabitants and patriots.

The Israeli descent on Lebanon and the Palestinian people is threatening the position of the entire Arab world. It is fraught with the dissolution of the Arab nation and Arab states, with their enslavement and transformation into a direct object of Israeli and U.S. hegemony, and with the direct enforcement of capitulation.

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party hails our people's unparalleled staunchness and calls for the strengthening of the resolute resistance to the enemy, for his utter defeat, for Beirut's defense, and for the continuation of the struggle in the other regions in every form under the central slogan: repulse the aggressor's attacks, crush him and thwart his plans. The Central Com-

mittee appeals for continued heroic battles against the enemy, who has come for more Lebanese territory; it appeals for organized and effective military work both in the front line and in the occupied territories, which must become a grave for the neo-Nazi invaders and their U.S. backers.

The LCP CC calls on the Lebanese authorities to stop the slide toward the U.S.-Israeli settlement plan and to halt the disgraceful and traitorous course which, as everything shows, they are still following, banking on the fact that they are, they say, in the power of the opponent's soldiers, who have surrounded the Palace of the Republic, the President's residence, the Ministry of Defense and the homes of the high-ranking officers. The LCP CC demands of them the necessary minimum of patriotism.

The LCP CC underlines the importance of the unity of the progressive forces and the cohesion of the broadest patriotic strata under the slogan: get rid of the Israeli occupation and secure Lebanon's full sovereignty on all its territory. The LCP CC states that all patriotic forces, irrespective of political, ideological, class and community considerations, and whether or not they are part of the state power, are responsible for working out a common platform and joint program for counteracting the aggressor, routing him and foiling his objectives, and are responsible for restoring Lebanon's independence, unity, sovereignty and freedom.

We emphasize that we reject any submission to the invaders' conditions and will not agree to any tilting toward capitulation to the U.S.-Israeli plan. We reject the realities being set up under the invaders' bayonets, be they in the military or the political sphere. The LCPCC calls for a struggle to ensure that an indispensable condition for any national and political settlement of the crisis should be an unconditional end to the Israeli occupation and reliable guarantees, at the internal, inter-Arab and international levels, for the Lebanese and Palestinian masses and progressive patriotic forces, and for the restoration of Lebanon as a united and independent country, free from any kind of fascist hegemony.

The masses of Lebanon have been writing with their blood the chronicle of the birth of the new Lebanon. Our patriotic movement, and our comrades and all our people's fighters within it, are writing with their blood the history of the birth of the new Lebanese national liberation movement, which is opposing the occupation and forging the fighting vanguard of the Arab national liberation forces. This Arab revolutionary movement, which is new in level, structure, orientation and leadership, is emerging as the natural historical response to the relentless U.S.-Zionist attack, and as a reaction to the disastrous decline of the capitulationist and treacherous regimes and of the right-wing ideology in the Arab national liberation movement. Our people and their democratic and revolutionary forces have been waging a great and heroic battle against the Zionist invaders and their U.S. backers. A powerful campaign of solidarity with the struggle of our people and the Palestinian people is growing and broadening in various countries on every continent. This campaign is already bearing fruit, is help-

ing to isolate the Zionists, U.S. imperialism and its agents, and is helping many states and political forces to form new positions. Our staunchness will enable this campaign to take yet another step forward for the benefit of the Lebanese, Palestinian and all other Arab peoples.

Glory to the fallen sons of our people, of the Lebanese patriotic movement, of the people of

Palestine, of the Palestinian revolution, and of the Lebanese Communist Party! May their memory live forever!

Disgrace and dishonor to the accomplices of the Zionist enemy!

Death to the invaders' troops!

July 1982

The Masses' Trust and Active Support: an Assurance of All the Successes of the Party

Report by Babrak Karmal at the Ninth Enlarged
Plenary Meeting, PDPA Central Committee

The ninth enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), was held in Kabul on July 27 to discuss the party's tasks in stepping up political work among the masses.

The meeting was attended by the heads and deputy heads of the PDPA CC's departments, secretaries of the PDPA's provincial committees responsible for agitation and propaganda in the DRA's armed forces and public organizations, and representatives of the mass media.

Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and Chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, delivered the main report. The CC plenary meeting discussed the report and adopted a resolution.

Below is an account of Babrak Karmal's report.

The PDPA's national conference in March 1982, Babrak Karmal said, was a noteworthy event in the history of our party, the society and the state. Its decisions, the PDPA's program of action and other documents give an all-round and profound analysis of the present stage of the national-democratic revolution, project measures for the defeat of the counter-revolution, and formulate the main tasks in the economic and social development of Afghanistan, in raising the people's material and cultural living standards, further strengthening the party's unity, and enhancing its leading role in society and the state. The national conference summed up the practice of the PDPA's ideological and political activity at the new stage of the revolution, noting its strong points and shortcomings.

The task of winning over the masses to our side and carrying on extensive, vigorous and constant work among them, Babrak Karmal emphasized, stem from the very nature of a truly revolutionary party. Such a party gives a concentrated expression to the will, demands and vital interests of the broad masses. That is precisely why it is their political vanguard, their political leader. Its strength lies in the masses' trust, sympathy and active support. That is the assurance of all its successes and victories, as we see from the experience of the great CPSU, which has relied on the broad masses, whose selfless support enabled it to win out even at the most complicated, critical points of its history. This was possible only because the people saw the party's cause as their own. This is also evident from the experience of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

To run the country, to put into effect in the people's interests and with their direct and active participation the changes for the better which they have long awaited and fully deserved, he emphasized, we need the constant, energetic and active support of the popular masses themselves, support stemming from an understanding of our goals and policy. And this calls for persevering, consistent and painstaking work among the masses. The party should draw even closer to the working people. Its activity should be profoundly understandable to them. Only on this condition will the PDPA be able to provide successful guidance in the people's further advance. We cannot solve any of the questions we now have to face — be it international, military, economic, social or cultural — without the support of the masses, Babrak Karmal said.

An all-round assessment and generalization of the new social experience and a constant analysis of society's vital material and spiritual needs constitute the basis of the party's theoretico-ideological and practical work. The sooner the people feel the actual results of our policy and sense the party's and the government's concern and attention, Babrak Karmal emphasized, the better will be their awareness and comprehension of our policy.

Speaking of some aspects of the country's economic situation, he noted that in spite of the difficulties caused by counter-revolutionary activities, there are some positive results in the country's economic development. In the past Afghan year, the national income was 3.4 per cent higher as compared with the preceding year and amounted to 94.3 billion

Afghani. New major enterprises and projects in the gas and food industry, communications, the power industry and the health service have been in operation. Work has stabilized at such large enterprises as the nitrogen fertilizer plant at Mazar-i-Sharif, the Kabul house-building combine, and others. An analysis of the fulfillment of last year's plan shows that the country is beginning to overcome the earlier decline in the production of the gross national product.

The PDPA Central Committee and the country's government will do their utmost to expand and strengthen our economy, to ensure the stable functioning of industry, agriculture, and all other sectors of social production and the services, and to improve the people's life.

Babrak Karmal then spoke of some concrete lines in the party's work among the masses. The thing now is to ensure, he stressed, that the people should come to adopt the party's cause as their very own, that the masses throughout the country should be actively involved in building and defending a new and prosperous Afghanistan. The party's political work among the masses should be primarily aimed at explaining the meaning of the PDPA's policy, at spreading our achievements and the need to intensify the struggle against the counter-revolution, at eliminating national seclusion and strife, and establishing relations of friendship and cooperation among nations and nationalities. Improvement of political work among the masses is the common cause of the whole party, of every party committee, every party organization, and every member of the PDPA, Babrak Karmal emphasized.

In our political work, he went on, we should reckon not only with the state of affairs in the country, but also with the situation in the region and the world as a whole. The international situation remains complicated. The armed intervention from outside has not ceased, but has in effect developed into an undeclared war, and the malicious slander campaign against revolutionary Afghanistan is being continued. Imperialism has not given up its attempts to use the so-called "Afghan question" for whipping up international tension. But it is now perfectly clear to any unbiased observer that imperialism, reaction in the region and the Chinese hegemonists will be unable to slander and stifle the Afghan revolution, to isolate the DRA in the international arena. Our country enjoys ever greater support and recognition among the progressive and peace forces throughout the world. Our relations and contacts with the Soviet Union, our great northern neighbor, and the socialist community states are particularly fruitful and diverse.

Babrak Karmal especially noted Afghanistan's relations with the Soviet Union, emphasizing that these have been successfully expanding in all areas. The strengthening ties between the PDPA and the CPSU, he said, are the crucial element of Afghan-Soviet relations. In this context, he emphasized the great importance of the recent useful and fruitful talks with the Soviet leaders, held in a spirit of frankness and full mutual understanding.

On behalf of the PDPA, the Revolutionary Coun-

cil, the DRA government and the whole Afghan people we express our profound and sincere gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government and Leonid Brezhnev personally for the all-round support and assistance to the DRA. All Afghan patriots will always remember this assistance as an unfading manifestation of fraternal international solidarity.

Highly appreciating the level of our relations with the Soviet Union and the vitally necessary all-round, fraternal and internationalist assistance we have been receiving, we should do our utmost to make Afghan-Soviet cooperation even more effective, Babrak Karmal declared. It is the duty of every party member and every functionary of the state apparatus to ensure that the Soviet Union's immense assistance is fully utilized, that the people should know about it and realize its importance.

We have repeatedly declared and declare once again that we would like to normalize — on the basis of good will and through constructive negotiation — and maintain friendly and mutually advantageous relations with Pakistan and Iran, our immediate eastern and western neighbors. We have continued our consistent and persevering efforts for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and its neighboring states, Babrak Karmal emphasized.

We have repeatedly put forward constructive proposals reckoning with the interests of the other sides, as well as our own. At the recent talks in Geneva between the foreign ministers of the DRA and Pakistan, held with the mediation of a personal representative of the UN Secretary-General, we also came up with principled proposals. The talks indicated a basis for the attainment of mutually acceptable understandings on the whole complex of questions relating to a comprehensive political settlement. Good will is the only thing that is necessary now to resolve the existing differences. As for the DRA, we are prepared to travel our half of the way in order to improve the situation in our region and normalize relations with Pakistan and Iran.

Babrak Karmal went on to say that with regard to the Middle East crisis, Afghanistan takes a clear-cut and unambiguous stand in accordance with its foreign-policy line.

The Afghan people, together with all the other progressive forces of the world, resolutely denounces Israel's plunder and vandalism in Lebanon and the USA's adventurist line in the Middle East, and demands an immediate end to the aggression and a full withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanese territory without any preconditions.

Revolutionary Afghanistan, which has itself been the target of an armed invasion by the imperialist and reactionary forces, expresses its solidarity with and full support for the people of Lebanon, the country's national-patriotic forces, the Palestinian Resistance Movement, and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for their legitimate rights.

We can state with satisfaction, Babrak Karmal emphasized, that our homeland has been making its modest but fitting contribution to a positive solution

of the problems facing the region and the world. This contribution is expressed not only in foreign-policy initiatives, but primarily in the strengthening and extension of our revolutionary gains, the further development of the April Revolution, the con-

solidation of the new system in Afghanistan, and the work being done to make the way we have chosen irreversible.

Summarized from
Haqiqati Enqelabi Saur, July 31, 1982

CP India Calls for Mass Action to Defend Peace and the People's Interests

From Report on Political Developments and
the Party's Tasks Approved by the
National Council's Plenary Meeting, CP India

A plenary meeting of the National Council, CP India, held in Delhi in late July 1982, discussed the urgent issues on the internal and international situation. The National Council approved the report on political developments since the 12th CPI congress and the party's tasks, excerpts from which are printed below.

Since our 12th party congress the situation has continued to worsen both nationally and internationally. The Reagan administration is pushing ahead with its feverish arms drive and other aggressive activities. There has been an unprecedented upsurge of peace forces in Europe and America, but there has been no let-up in the bellicose activities of U.S. imperialism in various parts of the world. It egged on Israel to launch a perfidious aggression against Lebanon and the PLO and has pushed the world to the brink of a devastating war.

The period has not witnessed any relaxation of the crisis inside the country either. The economic condition of the people has further worsened. Mass discontent is often expressed in devious disruptive forms and the reactionary forces are trying to turn them in an anti-national direction. The left and democratic forces have yet to unite on a country-wide plane in order to project themselves as a viable and coherent alternative.

The government claims that the concessions to the multinationals will enable the country to improve its technological level and increase its competitiveness in the world economy. But this ambitious claim needs to be examined in depth, because there is ample evidence to indicate that the Indian economy in general and industries in particular are being pushed to a position of dependence on the multinationals in a certain measure which is harming our national interests. It will not be out of place to mention that Reagan has directed license holders and subsidiaries of U.S. firms in Europe to stop the supply of equipment to the Soviet Union for laying the gas pipeline. This should serve as a warning to our government.

Though the increase in trade with the socialist states, particularly with the Soviet Union, has helped India to absorb some of the shock delivered by Western economic pressures, the logic of IMF conditions is likely to negate these gains achieved through our economic relations with the socialist states. It should be noted that the monopolists and other reactionary circles have come out in sharp

criticism against the spurt in trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, even though it is exerting a very beneficial effect, particularly when the world capitalist market is hit by recession.

The period under review has witnessed a number of prolonged and tenacious working-class strikes. Strikes were not confined to industrial workers, but also included government employees and teachers. The heroic strike of 2.5 lakh textile workers of Bombay has been continuing since January 18, 1982. This is an outstanding example of the determined action of the working class. Thus the period under review shows that savage attacks are being made on the standard of living and rights of the workers. Workers are being compelled to resort to long drawn-out strike struggles and suffer under prolonged lock-outs. It is against this backdrop that lakhs of workers in the BHEL, steel, coal and banking industry have to fight for revision of wages when the existing agreements expire by the end of this year. The working class of the country has to gird its loins to face bitter struggles in the months ahead to protect its interests against the barbarous attacks of the employers and the government which are likely to intensify as a result of the fall-out of IMF loan conditions.

During the period under review, U.S. imperialism has continued its feverish arms drive in order to disturb the existing parity in arms and establish its military superiority. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that an unprecedented upsurge of the peace movement is sweeping across Europe and America to bar the path of U.S. aggression. Reagan cannot ignore totally the peace forces in his own country. It is no less significant that some of these dangerous aggressive policies of the Reagan administration are failing to secure the support of Western powers. As a matter of fact, they are meeting with increasing opposition. Even Margaret Thatcher condemned the U.S. embargo on the supply of equipment for the Siberian gas pipeline! Reagan's support to the British invasion of the Falkland Islands alienated most of the Latin American

states from the U.S. But despite these developments, the international scene continues to be extremely critical and the danger of a world war is nearer than ever.

On a background of mounting tension on a world plane, certain developments are taking place around our borders. Faced with rising protest in India against the U.S. supply of F-16 bombers to Pakistan, the latter proposed a no-war pact to India. The proposal was calculated to deceive the people of India who were protesting against the massive arms supply by the USA to Pakistan. The real purpose of this offer was that acquisition of offensive weapons would continue and India need not protest because there will be a no-war pact. It is rather intriguing that neither Pakistan nor India spelled out the details of the no-war pact of Pakistan and the Treaty of Friendship of India so that the peace-loving peoples of both the countries could understand what each of the governments wants. In this situation, the Sino-Indian talks began for normalization of relations between China and India. The border dispute of India and China, on the background of acquisition of U.S. offensive weapons by Pakistan, the existence of the strategic road constructed on the disputed territory by China, connecting it with Pakistan and the close relationship of Pakistan with both China and the U.S. lends a sinister significance to these talks for normalization of relations. The no-war peace offer by Pakistan and the Sino-Indian border talks are meant to lull the vigilance of the Indian people over the dangerous situation developing along our borders. This does not portend well for the country. While warning the people against the arms build-up by Pakistan, the government of India does not alert the people against the Sino-U.S. conspiracy in this region.

Developments of recent months show that it is necessary to step up our campaign for exposing reactionary parties like the BJP politically and ideologically. The BJP is trying to project itself as the political alternative and is using various parties to strengthen its position. In recent times, the BJP has adopted subtle methods to screen its reactionary face to deceive the people. It cannot be exposed by crude denunciation. Its hypocritical mask has to be torn away concretely. For instance, by organizing mass campaigns in support of the PLO and against Israeli aggression in Lebanon, against the "anti-foreigner agitation" in Assam, against communal riots, for nationalization of the jute and other industries, by debunking its slogan of "laborization" for state take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains, etc., its pro-imperialist, pro-monopolist face can be disclosed.

The CPI will never be a party to efforts for building up any front or alliance with the BJP and other reactionary parties that can facilitate the coming into power of right-wing parties. Rather the CPI will oppose all such efforts tooth and nail as decided at the Varanasi congress. That is why even when we have joint action with such parties on some specific issues it is always necessary to see that they do not seize such occasions to project their reactionary slogan of all-in opposition unity or non-left opposi-

tion unity. Whenever this is attempted, it is necessary to oppose it promptly and put across the perspective of left and democratic unity as the real alternative. It had been also our experience that during agitations on certain mass issues, parties like the BJP seek to keep the slogans vague so that the agitation and struggles do not really go against the interests of the reactionary vested interests. It is necessary for us to sharpen and clarify the slogans in order to make the masses see through the hypocrisy of the BJP. Toning down the slogans to maintain unity with the BJP will be incorrect. It is by undertaking all these tasks and not by pursuing a policy of no-truck on any issue whatsoever that the BJP can be exposed. As a result of all these activities a situation will be brought about in which it will be possible to build up a front of all left and democratic parties excluding reactionary parties like the BJP.

The effective exposure of right-wing parties and forces demands that the left and democratic parties, the CPI and the CPI(M) in particular, unite on an all-India plane in joint mass actions on all such issues as are referred to above. By building up unity among themselves they have to project the idea of a left and democratic alternative as against the slogan of all-in opposition unity or unity of all non-left opposition or of rule by the BJP alone. But unfortunately, the CPI(M) leadership continues to drag its feet in this regard.

The progress toward systematic development of joint activities of the CPI and the CPI(M) is still slow. It is as yet of a fitful and sporadic character. It is only in West Bengal and Kerala that the CPI, the CPI(M) and other left and democratic parties have joined in formal viable fronts. Even in West Bengal the CPI(M) has begun mounting attacks against our bases and cadre and this is weakening the basis for joint activity. Recently there was a joint convention of the CPI and CPI(M) in Karnataka. This convention was welcomed by the CPI in as much as it was expected that the two parties would move in common mass actions on a wider plane for building up the front of left and democratic forces. But the CPI(M) Political Bureau sharply criticized the convention because it presumed closeness of understanding and approach between the two parties which did not exist, and it was contrary to the CPI(M) party line on important issues. Such issues, however, were not spelled out. It only mentioned that the convention ignored the need of a broad forum of resistance to fight authoritarianism. It is this approach of the CPI(M) that delays the unity of left and democratic forces.

Developments of the last three to four months have led to a critical situation nationally and internationally. Reagan has stepped up his feverish drive toward arms build-up and war. He seems to be in a hurry lest the mounting popular protests and increasing opposition even from his Western partners compel him to abandon his insane path. Inside our country not only has mass discontent grown but further attacks against the people are imminent. The tailoring of the policies by the government of India to suit the IMF means not only attacks on workers and peasants, but threatens to bring about further distor-

tion in the political and economic policies of our country. The bourgeois opposition parties do not hesitate to gang up with disruptive, pro-monopolist and even pro-imperialist forces in order to climb to power somehow. When this extremely critical situation demands a bold initiative by the left parties to lead the masses in wide and determined mass actions against these attacks and prevent the reactionaries from capitalizing on this mass discontent, the CIP(M) continues to drag its feet and hesitates to expose and fight the reactionary forces.

It is in this complicated, difficult and critical situation that our party has to work out the mass campaigns and struggles. In view of this it is of paramount importance that the CPI builds up mass campaigns independently on many issues. But while seeking to build up joint movements and action with other left and democratic forces on common issues the CPI by itself or the mass organizations that it can influence have to move the masses boldly. Even when the left and democratic parties do not move jointly, it may be possible to move the mass organizations jointly. That will compel others to move. The independent initiative of the CPI acquires supreme importance today.

With this perspective, during the coming period while carrying on and intensifying various agitation and struggles in various areas, we should especially undertake the following steps:

1. Organize the Peace March to Delhi on October 4, 1982. This march should be preceded by an

intense campaign in various localities to prepare for the march.

2. Campaign against all the disruptionist, divisive and communal forces, particularly the RSS and BJP.

3. Campaign for remunerative prices to peasants, particularly producers of cash crops like sugar cane, jute, cotton, coconut, etc., adequate relief in accumulated loans, taxes and their levies and arrangement for cheap credit.

4. For land reforms, debt relief and implementation of minimum wages to agricultural laborers.

5. For resistance against atrocities on women, harijans, tribals and other rural poor.

6. Against price increases and for public distribution of essential commodities, including foodgrains and agricultural inputs. Take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential commodities.

7. For nationalization of sugar, jute, drug industry, textile and vanaspati.

8. For solidarity with 2.5 lakh striking textile workers of Bombay.

9. Adequate relief to drought-affected areas.

10. Jobs or allowance for all unemployed persons.

11. Against commercialization of the education system, capitation fees and attacks on the democratic rights of teachers, students and university and college employees.

Deepen the Process of Uniting the Democratic Forces

Political Resolution Adopted at a Colombian Communist Party CC Plenary Meeting

A plenary meeting of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee, held in Bogota from July 9 to 12, 1982, heard and discussed a report by the PCC CC Executive Committee on the internal political situation in the country in the light of the inauguration of the new conservative-led government, and also on the international situation, and adopted the political resolution published below.

Belisario Betancur's election by a considerable majority reflects, first and foremost, the discontent with the Turbay Ayala government and the defeat of attempts to get Lopez Michelsen re-elected. It also expresses the people's striving for immediate solutions to grave problems like unemployment, the housing shortage, the lack of educational opportunities and of services, the serious hospital shortage, inadequate social security, poor transport, the absence of elementary personal security, and the economic crisis, which is pauperizing the people.

As before (after the 1953 military coup of Rojas Pinilla, at the start of the "national front" in 1957, and after Lopez Michelsen's election in 1974), broad strata of the population have formed illusions that Betancur will be able to solve the grave social prob-

lems caused by the profound structural crisis of Colombian society and the domination of the powerful monopolies and financial groups. These illusions were fostered by Betancur's promises which, though they do not affect the roots of the people's tragedy, offer improvement in the short term.

Betancur received the support of the traditional camarillas and leaders, the so-called "economic associations," and even of the democratic trends which have favorable expectations of the new government.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S CLASS CONTINUITY

The conservative circles which promoted and financed Betancur's election campaign are a part of

the traditional set which participates in running the political system, expresses the interests of the big monopolies, whose influence has increased inordinately, and controls the country's economic and social life.

That is why it is logical to assume that the new government will preserve the continuity of the class interests, the political orientation and the means of power of the big Colombian oligarchy, which has created a "limited democracy" and has been strengthening reactionary and exclusive structures of domination. That is also true of the preservation of the traditional camarillas' two-party system, which has been characteristic of the "national front" since 1957, and which Betancur, too, has been seeking to reinforce as the ideal of the state. However, that does not mean that the struggle has lessened between the groups in power for the benefits which each of them is bent on getting by using the state.

The two-party system always tends to exclude the people from any real participation in decision-making by the government. That was particularly the case during Turbay Ayala's four-year term in office.

The militarist trend in the armed forces command gained more power during that period. The years of the state of siege and the security code were a hard stage for the people's struggle.

Up to the very end of the grim Turbay period, however, the reactionary militarist trend did not succeed in liquidating the revolutionary movement, as it had sought to do, nor in suppressing the working people's struggle. On the contrary, it so discredited itself that Betancur could present himself as "the opposition" to win over various sectors of the public, even though the conservative leaders were among the most active champions of the anti-popular policy.

It does not look as if those characteristics have been modified now that Betancur has taken up the presidency. In the ruling team a significant role will be played by ultra-rightists like Gomez Hurtado, and also by the generals, who take a bellicose anti-communist stand, and who will no doubt insist that the anti-democratic course of the system be maintained.

Those people are preparing bills like the so-called "higher police code," which, under the pretext of maintaining "public order," will be aimed primarily against the mass movement and the people's actions. Also being drafted are a law on parties aimed to limit the participation of the left forces in political life, and new constitutional reforms to make the executive power greater vis-a-vis the judiciary, to further limit the powers of the representative organs, etc.

THE WORSENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The international situation has worsened because of the emergence of new bellicose imperialist groups. The Reagan-Thatcher-Begin triangle, led by the USA, is responsible for the most aggressive acts in the world arena. The U.S. intervention in El Salvador to prevent the people's victory, the threats

against Nicaragua and Cuba, the colonial military expedition against Argentina to preserve British domination over the Malvinas, the brigand Zionist incursion into Lebanon aimed physically to wipe out the Palestinian people, the economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and the U.S. attempts to break the trade agreements between the countries of Western Europe and Japan, and the socialist countries — all that is a grave threat to peace and to the aspirations of the peoples. The fight against the mortal danger of a thermonuclear war and the exhausting arms race is the most important task of our time.

The Malvinas war has created new conditions for the anti-imperialist struggle on the American continent. The powerful mass movement in Europe and the USA against the war plans of Reagan and his allies has given fresh impetus to the struggle for peace and disarmament. The Palestinian people's heroic resistance to the Zionist genocide is receiving the support of the progressive public. The armed struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala demands of us the most effective solidarity with our brothers in Central America.

The disgraceful role of the Colombian Foreign Affairs Ministry regarding the Malvinas conflict, its silence on the aggression against Lebanon, and its complicity with the U.S. plans in Central America show that the government is more and more clearly operating as a branch of the U.S. State Department. Betancur's pre-election statements did not suggest a desire to modify that policy. The demand for a change in Colombia's international position must be a part of the program for uniting the democratic forces.

THE ILLUSIONS OF THE MASSES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR THE POPULAR STRUGGLE

Betancur's promises, the expectations they have raised, and his condemnations of the corruption and abuses of the Turbay Ayala government are forcing him, particularly at the beginning of his term in office, to present a "popular" front and to maneuver in the face of the people's pressing demands. That will certainly bring about changes in the government's style of work and in certain aspects of the economic policy, which was a complete failure not only as regards the people's demands, but also in relation to the interests of important groups of landowners, big cattle breeders, industrialists and merchants.

In order to revitalize the economy effectively, it is necessary to revise radically the neoliberal model and to eliminate the essential part of the Lopez-Turbay financial reform, which gave precedence to speculative activities to the detriment of industrial and agricultural production. As minimum measures to expand the internal market, it is necessary to raise real wages and salaries, stop the hectic speculative gambling on the stock exchange caused by the monopolies, lower interest rates, ensure sufficient credit on favorable terms for the small and middle capitalists, and end the imperialist exploitation. The all-round development of trade relations with the socialist countries is the alternative to the limitations

of the market of the capitalist countries, which is engulfed in the economic crisis of the system.

However, one cannot expect the Betancur government to make significant changes in the reactionary structure of the system or to solve effectively the grave social injustices since that would require that it come out against the big monopolies and the policy of imperialism, which it has no intention of doing.

There is a great gap between the illusions of many of those who voted for Betancur and the possibility that those illusions will be satisfied. To make the people understand that for themselves, it is necessary to mobilize them for mass actions to get the fulfillment of Betancur's promises.

Among those who voted for Betancur was a stratum of people with no political organization of their own, who want the government to have an economic orientation different from the one being demanded by the oligarchic groups. These people can therefore be drawn into the struggle against their traditional exploiters. But the experience, which must play a role in the future, can only be effective if there is the most serious organization to take action first and foremost for the radical democratic demands and the interests of the working people.

That is why the prospect is for a rise in the level of the popular struggle and a multiplication of mass actions for the fulfillment of the promises made by the authorities and for the people's most pressing demands, especially if the continuous deterioration in the working people's standard of living as a result of the economic crisis is taken into account. In the first half of 1982, the industrial production indices continued to decline, and unemployment increased. The government faced a tremendous financial deficit, which it tried to blame on the workers in the state sector. The cost of living went up by almost 15 per cent in those six months, dealing a hard blow to real wages and salaries and undermining the family budget, while a rise in the urban transport fares and in the cost of services has been announced.

DEEPEN THE PROCESS OF UNITING THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

The results of the recent elections revealed the shortcomings of the left forces. There are diverse reasons for that situation. First of all, there are the obstacles to overcome in this kind of election where corruption, caciquism and vote-buying go hand in hand with repression and threats on the part of the militarists, and the wide use of terror. Added to that is the intense anti-communist propaganda financed by the big monopolies, which, on the other hand, spend fabulous sums on the campaign of the oligarchy's candidates, and also the monopoly on the mass media to which the popular movement has almost no access both because of the high cost and the discrimination and McCarthyism in that sphere.

But there are other reasons for the position of the PCC and the other left forces. The disunity, the stubborn stand of non-participation or the announcement of sabotage of the elections by some forces, the cliquishness, and the sectarian tendencies feeding petty mutual hatred — all that hindered

the spread of the influence of the left forces among the masses.

Of course, the election results by themselves, arising as they did out of those circumstances, are only a relative and distorted indicator of the revolutionary movement's real weight in the life of the country. Economic and political pressures prevent broad strata of the people from voting for the candidates who come out openly against the system. Only an effective democratization will enable the left to be more successful in the electoral struggle and make its contribution to social and political progress.

But a profound analysis of the situation should impel the communists to lead the mass struggle more decisively, to improve their political activity in the electoral debates, their forms and methods of work, the selection of candidates, and step up the struggle for unity. That obliges us to strengthen the alliance of the vanguard forces in a democratic front, working to increase its weight in the political life of the country and to make it a real alternative. While respecting the specific features of each movement, it is necessary to eradicate the sectarian in-fighting in the camp of the left forces, and end the anti-communist prejudices, which contribute to the divisionism, as the requisite for achieving common objectives and taking the movement out of its present state.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEACE

The lifting of the state of siege is a success of the democratic forces, which waged a tireless struggle against its main manifestations: the security code, the mass arrests, the systematic use of torture, the military courts and the soldiers' use of force against the population.

However, the militarists are still acting aggressively, and the regime is continuing its offensive against the people. That is why the lifting of the state of siege should be the starting point for the most vigorous and decisive mobilization of the people for mass actions in the streets and squares of the country, and for overcoming the passive expectation of great national changes.

The real peace to which the Colombian people aspire is closely bound up with the implementation of the civil freedoms and rights of the working people, and with effective measures to do away with the poverty, land-hunger and exploitation causing suffering to the majority of the rural population.

That is why ever greater importance is now being assumed by the people's actions and by the broadest unity of the left forces, and also of the progressive liberals and conservatives, Christians and non-party people for a *democratic peace*, which must be the result of measures to stop the latifundist and militarist violence by the return of the army to the barracks, the dismantlement of the para-military groups and mercenary bands, the cessation of military operations and occupation of agrarian regions, the declaration of a general and unconditional amnesty, and the holding of a dialogue with the armed movement. This would be furthered by the creation of a representative commission with the direct participation of the working-class and peasant movement, and

by the dispatch of a parliamentary delegation to hold an open dialogue to demilitarize the peasant zones.

FOR A POLITICAL REFORM

Thanks to regional experiences and the coming together of the Colombian Working People's Confederation (CTC) and the Colombian Working People's Trade Union Confederation (CSTC), and also the joint work with organizations not in those confederations, the unity of the trade union movement has gained new possibilities for successfully opposing the offensive of the employers and the authorities.

We affirm that it is unquestionably possible to work out solutions, plans and schemes which would make it possible to begin to satisfy the people's most pressing demands on the basis of democratic development and implementation of changes in the interests of a broad front of vanguard forces, organizations and individuals, and to open up the prospects for a real political reform. The substance of that reform is: democratization of Colombian society; elimination of all vestiges of the two-party system; restoration of the power of the National Congress, departmental assemblies and the municipal councils; introduction of a system of popular election of mayors and governors; accessibility of the mass media for the opposition; modernization of the electoral system, and the guarantee of democratic freedoms.

IMMEDIATE SLOGANS

In order to coordinate the diffuse actions, it is necessary to have slogans corresponding to the moment and promoting the unity of a large part of the public, like the following:

— general and unconditional amnesty, release of political prisoners, dissolution of the MAS,* demilitarization of the agrarian zones, and return of the army to the barracks;

— repeal of the "higher police code" bill, full respect of civil rights, free access to radio and television for all political groups;

— full trade union rights and freedoms for private and state employees; application of laws 26 and 27 of 1976; democratic reform of labor legislation; promotion possibilities for all civil servants into administrative posts; payment of the state debt to the Social Insurance Institute and democratization of that institution;

— general wage increase; introduction of sliding-scale cost-of-living increases; unemployment benefits;

— allotment of land to tenants and agricultural workers; extension of the eight-hour workday law to include agricultural workers;

— low-rent housing for poor families; plans for immediate housing construction on urban vacant lots;

— termination of the non-subsidized bus system; no increases in transport fares; freeze on charges on public services for the population;

— more financing of public education; freeze on tutorial fees, and democratization of admission to the university.

Central Committee of the Colombian
Communist Party
Bogota, July 1982

Vo: Proletaria, July 22, 1982

*A right-wing terrorist organization. — Ed.

statements & speeches

Democracy Will Save the Country

— Statement by the CC, CP Argentina

The country is in the midst of a deep and protracted crisis, which has lately taken a much graver turn, entailing changes in government circles and profound differences, which have led to the resignation of the military junta. There is growing social discontent, expressed in a denunciation of the line of the past six years, a line contradicting the people's interests and damaging the country's interests.

The reactionary circles seek to obscure the true causes of the crisis and create an atmosphere of uncertainty in Argentina. They also seek to throw a false light on the historic period of national consolidation, which lasted throughout the 74 days of the struggle for the Malvinas, against Britain's U.S.-backed imperialist aggression. But they have not succeeded.

The people, who went out into the streets under the slogan of "Malvinas — yes. Bread, work and democracy — also" have continued the struggle, advancing toward stronger unity, which will lead it to victory.

The new authorities installed in the Casa Rosada palace since early July are more inclined toward a dialogue. They have promised to adopt as their major objective the country's transition to constitutional rule within a reasonable period. They announced the lifting of restrictions on political activity (although no progress has yet been made over the ban on trade union activity). The authorities have pledged to continue diplomatic, economic and political action for a final repossession of the islands in the South Atlantic. They have recognized that the econ-

omy should be productive rather than speculative. If these promises are followed up with action, we shall be truly able to advance along the road toward democracy. This is in the nation's interests.

Naturally, this will not be easy, for the new government has been formed in conditions of extreme instability. A whole range of urgent measures should be taken to guarantee effective democratic liberties, release of political prisoners and investigation of the tragedy of the "disappeared." Wages should be raised to compensate for the spiralling growth of prices, rates, taxes, and so on. Price control instruments should be created and steps should be taken to revitalize the economy in order to guarantee full employment and a stable market. The economic plan published a few days ago denounced — and with good reason — the "philosophy" behind the activities of former Minister of Economy Martinez de Hoz. There should be full realization that it is impossible to take any decisions without reckoning with the people's needs, the problems of their well-being, the personal and production consumption, without protection of the country's national wealth, implementation of major social projects (primarily in the field of housing construction), diversification of energy sources, and development of domestic and foreign trade. High prices and low wages will prevent us from advancing.

It is also necessary to follow a firm and independent foreign policy of non-interference, non-alignment and peace, developing relations with all countries.

The country's democratic opinion, trade unions, young people, women and, above all, political parties — both those within the Multipartidaria association and all others — should help to attain such forms of popular mobilization and control which would make it possible to overcome the complicated transitional period, would give policy the firmness it now lacks, and would ultimately engender a real possibility for going over to the stage of democratic stability and progress. Such is the opinion of the vast majority of the population, both military and civilian, and that is why it is possible to make headway.

All Argentinians are fully resolved to continue the struggle for a final repossession of the islands in the South Atlantic so as to prevent the establishment of foreign military bases on these islands or on the continent. In this context, we express our solidarity with those who have contributed to this struggle, and denounce our country's enemies and their allies.

The emergency situation in Argentina calls for measures which would stimulate the democratic forces. Steps that could only exacerbate the feelings of disenchantment should be avoided. The maneuvers of the reactionary and imperialist forces aimed at destabilization should be thwarted. We can advance, win through to democracy and ensure the country's progress. Broad public circles, both military and civilian, which share this conviction, should prove it in practice and join forces in the struggle for a transition to stable democracy.

Unity of the patriots will ensure democracy, and democracy will save the country.

Strengthening the Communist Party: Assurance of a Popular Victory

Report by Rene Mauge,
General Secretary, CPE Central Committee

On May 28, 1982, a ceremonial meeting to mark the 56th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Ecuador was held in the conference hall of Ecuador's National Chamber of Representatives. The meeting was attended by delegations representing the working people of town and countryside, workers' parties and movements, and also intellectuals, politicians, and representatives of the embassies of socialist countries in Ecuador.

Rene Mauge, General Secretary of the CPE Central Committee, delivered the main report, whose abridged text is published below.

In celebrating the anniversary of its foundation, the Communist Party of Ecuador is marking an event of great importance in the history of our nation: the emergence of a party of the working people, of workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals and all those who want social and economic transformations in our country, who want to strengthen its sovereignty and national independence, all those who want to take action in order to help build a new society based on the principles of true democracy, social justice, equality among people, and peace among nations.

The foundation of our party was an organic result

of our country's historical development, of the internal and international events that had rocked the Ecuadoran society for three decades, and a vivid manifestation of our people's revolutionary aspirations.

Our party's historical roots go back to the old days of our people's liberation struggle, the Indians' struggle against the conquistadors, the Creoles' action against the colonialist power, the popular uprisings against enslavement, the activities of Espejo and Mejia, and the continual struggle of thousands of men and women who spared no effort and sacrificed their very lives in the battle for independence and to

whom our nation owes its independence and sovereignty. Independence wars have been and remain the most valuable experience of our Latin American peoples and, in particular, of the Ecuadoran people in the present struggle against neo-colonialism.

After each new stage of the struggle, the Ecuadoran people came to see the limits of its gains. The liberal revolution, which was a protracted process of the struggle against the landowner class, ended with the betrayal of the revolutionary process, leaving behind it a feeling of frustration. To overcome the limitation of the liberal revolution was the task of the Ecuadoran people and primarily the proletariat, its advanced contingent, which was just emerging at the beginning of the century and heroically entered the historical arena on November 15, 1922.

Another factor conducive to the formation of our party was the will and boundless honesty of the young military who rose up against the bankers' oligarchy in July 1925.

All these factors, in conjunction with the greatest historic event of our epoch — the winning of power by Russia's working class in the triumphant revolution of 1917 under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant leader of the working people — led to the unification of diverse democratic and revolutionary forces at the Socialist Assembly in May 1926.

At its second congress in 1931, the Ecuadoran Socialist Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Ecuador in accordance with its ideological orientation which took shape after the period of internal ideological struggle between the Marxist-Leninist positions, on the one hand, and those of liberalism, anarchism, nationalism, anti-internationalism and social democracy, on the other.

A distinctive feature of that historical stage, which also saw the emergence of other political parties representing the ruling classes, was that the Socialist Party was the only one to proclaim the Indian masses to be the main constituent of our nation, and which helped to draw them into the national liberation process. That was reflected in its program and political action which were based and are still based on a worker-peasant alliance.

That is why today, when Ecuador's left forces regard joint action as a paramount need, and when the nation is urging the citizens' closest possible unity within a common democratic and anti-imperialist front, it is worthwhile to recall and pay tribute to those who stood at the origins of the first revolutionary political party in the 20s.

Right at the beginning, the Communist Party formulated its positions: defense of the interests of the proletariat and the whole nation, attainment of national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle and proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the vanguard of humankind's progress.

Our party's history from its very first day has always been linked with the struggle to organize the exploited classes of our homeland. Today, there is no form of popular organization meeting the interests of the working people and the Ecuadoran

nation as a whole which has not been created by the Communist Party of Ecuador. All the forms of organization of the working class, the peasantry, the Indians, artisans, students and intellectuals stem from our party and its struggle. Such are the origins of the Ecuadoran Working People's Confederation, the Ecuadoran Indians' Federation, the Coastal Agricultural Workers' Federation, the Federation of University Students, the High School Students' Federation, hundreds of trade unions, shopfloor organizations, cooperatives, and so on.

Our party formulated all the programmatic ideas which now guide the working class, from elementary economic demands to the supreme political demand of the Ecuadoran nation: pivoting the whole struggle at the present stage on the struggle against imperialism. This is the main goal for the working class and the peasantry. Their alliance is also necessary for an agrarian reform.

The anti-imperialist struggle implies the need to involve all our Indians in the revolutionary process and recognition of the powerful anti-imperialist tendencies in other social strata connected with the history of the formation of our homeland.

Our party has always urged small producers, artisans and intellectuals, and also Ecuadoran soldiers, to join this struggle.

Many of the ideas formulated by our party were engendered in the course of the struggle of the world proletariat, on whose behalf and in defense of whose interests the CPE has raised the banner of solidarity and proletarian internationalism. This is the only way to defend the Ecuadoran nation and the nationalities living in our country, the only method making it possible to draw a distinction between bourgeois nationalism and proletarian nationalism, to display consistent solidarity with the struggle of Ecuador's aboriginal people, with all fighters for our independence, with all the unknown heroes from among the people, with all men and women of the present and the future. Such is and will always remain the Communist Party of Ecuador.

The working people and popular masses in our country have never had secure living conditions or guaranteed rights. The production and export of oil, which started in 1972 and which entailed profound changes in the economic, social and political structure during the 1970s, have not, unfortunately, become a factor of social progress for the vast majority or helped to strengthen the country's sovereignty, to overcome its backwardness and dependence on imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all. This is because the country has not had a government which would fully meet the interests of the people and the Ecuadoran nation, and which would handle the country's immense natural resources in a patriotic, honest and efficient way under a clear-cut program of national liberation.

On the contrary, the civilian and military governments that executed the power of the ruling classes have variously toadied or made concessions to the imperialist monopolies and international financial capital, which are exploiting our natural resources.

The tapping and exploitation of oil deposits in that period tilted the balance of class forces against the

people's interests, strengthened the power of the oligarchy, the monopolies and foreign capital, which now had new instruments of social control and the state apparatus at their disposal.

The monopolies increased their capital investment in grasping for new profits in every field of the Ecuadorian economy, which was growing at an unprecedented pace, and sought to entrench themselves in the sphere of the services, as well as the traditional branches of the mining industry. The gulf between wealth and poverty widened, and our country became ever more dependent on foreign technology and raw materials.

The big investments, vast profits and immense fortunes, whether legally or illegally made, have engendered, alongside the material poverty of the masses, terrible spiritual poverty, which manifests itself in illiteracy, disinformation, isolation, individualism, in grave obstacles which hinder the unification and conscious organization of the working people, the peasants and the Indian population of Ecuador. But we are convinced that in spite of all this the forces expressing our people's revolutionary spirit will grow stronger.

In the past decade and in recent years we have seen the emergence and development of a new element which is noteworthy from the economic viewpoint and which affects the nature of our state: for the first time in the country's history, 68 per cent of state revenues is obtained directly rather than through the taxation of private entrepreneurs, something that has made it possible to expand and strengthen the state sector of the economy.

Since in the 1970s, the traditional political parties were in decline, new political parties emerged in the country, parties which reflect the interests of new bourgeois sections rather than the people's aspirations, as they claim.

Simultaneously, the working class developed both in the sphere of production and in the services, the working people's struggle intensified, and the level of their organization and joint action rose.

The old forms of the exploitation of wage labor have been modified and new ones have emerged; there have also been considerable changes among the peasantry: some feudal and semi-feudal vestiges have disappeared, and a large sector of very poor small peasants has emerged.

The development of capitalism in the countryside leads to the concentration of capital on a new basis, which can do nothing to solve the acute problems of the peasant masses. Millions of peasants are leaving the countryside and swelling the ranks of the sub-proletariat in suburban neighborhoods, where they live from hand to mouth without any perspective.

Statistical data show the real state of affairs in our country: "marginal strata" — the bourgeois term for the part of the population which remains beyond the bounds of the capitalist market — make up 62 per cent of the total population of 8 million. But for us, who live under capitalism, this primarily spells out unemployment, homelessness, illiteracy and ignorance. There are 1 million jobless in our country, 40 per cent of the population suffer from malnutrition, 90 per cent are short of drinking water, and 99 per

cent of the rural and 74 per cent of the urban population have no sewerage. Capitalism in our country, just as elsewhere, means denial of the right to life, work, education and dignity.

The worsening economic situation in the world caused by the general crisis wracking the whole capitalist system has a tragic effect on all Third World countries, including ours. Imperialism is creating new instruments for shifting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of our peoples.

The policy which the United States has pursued — especially since Reagan's inauguration in the post of president and the bolstering of the positions of the military-industrial complex, which he represents — a policy of nuclear blackmail, an aggressive and terroristic policy with respect to the democratic and national liberation movements, a policy of threats against the socialist camp, is regarded in Latin America as being fraught with fatal consequences for the whole world, for our continent and, in particular, for Ecuador.

In January 1981, in consequence of this policy and as a result of the Pentagon's secret machinations, a conflict broke out between Ecuador and Peru at Cordillera del Condor. It was not just an incident but, as we said at the time, an expression of the policy of U.S. imperialism with respect to our peoples.

This border conflict was, in effect, designed to attain the following political goals:

1. To split the Andean Pact as a mechanism of independent industrial development and an instrument of collective negotiation.

2. To frustrate such aspects of President Roldos' foreign policy as its nationalist tenor, Latin American solidarity and defense of democracy, as expressed in the establishment of relations with socialist Cuba, support for the Sandinista revolution, the liberation process in El Salvador, condemnation of fascist dictatorships in Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Haiti, etc.

3. To involve us in the arms race, since the said conflict resulted in both belligerent parties resuming large-scale purchases of weapons to the detriment of their economic development and the solution of the problems of the masses. Our people must know: this absurd policy means that up until the end of the present century the national economy will be farmed out to those who fabricate and traffic in arms.

4. To re-orient our economic and financial policy for the benefit of neocolonialist interests, pressure which has produced the package of President Roldos' economic measures cutting across the people's interests.

This policy, which undermines our economy and our future, is being continued under President Oswaldo Hurtado Larrea. Thus, the devaluation of the national currency unit is the result of the economic difficulties escalated by the Cordillera del Condor conflict, the arms build-up, the inability to control unproductive government spending, the waste of resources, the maintenance of the present structure of foreign trade, the sharp increase in the foreign debt to cover public spending and extending subsidies to private enterprises, concessions under pressure from the International Monetary Fund,

which seeks to make the country dependent on foreign credits, new privileges to the export-related industrial sectors at the expense of small national entrepreneurs, the operation of the mechanism of financing the state and large private enterprises by lowering the working people's real wages and impoverishing the vast majority of the Ecuadoran people. It is the result of the government's submission to the imperialist demands, made by the IMF and the World Bank, and also of pressure from the local oligarchy, the principal beneficiary of the devaluation.

It is now perfectly clear that the oligarchy demanded the devaluation in order to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the people. It seeks authoritarian solutions that would enable it to hit out even more violently at the people's interests.

As the mass media have admitted, the bourgeoisie and its political parties cannot offer the people anything except an illusory social pact, which signifies entrenchment of injustice and the gist of which is: as little as possible for the people, and as much as possible for the oligarchy and the monopolies.

Expressing the interests and aspirations of the working people and of the whole people of Ecuador, our party's Central Committee has proposed a plan of immediate action aimed to overcome the present critical state of affairs. This plan contains the following main demands:

1. Break with the policy of the IMF, which is determined by the rich capitalist states, and which imposes devaluations on less developed countries.
2. Break with external dependence, and do away with the privileges of the monopolies.
3. Fully nationalize the oil industry so as to use its resources for the country's development.
4. Nationalize foreign trade so that the so-called incentives for exports should be administered for the benefit of the state and not for the profits of the rich exporters.
5. Nationalize foreign banks and establish foreign exchange controls.
6. Look for new markets and stand up in defense of the prices for our export products.
7. Expand trade with the socialist states.
8. Carry out an agrarian reform and hand the land over to the peasants.
9. Establish control over the cost of housing and combat speculation.
10. Raise the level of wages and salaries everywhere to compensate for the devaluation.

The economic and political aggression now faced by our people is also variously directed at the other fraternal countries of Latin America: Cuba, which is being subjected to an imperialist blockade; Nicaragua and Grenada, which are resisting economic blackmail and threats of aggression; El Salvador, which is being subjected to military intervention through the dispatch of Yankee advisers and extension of military aid to the genocidal regime; Chile and Uruguay, which are ruled by fascist dictatorships. The Anglo-American aggression against the Argentinian nation and effectively against the whole of Latin America in order to bolster colonial domination of the Malvinas was a crying

manifestation of downright "international terrorism," to use a favorite expression from the Reagan and Haig lexicon. This aggression is aimed not only against the Argentinian nation, but also against the whole Latin American continent.

From this rostrum, we voice our solidarity with the Argentinian people, with its working people, soldiers and recruits, who died in defending their country's sovereignty. Our solidarity with the Argentinian people in this hour of trial also implies that it will be able to find its way to democracy and call to account the assassins of more than 35,000 men and women.

The peoples of the world are on the side of the Argentinian people, and this includes the working people of Great Britain, who displayed their solidarity with the Argentinian nation's cause in a spirit of internationalism.

We, communists, oppose the "national security" doctrines which have replaced the concepts of national defense, and do so in order to safeguard our nation and the democratic traditions which have existed and continue to exist in the Ecuadoran army. Today, whether those who are trying to distort the CP Ecuador's patriotic stand with respect to the Pentagon's doctrines of "national security" and the role of the armed forces want it or not, it has to be recognized that the only way of serving the national interest and defending the nation's independence and sovereignty, something that is the supreme task of the army of any country, is to renounce the Pentagon's anti-communist, anti-national and anti-popular doctrines. This implies the need to work out one's own program for struggle not against the mythical "threat of communism" but against the visible and tangible enslavement of our country and other Latin American states by U.S. imperialism. This program also implies refusal to support the socio-economic status quo, refusal to have the army act as a gendarme with respect to the people, and efforts to bring about profound transformations in the backward socio-economic structure and defense of the vital interests of the masses.

In the difficult hours of our country's history, our party has been in the front ranks of the fighters for our sovereignty and territorial integrity; it took part in the broad front of the civilian and military uprising whose supreme expression was the establishment of the Democratic Alliance, which set itself the goal of re-establishing democracy and the trampled freedoms, and also of creating institutions which now constitute a part of our people's democratic struggle.

Along this way, our party had to overcome the difficulties arising in development to formulate, as the main instrument of struggle, our national anti-imperialist and democratic program which meets the historical objectives of the present moment, without abandoning the perspective of socialism and the creation of a communist society.

We, communists, are convinced that the successful solution of the problems of the present and the future requires the political strength of the whole people.

In marking this anniversary, we say to the Ecuadoran people and to all our militants that the indispensable condition of victory for the people of Ecuador is perfection and development of the instrument of the Ecuadoran revolution — the Communist Party of Ecuador — which must become a massive party of action based on the solid organizational and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We shall advance in struggle and organization, with confidence in the inexhaustible strength of our people, of its working people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and in unity with the country's other democratic forces we shall be able to advance to the establishment of a popular, democratic and patriotic government, which will open up unprecedented perspectives for a new stage in our nation's history.

Peace is Our Uppermost Concern

Nepszabadsag's Interview with Anthony Vassallo,
General Secretary, CP Malta

Q. What does being a communist mean in Malta, which has risen to independence and freedom? What social strata constitute the party's base?

A. Most party members, including myself, started work in the Labor Party. The struggle for the country's independence brought us together within that party, although even at that time many of us held communist views. Once we won our independence, the social conditions in the country changed, making it possible to set up a communist party. From the very beginning, we sought to influence the Labor government, primarily toward an improvement of the people's working and living conditions. In our opinion, the government's policy is based on social democratic principles, which we do not share. Hence the need for the formation and existence of a communist party. We oppose any concessions to local and foreign capital and want to solve the country's problems on the basis of socialist principles, with particular emphasis on the interests of the working class and other working strata.

Q. So, what was the party's stand in last December's elections?

A. We did not want to divert votes from the Labor Party in order to avoid a split of the democratic forces, for the Nationalist Party, which represents the interests of the capitalist class and is backed by the church, was trying to divert the country from the road of progress and socialism through its reactionary class policy. Having analyzed the pre-electoral political situation in the country, we made a negative assessment of many aspects of the Labor Party's activity. Unfortunately, the electoral results showed that our concern was justified. Those who were disenchanted with the Labor Party turned away from it. It lost many of its supporters among the workers, the small producers and people employed in the services. Because of that, the Nationalist Party polled the highest percentage of the votes. But the distribution of the votes across the electoral districts enabled Labor to retain a majority in Parliament.

Q. What does the Communist Party think of the Labor government's foreign policy and what is its own stand on this issue?

A. While criticizing the government for some aspects of its domestic policy, we support its foreign policy, approve its policy of non-alignment, which, in our opinion, best meets the country's interests. We regard the Labor Party's foreign policy as positive, for it plays a most useful, positive role in the Mediterranean. The economic restructuring that followed the British withdrawal, coupled with the crises rocking the world economy, causes many headaches, and in these conditions ties with European countries are very important. But these are possible only in a peaceful setting.

Q. In conclusion, could you say a few words on the Communist Party's international policy and contacts?

A. Our uppermost concern is peace and stronger security, and we have been doing all that is necessary with these aims in view. As for the hotbeds of tension in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, we take a resolute and straightforward stand for their elimination. We support the Cypriot people's struggle to eliminate the foreign military bases, and also the struggle of the Italian working people against the plans for the deployment of new missile bases equipped with offensive rather than defensive weapons in Sicily, in close proximity to our country. We support the Palestinian people's struggle for its homeland and rights. Our party denounces Israel's aggression against Lebanon and rejects solution of disputes by military means.

As for our party's international ties, these are extensive. Bilateral meetings are being held regularly. We hope that fresh opportunities will be created for a further development of contacts with the communist parties of socialist countries. We assume that although disputes may arise between communist parties, these should be constructive. Any interference in the internal affairs of other parties should be avoided. I am convinced that in the present strained international situation unity and cohesion of the communists and workers' parties is a necessary condition for ensuring humankind's security and maintaining universal peace.

Nepszabadsag, July 14, 1982

We Are In Favor of Peaceful Settlements, But No Imperialist Threat Will Make Us Step Back

Speech by Fidel Castro on the Anniversary of
the Attack on the Moncada Garrison

Below are excerpts from the speech by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba CC, President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic, in the town of Bayamo on the anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison.

The economic and social efforts made throughout the country for the first half of 1982 were positive. The consumer goods production goal was exceeded by 1.2 per cent, representing an increase of 5.5 per cent as compared to the same period last year. Over 70 per cent of the increased consumer goods production was due to increased labor productivity. Growth in the period was reflected mainly in industry, but agriculture, transportation, communications, construction and trade also grew.

The sugar harvest that just ended was one of the largest in our history, with 8,207,178 metric tons of sugar being produced.

These achievements in larger production volumes are accompanied and supported by significant advances in overall efficiency, which has also been progressively increasing. A comparison made of the results of the recent harvest with the preceding one affirms that 10.6 per cent more cane was ground and 11.5 per cent more sugar produced.

International tourism continues to stand out as another important source of foreign currency, despite Mr. Reagan's aggressive policy in this area, prohibiting U.S. citizens from travelling to Cuba.

Workers' incomes have continued to increase: the average monthly salary is now 179 pesos, which represents a 6.4 per cent increase over the first half of 1981.

The country's efforts in the field of education continue to achieve impressive successes. Graduates of the recently concluded semester, excluding those who have passed special examinations, are represented by the following preliminary figures: 202,874 sixth-grade graduates; 178,447 junior high school graduates; 39,200 senior high school graduates; 58,440 intermediate-level technicians and trained workers; 20,981 intermediate education teachers; 21,192 adults graduating from the sixth grade; 43,278 adults graduating from junior high school; 9,096 adults graduating from senior high school; and 21,009 university graduates.

We must also mention the organizational and developmental advances made in the field of science in our country, whose achievements will be evident in the near future.

In the cultural arena, there are more libraries, museums, galleries, houses of culture, bookstores and other basic facilities.

But we have worked hard not only in the economic field, services and social development. As you all know, lately our country has had to make an extraordinary effort in the field of defense. Over the

past 18 months, more than half a million citizens — men and women — have joined the Territorial Troop Militia and were trained and armed.

It was necessary to build countless facilities of every sort for training and for storing weapons. We have had to invest efforts and resources into fortifying and protecting the equipment and the troops. Recently, tens of thousands of men and thousands of pieces of equipment were involved in this task, in this sacred duty of doing everything necessary to strengthen the country's defense at a time when the imperialists are becoming more arrogant and aggressive.

I think that this information shows how much attention, how much effort has gone into solving our basic problems, and even how much we have progressed.

But we do have difficulties, and we are going to have difficulties in the coming years, and they may be even greater still in the future. We must be aware, and on a day like today it pays to be fully aware of the problems facing the world today, including our country.

The capitalist world is going through a deep economic crisis, perhaps one of the biggest in its history. This crisis particularly affects the underdeveloped world, but it also influences the socialist countries.

The capitalist sugar market, for example — and this affects us a great deal — is now going through one of the worst crises in its history. That crisis, to a large extent, is part of the broader crisis now afflicting all basic products exported by the underdeveloped non-oil-producing countries.

Furthermore, most of the governments of the developed capitalist countries seem to be more inclined to cope with the crisis with the idea of protecting the profits of the monopolies, while encouraging monetary-fiscal policies and applying measures that put the full weight of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers, and on the underdeveloped countries: protectionism through subsidies, import quotas, and tariff and non-tariff barriers.

Nevertheless, we must not blame sugar for our troubles, because sugar constitutes the main item in our trade with the socialist countries, at good prices, and moreover a number of clauses in our agreements with them protect us against any price rise in the imports we receive from those countries.

It is important for our people to know that 80 per cent of our current imports come from the socialist

countries and 20 per cent from the Western countries.

The international political situation has been aggravated by imperialist aggression. We are witnessing this growing imperialist aggressiveness; we read about it every day. It is evident not only in the threats against our country but also in imperialism's actions everywhere. We see it, for example, in the attack on Lebanon, in the attempt to wipe out the Palestinian people and the progressive Lebanese forces. The imperialists have launched a brazen attack in Lebanon, with Zionism as the tool, on the Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians. They have killed tens of thousands of people and are bent on carrying out an act of genocide.

In southern Africa there are the constant attacks and threats by South Africa against Angola. In Mozambique the imperialists have utilized South Africa to introduce thousands of mercenaries in order to organize a counter-revolution and destabilize the situation in the country.

In the Malvinas we have seen how the imperialists imposed their policy through the superiority of their military forces and the use of advanced technology.

In Central America we are witnessing the imperialists' aggressiveness in their growing support to the genocidal regime of El Salvador, the increase in arms shipments, and the utilization of the Honduran army against the patriotic forces because the Salvadoran army is incapable of defeating them. In Nicaragua we see how the imperialists are overtly organizing the counter-revolution and a destabilization campaign, making use of the territory of Honduras, where they have organized and equipped thousands of former members of Somoza's National Guard and other mercenaries.

In Europe we see the imperialists' hand in the attempt to deploy 572 medium-range missiles that can reach the territory of the Soviet Union in a matter of minutes; in the economic blockades; and in the plans to sabotage the development of trade relations between the socialist camp and Western Europe, plans which have given rise to quite a number of contradictions between the United States and its European allies. The attempt to boycott the agreement between the Soviet Union and Western Europe to supply natural gas, at a time when obtaining additional energy sources is of vital importance to all countries, reflects the outrageous extremes to which the U.S. administration will go and the arrogance of that administration. Banning the U.S. firms in Europe from building the machinery necessary for the gas pipeline is tantamount to depriving countries of their sovereignty.

The present U.S. administration's absurd ideas about international policy and the world economy are causing serious problems.

Furthermore, when there is talk about the possibility of there being 30 million unemployed — 30 million unemployed in the industrialized countries, mind you! — how could anybody even imagine obstructing the possibilities of workers of those countries to work and produce.

Because of all these things, the U.S. imperialists' ideas of world domination and their attempt to play

the role of world gendarme become clearer than ever before.

The arms race is aggravating the economic crisis by forcing the peoples to spend more money on defense. The United States has set astronomical budgets for arms production with the resulting deficit estimated at over \$100 billion by next year. All sane, sensible people who analyze such a policy consider it completely absurd.

Our country must be prepared to cope with this situation through greater international efforts, including more saving and greater efficiency, and by fulfilling our internationalist duties in the struggle for peace and for the independence, freedom and security of the peoples. The imperialists will never make us shirk our duties. They never succeeded in the past and they never will succeed in the future.

Now there is talk about the independence of Namibia, a country illegally occupied by South African troops. In order to solve the problem of Namibia's independence, the closely united South Africans and U.S. imperialists want to set the precondition that the withdrawal of the South African troops from Namibia take place simultaneously with that of Cuban troops from Angola. The government of Angola is completely opposed to the idea, and with full reason. The role of the South African troops in Namibia is that of illegal occupants and aggressors. The role of the Cuban troops in Angola is that of allies of Angola, of fighters defending Angola's independence and security. The Angolans and Cubans have decided on the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola within a period of time agreed on by both governments, when all South African troops withdraw from the country, when all danger of an attack on Angola from abroad is over, and when all imperialist aid to the UNITA, COMIRA and FLEC puppet organizations ceases.

We are clearly very far away from Angola. But even if the South Africans withdraw from Namibia, they can always reach the Angolan border in a matter of hours. Then they can organize puppet groups as they are now doing in Angola and in Mozambique and as the United States is doing in Nicaragua, organizing thousands of mercenaries to destabilize that country. Therefore, all outside support to the puppet organizations must cease. That is the Angolan government's firm position and we share that position.

The imperialists want the withdrawal of troops to be carried out according to their conditions so that they can destroy the Angolan Revolution and impose neocolonialism on all Black Africa.

The imperialists threaten to use South African mercenaries to attack Angola and every now and then they carry out small-scale attacks. But we warn that if they launch a large-scale attack on Angola and reach our lines, we will engage in a very serious fight with all our means and all our energies against the South African fascists, racists and mercenaries. They are well aware of the tenacity, bravery and firmness of our fighters. It would be more worthwhile for the imperialists to stop the threats because they will never intimidate us. Let us find a just and reasonable solution. Our country maintains a

constructive position and would never obstruct any kind of reasonable, fair solution, but that solution must be based on the statements made by the Angolan and the Cuban governments on February 4 of this year.

We believe that there must be firmness, and the history of Cuba demonstrates that firmness is the overriding principle in the face of imperialist threats. However, aggression, the imperialist adventures, seem to be in vogue everywhere. Therefore, we must not only live up to the principle of making our greatest efforts at home, such as more saving and efficiency, but we must also fulfil our internationalist duties. We are not in favor of wars. We are in favor of peace, in favor of solutions. We are well aware of what the consequences of a war would mean to the world, and the danger of war really does exist. We are in favor of settlements, and we have repeatedly said this in relation to the various trouble spots. We are in favor of settlements for the war between Iraq and Iran, for the Middle East, for Central America, for Angola, for South Africa. Therefore, our attitude is not that of promoting conflict. However, no imperialist threat or aggression will make us step back as much as half an inch!

We must be prepared in our own country to defend ourselves against any imperialist aggression against our homeland. They probably thought that their threats would pressure us into ending our support to Angola or Ethiopia. But the threats have only served to make us stronger than we were before they started. And we are maintaining our internationalist

support and fulfilling our internationalist duties.

I think that the Palestinian example deserves consideration. Attacked by highly superior forces, the Palestinians are now besieged in the western half of Beirut, yet they are willing to fight to the death rather than surrender if no honorable solution is possible. The Palestinians' firmness has played an important role in the survival of the Palestinian people. It is not that there is no longer any danger, but world public opinion has been increasingly swaying more in their favor while opposition to that criminal aggression has been growing. The firmness and heroism displayed by the Palestinians and progressive Lebanese and the international solidarity, which has greatly encouraged and aided the fighters, have turned the situation around. This is a lesson to be considered. This proves that when there is firmness, when there is heroism, when there is resistance, the imperialists and their aggressive spirit can go only so far.

When we attacked the Santiago de Cuba and Bayamo garrisons 29 years ago, we could not have imagined the kinds of problems that would exist today, the problems we have been talking about. But our spirit remains the same and, in fact, has gained strength with the awareness and fighting experience of our entire people. Our noble and courageous people will confront difficulties of any kind and will overcome them. This promise is the best homage we can pay to our heroes and martyrs today, tomorrow, and forever.

Granma, July 28, 1982

Let Us Safeguard the People's Power and the Country's Independence

Speech by Daniel Ortega

Extracts from a speech by Daniel Ortega, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, coordinator of the Governing Council of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, at a meeting in the town of Masaya to mark the third anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista People's Revolution and the 21st anniversary of the establishment of the SNLF.

For three years we have been advancing along the road of progress, despite the difficulties and the enemies' aggressive machinations and slanderous attacks. The weak in spirit and the vacillating have fallen by the way. Some of those who had but yesterday fought against Somoza lacked the courage to resist U.S. imperialism. Such people tend to flee and to betray, and to weave disgraceful plots under the sponsorship of the U.S. State Department and the CIA.

In contrast to these deserters, more than 133,000 industrial workers united in 1,047 trade unions, more than 31,000 rural working people joined in 400 sectoral trade unions, and over 18,000 young people, Sandinista Youth members, stand as an invincible force. Altogether, more than half a million workers, peasants, intellectuals, businessmen, young people

and teachers, dignified sons and daughters of Sandino, Rigoberto and Carlos, who are prepared to fight for the right to freedom and organization won by the revolution, are banded together in various trade unions and social organizations.

Three years after the victory of the revolution, we can assert that the people's power in Nicaragua has been consolidated. It is the people's power that has made the agrarian reform possible. Of the 231,295 manzanas* of land suitable for farming, 88,207 manzanas have already been transferred to the ownership of 6,503 peasant families, who are working it in cooperatives or individually.

Only as a result of the consolidation of the

*1 manzana equals roughly 0.7 hectare. — Ed.

people's power in the country, where there had been only 133 peasant cooperatives under Somoza, 3,820 cooperatives have been set up by 62,357 families. In the past, the small producers had in their possession less than 3 per cent of the farmland, and now have almost 20 per cent, which is another accomplishment of the people's power: in only three years of the revolution, the increase has come to a full 17 per cent!

The consolidated people's power has extended — for the first time in Nicaragua's history — credits to small and middle agricultural producers within cooperatives or working individually. A total of 1,223.4 million cordobas have been appropriated for these purposes.

The Sandinista Front took up arms 21 years ago. At that time, in 1961, the Somoza regime was in its heyday, because it was assured of large foreign exchange revenues from the high prices of cotton and coffee. But what was the good of the country's revenue growing up from \$63 million in 1961 to \$637 million in 1977? Who benefited from that economic "prosperity," if the urban and rural working people were in constant dire need? For them the millions of dollars in revenues did not mean any improvement at all. Do the people need a "prosperity" under which 40 per cent of the able-bodied population did not have constant work?

In the heyday of the Somoza regime, no more than 264 million cordobas were appropriated for public health. Back in 1961, in the period of its formation, the Sandinista Front set forth as one of its main tasks the establishment of a fair system of popular public health care. After the victory of the revolution, we were able to appropriate from the state budget 1,183 million cordobas for medical services.

On July 19, 1979, our country lay in ruins, plundered and depleted by the export of capital. But even in those difficult conditions, a drive was started against illiteracy, in the course of which its level was reduced from 50.3 per cent to 12.9 per cent. That is a real victory for our people, whose revolutionary determination now enables 1,103,000 Nicaraguans to study in systems of primary, secondary, technical and university education. In a situation of economic crisis, we have appropriated 1,159 million cordobas for the development of education, which is more than 3 times as much as the Somoza regime did. In only three years of its existence, the revolution has given Nicaraguans 6,100 new flats. In order to maintain the level of the working people's real wages, the government appropriated more than 871 million cordobas in 1982 to keep the prices of grain, milk and milk products stable.

Will a people look idly on when an attack is being made on such gains? That is why the Nicaraguans are joining the ranks of the people's militia, reserve battalions and Sandinista committees in defense of the revolution.

The present U.S. administration has been trying to reverse the tide of history. President Reagan's high-handed tone in international relations poses a threat to the cause of peace between the peoples. The United States has insulted the whole of Latin

America by its behavior during the Malvinas conflict. It has encouraged the bloody genocide in Beirut, supported racism and apartheid in Africa, meddled in the affairs of Central America in an effort to stifle our peoples' urge for progressive change, and has pursued a die-hard hegemonistic line in international economic relations.

Since the victory of the revolution, we have repeatedly declared our desire to lay the foundation for new relations, relations of mutual understanding, with the United States. But as soon as Reagan took office, the situation underwent a dramatic and sharp change. Even during the electoral campaign, Reagan openly declared his intention to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution, while his administration has refused to sell any grain to our country.

The Reagan administration has covered up the presence of former Somoza guardsmen on the territory of the U.S. State of Florida, and has appropriated \$19 million for arming, under the CIA umbrella, a band of Somoza cut-throats on the territory of Honduras, from which the latter mount subversive acts, organize economic subversion and other crimes against the Nicaraguan revolution.

The representative of the U.S. administration on the UN Security Council has vetoed the majority-approved resolution aimed to avert an aggression against Nicaragua and to help solve the arising problems through negotiation.

The Reagan administration has spared no effort to isolate Nicaragua from the other Central American states, and on its orders U.S. spy planes have been violating Nicaragua's air space, while U.S. warships have intruded into the territorial waters of the Republic.

The Reagan administration has become the chief destabilizing force in the Central American region, in Latin America and the whole world. While shunning any serious or realistic dialogue, it has made its stake on violence, high-handedness and blackmail. Washington is chiefly to blame for the death of our teachers, doctors, fighters of the people's militia and soldiers. It is to blame for the grief of hundreds of Nicaraguan families who mourn the death of their children, husbands, fathers and brothers killed by the former Somoza guardsmen, who are supported by the Reagan administration.

We declare that a "quiet" but bloody aggression is being perpetrated against our country. More than 2,000 Somoza men are committing countless provocations on Nicaragua's border with Honduras, and sometimes even inside our territory. Since July 4, there have been 18 armed bandit raids, as a result of which 50 fighters of the Sandinista People's Army, reserve battalions, people's militia and the Ministry of the Interior have been killed and 18 wounded.

Helicopters of the Honduran Air Force have been ferrying, supplying and supporting the Somoza guardsmen deployed along our border. These bandits who were attacking the Nicaraguan people have received in Honduras thousands of rifles and intend to drench our country in blood. Honduran army units are providing cover when the bandits retreat after their criminal raids. That is no invention of ours, that is a real fact.

Our people have courageously stood up to these aggressive acts. Through the joint efforts of the Sandinista People's Army, the militia, the reserve battalions and the Ministry of the Interior, the extensive criminal plan of the Somoza men, who had intended to occupy the town of Puerto Cabezas and the townlet of Tasba Pry, has been thwarted. At the price of their blood, our heroic fighters thwarted the aggression and inflicted losses on the criminals.

The fighters of the Sandinista People's Army have been resolutely beating back the bandits, but their criminal activity has not yet been cut short for good. The armed provocations are paralleled by mounting political machinations against Nicaragua. The foreign ministers of the countries which are members of the notorious Central American Democratic Community, who met in San Salvador, engaged in slanderous attacks against Nicaragua and accused it of "militarism." They will never understand that our chief weapon is our heroic and united people. The people of Nicaragua will continue to stand up for its right to acquire weapons and other technical facilities which it needs to defend its homeland.

We have already said that a quiet but bloody aggression is being carried on against Nicaragua. The whole of Central America is on the brink of war. Honduran soldiers, victims of the intervention policy, are dying in El Salvador. In Guatemala, genocide has been "legalized" in the form of mass shootings. From the territory of Honduras armed bands of Somoza men mount subversive activity against Nicaragua. The foreign ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala have issued threats against us.

Since the victory of the revolution, we have constantly declared that our country wants a peaceful settlement of the existing problems, and that today it is more necessary than ever before to strengthen the unity of the Latin American countries in order to avert the aggressive schemes of the present U.S. administration. We call on the whole of

world opinion, notably, on the people of the United States, to start a struggle for a peaceful dialogue in order to prevent another Vietnam in Central America.

The Central American governments which have allowed themselves to be involved in these criminal plans should think again, and the military circles should understand that a war in Central America would merely result in tremendous human sacrifice and material destruction.

We say to our people that we believe in the triumph of common sense over the insanity of the warmongers, but the Nicaraguan people must be prepared for the worst so as to stand up fully armed against any possible imperialist aggression, to beat it back and rout the aggressor.

We have done much to strengthen our political and economic independence, and to ensure revolutionary legality and freedom. We stand for non-alignment, the right to defense and the right of all the peoples to self-determination. That is not accepted by the United States, which seeks to stamp out the Sandinista revolution so as to deprive the peoples of Central America of any hope for progressive change. With that end in view, the imperialist power has been committing aggressive acts against Nicaragua in the economic, political and military spheres. Thus, at 5.30 a.m. this morning, an unidentified plane attacked Puerto de Corinto and fired two rockets at fuel depots, but missed.

As I have said, this and other aggressive acts are the reality, and not a figment of our imagination. We are anti-imperialists, and it is the acts of the United States itself that make anti-imperialists of us.

We look to the heroes of the past, who fought against the U.S. interventionists, and to those who are now giving their lives in defense of the Nicaraguan borders, and we shall advance and safeguard our country's independence at any price.

Abrided from *Barricada*, July 20, 1982

Save the Life of Antonio Maidana

Appeal by the Paraguayan CP

The Paraguayan government recently told the Commission on Human Rights under the Organization of American States (OAS) that Argentine security agents were allegedly responsible for the disappearance of Antonio Maidana and Emilio Roa.*

Professor Maidana, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Paraguayan CP, spent 19 years in the prisons of the Stroessner dictatorship before his release in 1977 owing to the Paraguayan people's heroic struggle and powerful international solidarity.

Working hard to expose the policy of terror and oppression followed by Paraguay's fascist regime, Maidana settled in Buenos Aires so as to be closer to

his country and people. On August 27, 1980, he was kidnapped by Argentine and Paraguayan police agents acting on the orders of the U.S. CIA.

Reports from diverse sources indicated that Maidana and Roa had been handed over to the Paraguayan authorities, and that they were being moved from one prison to another for some unknown purpose.

Under the pressure of world opinion and also petitions by prestigious international organizations aimed at saving the life and ensuring the release of Antonio Maidana and Emilio Roa, the Paraguayan government issued the following statement:

"*Government reply.* There is no prison of any kind in the village of Emboscada. Antonio Maidana, released by the Paraguayan government a few years ago, was given asylum at the Mexican Embassy and

*General Secretary of the Paraguayan Working People's Confederation. — Ed.

was allowed to emigrate. He went to Sweden, visited the Soviet Union . . . He resumed his duties as General Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party . . . in Buenos Aires, the capital of the Argentine Republic. In that city, he and Emilio Roa were detained by Argentine security agents . . . Neither Roa nor Maidana have returned to Paraguay, and they cannot be held in Emboscada, for there is no prison in that village. Paraguay, May 7, 1982." (Copy sent by the OAS to the World Peace Council.)

The government's statement says nothing about the responsibility of Stroessner's fascist dictatorship and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for

that crime against humanity.

That is why we renew our appeal to all organizations and individuals who want democracy, progress and humanism, to send urgent inquiries to the Argentine government demanding an answer to the universal concern over Maidana's whereabouts and an immediate release of this outstanding son of Paraguay, whose name has become symbolic in the struggle for peace and democracy, for our people's national liberation and social emancipation.

July 5, 1982
Central Committee

New Dangers to Democracy and How to Combat Them

Statement of the CC Political Commission, Portuguese Communist Party

I

The approval by the Assembly of the Republic (AR) of a revision of the constitution imposed by agreements between the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Socialist Party (SP) implies that if the DA remains in the government and preserves its majority of the AR national politics will enter a new stage posing enormous dangers to the democratic regime.

The DA was unable to turn the constitution into a legal cover for restoring the power of monopoly and the landed oligarchy, doing away with the democratic freedoms and other gains of April and reverting to the days of exploitation, oppression and dictatorship.

However, the complicity and votes of Mario Soares' SP enabled the DA to introduce harmful and dangerous alterations into the organization of political authority and the system of control over the constitutionality of laws.

The elimination of the Revolutionary Council without deciding who is to assume the function of effectively defending democracy; the transfer to the government of the President's right to appoint military leaders; the investment of the government with other military powers exercised earlier by the President and the Revolutionary Council; the formalization of decisions encroaching on the autonomy of the Armed Forces and their constitutional commitment to democracy; the restriction of other powers of the President by violating the principle of twofold responsibility of the government and the curtailment of the President's right to order the resignation of the government and dissolve the AR; the establishment of a Constitutional Court which does not guarantee democratic supervision of the constitutionality of laws; and the creation — due to the ill-intentioned and untimely dissolution of the Revolutionary Council — of a new transitional period in which certain highly important functions of this body will be ignored — all of these provide the DA with

powerful means and institutional instruments for pursuing its subversive plan against democracy frustrated by Soares Carneiro's defeat on December 7, 1980.

In numerous statements proving the Communist Party's recurrent warnings and exposures to be perfectly correct, the DA leaders themselves reveal the main lines of the further evolution of their subversive plan for the period "immediately" after the enactment of the law revising the constitution. These lines will consist in control over the Constitutional Court and subordination of the Armed Forces to the government; the drafting of a new law on industrial sectors aimed at revoking nationalization and restoring the power of big capital; the adoption of a new law against the agrarian reform, and new labor legislation drastically curbing the rights and gains of labor. Numerous facts and developments of the past and the present period indicate that the reactionary forces' immediate intentions include an intensification of the institutional war against the President to undercut his positions.

Portuguese democrats entertain no illusions. Encouraged by the revision of the constitution brought about with the aid of Soares' SP, the DA will, unless stopped, mount a large-scale offensive against all that the Portuguese people have achieved since April 25.

II

The Portuguese Communist Party stresses that even though the AR has approved the revision of the constitution under DA-SP agreements, the existing regime and democratic institutions still command sufficient political strength, social support and constitutional mechanisms to head off the dangers threatening freedom and democracy.

The resignation of the DA government, the dissolution of the AR, the formation of a government free to make decisions, and mid-term elections for legislative bodies are national and democratic de-

mands which are as valid as ever and have been still more imperative since the AR approved the law revising the constitution.

The situation could be vastly simplified if certain measures repeatedly proposed by the PCP had been carried out before the revision law was passed. These measures would be efficacious even now, when the law has not yet come into force.

There are still institutional possibilities of averting what the PCP has described as a DA coup.

To remove the DA from power by ordering the resignation of its government and dissolving the AR is more imperative than ever; it is an urgent measure whose purpose is to prevent the reactionary forces entrenched in the government and having an artificially formed majority in the AR from using the instruments and means which the revision of the constitution has put in their hands to destroy the democratic regime and the gains of the April revolution, as they declare they want to do.

These measures, which would pave the way for defeating the DA and bringing about a change in favor of democracy, are an effective means of reducing and eliminating the main dangers presented by the revision of the constitution as a consequence of the DA-SP deal.

The political trend that would set in on the national scene after the defeat of the DA in new elections and the restoration of a democratic majority in the AR would enable this sovereign body to draft what is called complementary legislation on the Constitutional Court, national defense and the Armed Forces, and would thereby have a beneficial impact on the Assembly's election of the Constitutional Court.

Furthermore, the democratic government to be formed after the defeat of the DA would be able to guarantee harmonious cooperation with the President both in the matter of appointing military leaders and safeguarding the Armed Forces' constitutional commitment to democracy and in terms of political responsibility to the President, respecting in reality the semi-presidential nature of the Portuguese political system.

Resignation of the government and dissolution of the AR are entirely democratic and constitutional measures which the President is entitled to adopt both before and after the enactment of the law revising the constitution, and both before and after it comes into force.

However, it is becoming more and more evident that the more these measures are delayed, the more the people will have to suffer, the more the country will be damaged by the DA government, the more closely reaction will encircle the President and the more the main lines of defense of democracy will be weakened.

Conversely, the sooner the measures in question are adopted, the less reaction will be able to resist and strike back, the more reliably the democratic regime will be defended and consolidated, and the sooner a democratic change will come, a change needed for paving the way to the solution of national problems.

The PCP stresses that under all circumstances, in

view of the oncoming elections for local government bodies set for the end of this year, the dissolution of the DA government and the formation of a new government are a basic and decisive condition for ensuring the seriousness and democratic character of this important electoral process.

III

The PCP emphasizes that the mass struggles of recent months against the DA government and the revision of the constitution according to the DA-SP deal, in defense of the living standard, the democratic achievements of the people and the April constitution are an invaluable contribution of the working-class and democratic movement to the defense of democracy and that the results of these struggles, which are noticeable even now, will retain their significance in the foreseeable future.

Political action by the PCP and resolute effort by the working-class and popular movement will defeat DA-SP plans aimed at stealthily robbing the constitution of its substance with impunity and at an early date. They will not allow still greater concessions to reaction by the SP, and will expose and politically isolate the initiators of and accomplices in shameful deals against democracy, and will urge other democratic sectors to be vigilant, helping them overcome passivity, conformism and defeatism. All this will make it possible to bring out still better the dangers stemming from the revision of the constitution now approved by the AR, and will create favorable conditions for popular and democratic struggles in the coming decisive campaign to prevent the DA from putting its subversive plan into practice.

IV

The conduct of diverse political parties in the process of revising the constitution is bound to tell in the short or long term on their political and social influence, their electoral chances and, most probably, the very evolution of the nation's party system.

The SP under Mario Soares (to whom the leaders of the Left Union for Socialist Democracy cringe) has shown itself to be an organization committed to the most abject collaboration with the DA parties to the detriment of the democratic regime, and frankly hostile to the military participants in the April events and to the President, whose election was also supported by the Socialists. This posture of the SP fully ignores the aspirations of the majority of its electorate and the opinion of more than half of its MPs.

The SP leadership's policy of alliance with the right and the revision of the constitution have revealed the Socialists as a party that has badly discredited itself in the working people's eyes and lost much of its prestige among democrats and is rent by internal differences and conflicts, with its influence on the electorate and its leverage in national politics dwindling.

The PCP has warned from the first against the dangers with which the DA-SP proposals for a revised constitution were fraught, pointed to the tremendous significance of the issue, which requires mobilization and action by the masses, fought resolutely against the DA-SP accords both in the AR

and in the course of mass actions, expressed in its political and parliamentary activity the sentiments and aspirations of the masses and large sections of democratic opinion and, finally, voted against the political essence of the law revising the constitution. All this has made it Portugal's only major political party dedicated without qualification to the liberation ideals of April 25 and the democratic regime formalized by the constitution. The PCP has shown itself once more to be a great democratic and political force whose strengthening, particularly in elections, is of decisive importance for the defense of democracy, a democratic change and a democratic alternative.

V

The PCP calls the attention of all Portuguese and all sovereign bodies involved in defending the democratic regime to the increasing extraordinary and intolerable aggravation of all national problems, which is a direct result of the DA government's policies and is now, after two and a half years, pushing the country to a disaster of incalculable dimensions and consequences.

The PCP stresses that constant violations of democratic legality and the working people's rights, curbs on freedoms, manipulation of the state-owned mass media, a steady deterioration of the working people's living standard, a growing economic deficit, a huge foreign debt, stagnation and decline in production, attacks on nationalization and the agrarian reform, the exacerbation of all social problems and needs, increasing corruption, and a foreign pol-

icy subservient to U.S. imperialism show up the complete failure of the DA government. They make it imperative that the government resign and mid-term elections be held to enable the Portuguese people to express their opinion and decide by their vote on the new direction of national policy.

VI

In view of the new difficulties that have arisen in the political situation due to the revision of the constitution imposed by the DA in alliance with the SP and designed to nullify the results of the big democratic victory achieved on December 7, 1980, it is necessary to prevent impatience and nervousness from diverting democrats from mass action. It is essential to maintain confidence in the capacity of the working people and the working-class and popular movement for struggle, in the strength of democratic unity and cooperation and the capacity for initiative which the democratic institutions of the country retain.

The democratic regime established as a result of the victory of the revolution of April 25 has taken strong root in national reality, in the hearts and minds of the Portuguese people.

The road to democracy's victory over plans for a return to the past is, now as in the past, a road of resistance and struggle.

August 17, 1982
*Political Commission, CC,
Portuguese Communist Party
Avante!, August 19, 1982*

For a United Front of Left Democratic Forces

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, on the Forthcoming Presidential Elections Adopted at its Meeting on July 29, 1982

In May 1982, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, drew attention to the numerous actions of the UNP government to abuse its powers and rig the forthcoming elections to its advantage, it appealed to all non-governmental parties to unite to ensure free and fair elections.

This timely appeal met with a positive response from other political parties. Bilateral discussions took place, although joint action in this regard has not yet been realized.

Taking advantage of this, the UNP government has now proposed further constitutional amendments which constitute further assaults on the democratic rights of the people and make free and fair elections more difficult to achieve. Together with this, it proposes also to amend the constitution to permit the next Presidential election to be held ahead of time.

Three main considerations have made the UNP government take these new steps.

First and foremost, its neocolonial and "open economy" policies, which have aggravated the

crisis of Sri Lanka's dependent capitalist economy still further, have reached a dead end. These policies cannot be continued without mortgaging the country still more abjectly to foreign imperialism and its transnational corporations, placing new burdens on the people, and launching further attacks on hard-won democratic rights of the masses. The UNP needs an early election before the realities of the economic crisis and its consequences for the people become obvious to all.

Secondly, the government's political position is deteriorating with each day that passes. Its internal dissensions and massive corruption can no longer be hidden. Even the draconian powers it gave itself earlier have been found insufficient to quell popular opposition as the increasing resort to intimidation and neofascist thuggery show. Through a premature and rigged election, the UNP hopes to be able to pretend that its unconcealed plans to pass from authoritarianism to more naked forms of dictatorship have received popular endorsement.

Thirdly, the UNP hopes that, despite mounting

opposition to it and its policies from diverse sections of the people, it can take advantage of the disarray among its opponents to creep back to power in an early Presidential election, which has become more crucial and decisive under the UNP's 1978 state constitution than the general elections to a devalued Parliament.

The Communist Party warns that, if the UNP is allowed to get away with its sinister plans, the consequences for Sri Lanka and its people — and especially for the left and progressive forces — can be extremely grave. The attack on democratic rights and the standard of living of the people will be intensified. The systematic erosion of national sovereignty and this country's non-aligned policy in world affairs will be carried further forward. Neo-colonialism and the ruthless exploitation of the masses at the behest of foreign imperialism, as well as its World Bank and transnational corporations, will become even greater. All the postponed actions like the cutback on free education through the White Paper, the grant of facilities to the U.S. navy at Trincomalie, and the handing over of developed Mahaveli land to foreign capitalist companies, will be resumed without fear. The 60 per cent of our people who still live below the poverty line after five years of UNP rule will lose even the food stamps they now receive, while the foreign and local big capitalists, as well as the racketeers and parasites, will continue to grow richer.

The likelihood of a new Presidential election very soon therefore makes it imperative that all left, democratic and patriotic forces, all who value freedom, justice, fair play, national culture and moral values, act unitedly to defeat the UNP and its an-

nounced candidate President J.R. Jayawardena.

It is only in this way that the democratic rights which the UNP government has taken away from the people can be restored and conditions created for the people democratically to choose their government in free and fair elections.

In the opinion of the Communist Party, this can best be achieved if the anti-UNP parties use the opportunity provided by an early Presidential election to campaign unitedly to secure the people's approval for:

(1) repealing the anti-democratic and anti-national features of the UNP's 1978 constitution;

(2) restoring the supremacy of Parliament and the former system of elections; and

(3) creating the necessary conditions for the holding of really free and fair elections to a new Parliament in which the people can choose democratically whom they want to represent them. This will involve, inter alia, the abolition of all restrictions on the democratic process introduced in recent years, and the restoration of the civil rights of all persons who have been deprived of them other than by the judgment of an established court of law or an election judge.

Agreement on such immediate measures should, in our opinion, be accompanied by negotiations between the anti-UNP parties to select a single, common candidate, pledged to give effect to the above measures and around whom the widest anti-UNP sections can be rallied.

Whatever the party to which such a candidate may personally belong, he should in such an election be not a candidate of any single party but a joint candidate, commonly sponsored by a number of anti-UNP parties and other democratic forces.

While all anti-UNP parties have naturally the right to suggest whom they consider to be the most suitable candidate for this purpose, they have also the responsibility through discussions to arrive at a consensus regarding the most suitable among the suggestions made.

While the Communist Party sees merit in some of the proposals made so far, it will nevertheless exert every effort and not spare any necessary sacrifice to assist agreement being reached on such a consensus candidate who, in addition to defeating the UNP and creating the conditions for free and fair elections, will also implement some agreed measures of interim relief such as the re-instatement, with full arrears, of all strikers fired in 1980 and the restoration of certain consumer and production subsidies.

It appeals to other anti-UNP parties to adopt a similar position.

Recent desperate measures taken or contemplated by the government such as its new constitutional amendments, its attempts to muzzle the press, the Getambe affair, and the use of JSS hooligans to break up meetings and assault respected public figures show that the UNP government is far from stable or secure. A common candidate, supported by the widest mass of the anti-UNP forces, can, in our opinion, defeat the UNP if it gambles on an early Presidential election and clear the way for a new path of democratic and popular advance.

Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Contradictions of Capitalism

An impressive collection of papers presented at an international theoretical conference convened by the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1979. Scholars from all over the world deal with the subject generally and in the specifics of their own countries. The four sections include:

- (1) General Theory
- (2) STR and Problems of Reproduction
- (3) STR and Aggravation of Social and Economic Contradictions of Capitalism
- (4) STR and Global Problems

Cloth 660 pp \$10

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

USA Obstructing Nuclear Disarmament

U.S. President Reagan recently announced his decision not to resume the Soviet-American-British negotiations on a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, which had been broken off by the United States. Another decision taken simultaneously was not to ratify the Soviet-American treaties on limiting nuclear weapons tests and on nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes, which were signed in 1974 and 1976. These decisions are another step by the present U.S. administration against the efforts of the peoples and the peace-loving states to contain the nuclear arms race and to prevent the possibility of a nuclear war.

The complete and general cessation of nuclear weapons tests is one of the most important problems in the whole complex of measures to avert a nuclear threat. Its solution would mean the creation of a real barrier in the way of the further perfection of nuclear weapons and development of new types and systems. It is also known that tests are used to verify the combat readiness and enhance the combat potentialities of existing nuclear ammunition. That is why the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests would be an important measure in limiting the arms race and reducing the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear war. Its conclusion would simultaneously reinforce the nuclear weapons non-proliferation regime, since it would deprive the states seeking to gain possession of them of the possibility of staging tests, which are a necessary element in the development of such weapons.

The 1963 Moscow Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water became a useful measure in limiting nuclear armaments. However, it left underground nuclear tests outside the framework of the prohibition. Besides, two nuclear powers — China and France — are not parties to it.

It is understandable, therefore, why the peoples and most states have for years insisted on a prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests without exception and on the conclusion of relevant understandings. In 1977, under international public pressure, the United States began negotiations with the Soviet Union (and these were subsequently joined by Britain) on a complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. In the course of the negotiations considerable successes were achieved: virtually the whole text of a future treaty was agreed, and it only remained to specify some of its provisions, mainly of a technical order. The results of the negotiations which the delegations of the three countries laid before the Disarmament Committee in August 1980 were accepted in a positive manner by the other states, which assessed them as highly encouraging. In the course of the negotiations from 1977 to 1980, many

difficulties were overcome, including those relating to the problem of control of compliance with the treaty. While these difficulties were partially objective, they were also now and again deliberately inflated by the Western side. But because of the Soviet Union's flexible and constructive approach, a large part of these was overcome. The Western press, including the U.S. press, predicted that the "treaty would apparently be concluded within a year." The prospects for its conclusion became quite realistic. But these predictions did not materialize: the United States unilaterally broke off the trilateral negotiations.

It was evidently the prospect of the conclusion of a treaty that did not suit the U.S. administration which came to power in late 1980, because it made reliance on strength the basis of its policy, making an open stake on attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union.

For nearly 18 months, the Reagan administration refused to resume the trilateral negotiations on the plea that it was "studying the problem." What was the outcome of this "study"? It is well known: at the beginning of this year, the U.S. administration declared that it believed the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests to be "inopportune." Having decided to frustrate the conclusion of a treaty, it resorted to obstructionist tactics. As a pretext, Washington's representatives referred to the difficulties of control. Then it was declared that the question of nuclear weapons tests could be settled only in connection with a reduction of nuclear arsenals. But at the same time the United States rejected the Soviet Union's proposal for negotiations on ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons and reducing their stockpiles until their complete liquidation. By their practical acts they made it known that they had no intention of reducing U.S. nuclear arsenals. It is perfectly obvious, moreover, that the United States has been developing new nuclear weapons systems of every type. So, Washington's stand on a reduction of nuclear weapons, in effect, comes full vicious circle.

The U.S. announcement of its refusal to hold talks and to conclude a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests came like an open challenge to the states and peoples working to avert a nuclear war and to strengthen peace and international security.

Referring to this decision of the U.S. administration, UN Secretary-General J. Perez de Cuellar declared that the importance of achieving an understanding on the complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests was indicated in a number of UN General Assembly resolutions. It is essential, therefore, he added, to carry the negotiations on this problem to a successful completion by solving the few remaining

issues, including some aspects of verification. But this has been ignored by the United States.

Having set themselves the task of attaining military superiority over the USSR and putting their main stake on nuclear armament, the incumbent White House Leadership adopted a wide-ranging program for building up the nuclear arsenals, as the U.S. President announced on October 2, 1981. In accordance with this line, the United States is developing new warheads for ballistic MX missiles, Trident-1 and Trident-2, long-range Cruise missiles, Pershing-2 missiles, neutron ammunition, and special ammunition for the B-1B and Stealth bombers. The defense directives announced by Secretary of Defense Weinberger envisage the production over the next 10 years of at least 23,000 new nuclear warheads.

Consequently, there is here an effort to build up a qualitatively new material base for conducting nuclear war. The new systems of strategic and other weapons also required new nuclear warheads. And that is where one should look for the reason for which the United States has frustrated any agreement and has refused to abandon tests. On the contrary, it requires the implementation of a broad program for the development and fine-tuning of new nuclear warheads and their unhampered and unlimited testing.

In the first half of this year, half again as many test explosions were staged at the U.S. testing site in the state of Nevada than in the same period of 1981. The increase in the number of test explosions also calls for fresh appropriations. That is why the U.S. Energy Department has requested for 1983 twice as much money for the testing of nuclear weapons than was expended for these purposes in 1980.

The recent Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament devoted much attention to the banning of nuclear weapons tests. The overwhelming majority of states, including some Western states, came out for the earliest solution of this problem. The conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests would, of course, be its fullest and most radical solution, and that is precisely where the efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the non-aligned countries were concentrated. Some intermediate solutions were also proposed. Thus, India, Mexico, Sweden and several other states put forward the idea of a freeze on nuclear weapons. One of the elements of the proposed freeze was an end to the testing of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union told the special session that it found the freeze idea congenial. However, all the proposals on this score were blocked by the United States.

On August 3, work was resumed by the Disarmament Committee, which adopted a decision to set up a special working group to frame a treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. The United States consented to participate in its work. But in view of the White House statements on nuclear weapons tests, this question arises: does the United States intend to use the Disarmament Committee and the negotiations being started there on the ques-

tion of prohibiting nuclear weapons tests as a screen for deceiving world opinion, while simultaneously stepping up such tests?

It is becoming obvious that the United States not only does not want a prohibition but also does not want a limitation of nuclear tests by any yield ceiling for the warheads being tested. That is the only explanation of the U.S. administration's decision to refuse to ratify the Soviet-American treaty, signed in 1974, on limiting the underground testing of nuclear weapons to a yield of 150 kilotons, and also the related treaty on nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes, which was signed in 1976. Here, the U.S. side claims that the control provisions of the 1974 treaty worked out earlier by the United States and the Soviet Union no longer satisfy the United States. Although this treaty has not been ratified, the Soviet Union and the United States earlier declared that they would abide by its provisions which banned the staging of experimental blasts with a yield of over 150 kilotons. The White House spokesmen now declare that, while they have no grounds for accusing the Soviet Union of having violated these provisions, the U.S. side is in "a state of uncertainty" with respect to their observance.

All that needs to be done to avoid "a state of uncertainty" is to ratify the said treaty, which provides for an elaborate system of controls whose reliability is ensured by the provided exchanges of the relevant data on testing sites. Clauses on effective control measures are also contained in the treaty on peaceful nuclear blasts, which provide, in the event of necessity, for on-the-spot verifications and the presentation of detailed data on the purposes and conditions in which such blasts are staged.

It is not, evidently, a matter of the control system, but is rather the intention of the United States to continue its extensive program of nuclear weapons tests, without any limitation on the warhead yield. This was frankly admitted by Eugene Rostow, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, when he declared, in the course of hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that, in view of the need to develop new systems of weapons and their modernization, for a long time yet they would have to carry out tests and possibly even to test weapons whose yield was in excess of the established ceiling of 150 kilotons.

The refusal to complete the negotiations and preparation of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests is not the only act of the U.S. administration which is aimed to thwart understandings on reducing the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. A number of other understandings on limiting nuclear weapons which are known to the world public have also been blatantly ignored. This has led to ever greater doubts: is the U.S. administration at all interested in achieving understandings on the problems of nuclear disarmament?

Ignoring the signed treaties (SALT-2, limitation of nuclear weapons tests, nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes, and others) the U.S. administration has contrasted its self-seeking interests to those of the inter-

national community and has tried to impose its will on other states. Such a policy tends to destabilize the situation in the world and to increase the nuclear threat. Irresponsible and unilateral steps in the nuclear field are fraught with the gravest consequences not only for the two powers or for the two opposed alliances, but for the whole of humankind.

It is illusory to look to new nuclear ammunition as one's advantages and to base one's policy on this. Regardless of the kind of weapons and their quantities the United States may acquire, the Soviet Union will be in possession of an appropriate counterweight to them.

At the same time, the USSR has been doing its

utmost to avert a nuclear catastrophe. That was precisely the purpose of the declaration by the head of the Soviet state Leonid Brezhnev made in the message to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament to the effect that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics undertakes the obligation not to use nuclear weapons first."

Purposeful efforts for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests continue to be an important line in the struggle to avert a nuclear war.

A. Petrov

Pravda, August 9, 1982

Fresh Fit of Anti-Sovietism and its Repercussions

Communist Press on the U.S. Administration's Attacks Against Detente

The Price of Reagan's New Sanctions

Confronted with the bankruptcy of its domestic economic programs and its foreign policies abroad, the Reagan administration has acted to deflect mounting popular criticism by refurbishing the myth of the Soviet "menace" through the imposition of new trade sanctions. Actually, the new sanctions constitute an all-out attempt by U.S. imperialism to subjugate the economies and national sovereignty of the European states (and Japan), and "to bring them into line" with U.S. policies.

The new curbs, moreover, are not without serious consequence for U.S. business. The previous embargo prohibited U.S. companies from trade with the Soviet Union involving certain technologies; the new extension decrees that any foreign country violating the embargo on sales of pipeline technology to the Soviet Union could be barred from obtaining merchandise or data from the United States. In disclosing the new procedures, Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade Administration, acknowledged that the sanctions would cause American companies to lose approximately \$1.2 billion of business over the next three years (*New York Times*, June 25, 1982).

No wonder that the European community and Japan have reacted so strongly at this new American imperialist intervention in their internal affairs. Of immediate concern is the fact that, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), unemployment in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Britain, Italy and France rose to an 8.7 per cent annual rate this year from 5.9 per cent in 1980. Interference with the \$15 billion worth of Soviet orders for heavy machinery and large-diameter steel pipe could have a grave effect on the European economies.

Guenter Mausbach, a member of the managing

board of the FRG steelmaker, Mannesman, estimates that 2,500 jobs in his company depend on the pipeline deal. France's Creusot-Loire, co-prime contractor with Mannesman, says that the pipeline contract will bring in 4.5 million hours of work and fully occupy up to half its personnel in many of its 30 factories for the next few years. In Britain, as many as 3,000 jobs could be at stake, including 1,600 at the John Brown Engineering plant at Clydeside in Scotland, where unemployment has been very high. Italy's big industrial pump manufacturer, Nuovo Pignone, considers the contract "very important" for its 6,000 employees (*New York Times*, May 30, 1982).

The Japan-USSR oil exploration project off Sakhalin Island in the Sea of Okhotsk is also affected. Japan has already spent \$160 million on the project, begun in 1975, and now needs some \$2 million of equipment said to be available only from U.S. suppliers. It now faces a possible breach of contract suit and denial of future exploration rights by the Soviet Union as a result of the new Reagan sanctions.

But there is a larger issue involved, beyond the immediate economic effects of the new curbs. Europe's foreign ministers, at the end of their three-day meeting recently in Luxemburg, charged that American efforts to prevent European companies from using licenses to make essential parts for the pipeline "implies an extraterritorial extension of United States' jurisdiction which in the circumstances is contrary to the principles of international law." What is at stake here, as they see it, is the very national sovereignty of the countries involved as well as their economic and political independence. Concerned with their own economic difficulties, and confronted by mass movements for

a nuclear freeze and détente, the European foreign ministers recognize the danger to themselves in the Reagan administration's anti-Sovietism.

In an editorial endorsing the new curbs, *Business Week* (May 7, 1982) nevertheless acknowledged that "the U.S. will pay a substantial price for the Reagan administration's decision to ban European licensees of U.S. companies from selling oil and natural gas equipment to the Soviet Union." But that price, to begin with, will be paid by further shrinking U.S.-Soviet trade, and the loss of thousands of job opportunities for American workers; it will be paid for by an intensification of the trade war between the U.S., Europe and Japan at the expense of the working

peoples; it could also bring a heightening of the danger of nuclear war.

The historic outpouring in this country on June 12 for the nuclear freeze and disarmament, together with the millions-strong demonstrations throughout the world, point the way to forcing the Reagan administration to end all curbs on U.S. and Europe-Soviet trade, for fruitful armaments reductions negotiations at Geneva, and for a restoration of détente.

Al Merle

Abridged from *Daily World*,

July 3, 1982

Reagan Tramples Over EEC Trade

Riding roughshod over Western Europe's battered economies, Britain's included, President Reagan and the cohort of Californian cowboys who put him in power, have issued a declaration of war on our trade with the rest of the world.

While the immediate issue is the question of the ban imposed by the Reagan gang on the supply of compressors for the 3,500-mile pipeline which will bring supplies of Soviet natural gas from Siberia to Western Europe, U.S. actions against West European trade include attacks on exports of steel, textiles, agricultural products and even orange juice.

"What we are seeing is an attempt to export unemployment from the U.S. to Europe through the unilateral use of a protectionist weapon based on what we regard as an unreasonable and arbitrary definition of subsidy," was how no less a person than Mrs. Thatcher's Trade Minister, Peter Rees, recently defined U.S. action against British steel exports.

In the case of Britain, the U.S. action means imposing an extra duty of over 40 per cent on British Steel Corporation products sold in the U.S. The chances of BSC selling over such a duty are negligible.

To give Trade Minister Rees the credit where credit is due, he made his hard-hitting remarks in a speech to the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations in New York and told his audience what the reduction of employment in the British steel industry from 208,000 in 1977 to under 104,000 in 1982 meant in human terms.

Three years ago the Durham town of Consett had an integrated steel plant employing over 3,600 men and women. BSC was the town's only major employer. That plant is now closed and all the jobs are gone.

The Shotton steel plant in North Wales employed about 5,300 in 1980 and there are now only 2,500 there, while at the Port Talbot plant in South Wales, which three years ago employed 12,000 people, there are now only 5,600. Yet Port Talbot is producing steel with an efficiency approaching the best in Europe.

U.S. action against British steel exports has been more than matched, however; by the arrogance of the Reagan decision to extend the ban on U.S. oil

and gas technology sales to the Soviet Union to all U.S. subsidiaries operating abroad and to U.S. licenses used by foreign firms to make equipment for the pipeline.

This decision, which will also hit jobs in Western Europe very hard, was taken unilaterally and without prior consultation with the countries most affected — Britain, France, West Germany and Italy.

The decision has been condemned by the recent Common Market summit, although Mrs. Thatcher stepped in to tone down the condemnation, claiming that her soft soap tactics and her "special relationship" with Reagan would get the decision rescinded.

Far from that being the case, however, U.S. Commerce Department Under Secretary Lionel Olmer has threatened that if John Brown of Clydebank and the 19 other major companies concerned, "thumb their noses" at the U.S. ban, then they would face other severe sanctions.

Denouncing that decision, as well as the one on steel, former Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath said Reagan's gang were "rooted in a philosophy of economics and an approach to international affairs more misguided than any in the history of the Western alliance."

Such a notable representative of British industry as Sir Fred Catherwood, also a Tory, has also denounced the U.S. decisions on steel and on the pipeline as an "outrageous interference to U.S. ownership of European companies to frustrate the political decisions taken by the self-governing states of Europe."

President Reagan and his gang have sought to justify their ban on equipment for the pipeline and their plans to sabotage construction of the pipeline altogether by claiming that such a ban would deal a body blow to the Soviet economy and bring it crashing to the ground.

The U.S. has also informed the UN Economic Commission for Europe that it would no longer take part in its programs, promoting East-West cooperation in energy production projects.

Such sterile attempts to sabotage Soviet economic progress clutter the history of the last 60 years and have every time come to naught.

Already, Soviet workers have replied to U.S. gangster tactics by declaring that the pipeline would

be completed on time whatever Reagan may do.

"Washington's decision to prolong and even extend the ban imposed on deliveries of oil and gas equipment to the Soviet Union will not delay construction of the pipeline," said Vladimir Bapshin, an executive of the Soviet Oil and Gas Industry Ministry.

He pointed out that as far back as 1980, faced with the threat of such a ban, Soviet designers began work on machinery which could replace the U.S. Caterpillar Co. pipelaying machines. Such machines are already being made, as well as 25-megawatt gas turbine compressors which are not at all inferior in their performance to the best foreign models.

In plants right across the Soviet Union, in Kiev, Donetsk, Novgorod, Moscow, Kaliningrad, Tyumen, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk, workers have pledged themselves to complete the necessary machinery on time.

Is it really thought that a people which, in the words of another arch-imperialist Winston Churchill, "tore the guts out of Hitler's armies," is going

to kow-tow to that "incoherent cretin" and creature of California's cowboy millionaires, Ronald Reagan.

Years before, after the historic victory of the Russian working class in 1917, the same Churchill said that he sought to "strangle Bolshevism at birth" by military intervention and economic blockade. And how he failed.

At a recent rally of workers in the Lenin Nevsky works in Leningrad, which is making gas pumps for the pipeline, turner Viktor Demyanenko declared:

"It is not the first time that the Soviet Union has been pressured by the imperialist forces. The Soviet people remember the economic blockade imposed on the young Soviet Republic which ended in failure. Such a failure is also in store for the Reagan administration."

Meanwhile, the British government has to declare quite unequivocally that, as Sir Fred Catherwood said: "What we need in our relations with the U.S. is not the subservience of the 51st state."

Abridged from *Morning Star*,
July 9, 1982

Does France Have the Right to Conduct an Independent Policy?

In 1980, our country signed with the Soviet Union a five-year financial protocol which fixed the terms of payment for equipment under contracts concluded between the two countries.

The main provisions of that agreement were made known to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in which, as everyone knows, Washington sits on the throne.

And now here is Washington quoting an anonymous source — which speaks volumes about how it does things — and picking a quarrel with France because the protocol has "secret" and diabolical clauses which supposedly threaten the market mechanism.

Having so far failed in its attempts to get the Europeans to reconsider the Euro-Siberian natural gas pipeline, Mr. Reagan has now decided to resort to false accusations. A ludicrous maneuver . . .

The press, radio and television have had much to say about this new turn in the trade and financial war started by Washington. They all agree that the U.S. reasoning is lame. The one surprising thing is that it has not so far occurred to anyone to be indignant, not so much about the methods used — which are habitual for the United States — as about its objectives.

Mr. Reagan wants to have full control over all agreements made between France and the USSR. He wants to know all their provisions so as to amend and even punctuate them.

Not satisfied with having attained the official reactivization of COCOM,* the little "cook house" for the cold war, which has its headquarters in Paris and limits technological exchanges between East and West, the U.S. President wants to dictate his condi-

tions for all the exchanges between France and the Soviet Union in order to make the boycott of the socialist world a state policy in our country.

That is the U.S. idea of that "free enterprise" by which it is guided in its methods of government, and whose most significant result is, without doubt, the fact that there are now 10 million unemployed across the Atlantic.

One should not beat around the bush in this matter. The only real question worth asking is whether or not France has the right to conduct an independent policy which is in accord with its national interests.

The mutually-advantageous cooperation with Eastern Europe — of which the Euro-Siberian natural gas pipeline is a concrete example — is one of the conditions for our country's emerging from the grave difficulties facing it.

By contrast, the road leading to a trade and financial war against the USSR has no prospects, and that is, by the way, precisely what President Mitterand recently confirmed.

And Reagan's United States wants us to abandon our national interests in favor of its strategic interests, which include additional arming, confrontation with the socialist countries, austerity for the people, and ruin of the developing countries.

The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to give a new impulse to cooperation with Europe — which decreased somewhat in recent months — and with France in particular. Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the CPSU CC International Department, made that perfectly clear in a recent interview in the weekly *Témoignage chrétien*.

That is indeed the way of reason, and no ruse on the part of a peeved Reagan should prevent France from keeping to that course.

L'Humanité, July 19, 1982

*Coordinating Committee to control exports to the socialist countries, known as COCOM. — Ed.

The Lebanese Tragedy and the Middle East Crisis

The Palestinian fighters are now leaving besieged Beirut. They are going with head held high, as the foreign press writes in a rare occurrence of unanimity. "All the correspondents are surprised to note," a French TV correspondent reported from the Lebanese capital, "that the Palestinians are united in a real army with their own organizational structure and discipline and, most importantly, with their dignity. And now it is difficult to say who has won and who has lost this war. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which is now leaving Beirut, has won real international recognition in this war, recognition it has long sought. Israel, which now appears to be the master of the situation, has lost all its moral trumps."

In other words, Israel has not only suffered a moral and political defeat, but has once again lived up to its reputation as an aggressor state and an invader state seeking forcibly to impose its will on the neighboring peoples.

The invasion of Lebanon, started two and a half months ago, has ruined many towns and villages of that country, and has doomed to incalculable suffering hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and refugee Palestinians, who came there after being expelled from their homeland. However, if one looks at the Lebanese events in the light of history, it is not difficult to conclude that this is only one of the tragic acts of the Middle East crisis. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is the fifth major Middle East war within the last three decades, and was a direct consequence of the general unsettled state of the long drawn-out crisis in that region, and of the adventurist course of U.S. imperialism, which is bent on strengthening its political and military positions there.

Both Tel Aviv and Washington set certain tasks for this aggressive war, tasks not limited to Lebanon.

First of all, it should be remembered that from 1967, Israel has been occupying the Palestinian lands seized at that time: the West Bank of the River Jordan, and the Gaza Strip, with a combined area of almost 6,000 square kilometers, and also the Syrian Golan Heights, with a territory of almost 1,000 square kilometers. Both the Palestinians and the Syrians consider it their national task to liberate those lands, and they have never renounced them.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, founded in 1964, put forward a slogan on creating a Palestinian state, seeking to bring together in it the fellow-tribesmen now scattered in different countries and on different continents. That slogan was concretely embodied in the PLO's programmatic documents. The Palestinians' right to political self-determination has been endorsed by the United Nations, by the governments of many countries.

The Palestinian people's aspirations sharply contradicted the plans of the Israeli leadership and international Zionism, which supported it. Menachem Begin, the present Israeli Prime Minister, expressed the essence of his designs thus: "We have no room for two peoples. The only solution is a

Palestine without Arabs." Those words are nothing but a confirmation of the Israeli course aimed once and for all to appropriate all Palestinian lands — the West Bank and the Gaza. As for the inhabitants themselves — and they number more than 1,300,000 — the plan is to force all, or a large part of them, into Jordan. It is clear that the PLO is the main obstacle in the way of such designs, and so the Tel Aviv bosses have directed their efforts toward getting that organization out of the Middle East political arena. That, as a case in point, is one of the aims of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, where the PLO leadership and its main military formations were located.

The Palestinians met the Israeli invasion with might and main, as the saying goes. With, for the most part, small arms and a few dozen artillery batteries, tanks and anti-aircraft guns, and far inferior to the aggressor not only in military hardware but also in numbers, the Palestinians stood up staunchly, surrendered no positions without a fight, and turned the suburbs of Beirut and the western part of the city into a real fortress, never giving the Israelis a chance to take the Lebanese capital.

It is not yet time to sum up the results of the war: it continues, and the aggressor is still trampling on Lebanese land and throwing ever new forces in there. But one conclusion can already be drawn: the PLO is leaving Beirut undefeated. Of course, its activity is reaching a new and, to all appearances, quite complicated stage. It is obvious, however, that the Organization has withstood the aggressors' onslaught; they did not manage to rout it and remove it from the political arena. The slogan on creating an independent Palestinian state has not been and cannot be removed from the agenda. It is impossible to eliminate the four million Palestinian people, just as it is impossible to liquidate their natural striving for freedom and independence. The problem of the Palestinian people's self-determination exists, and that is a reality with which Israel and its patrons will have to reckon.

It should be borne in mind that the Israeli bosses had other aims as well when they attacked Lebanon, for example, Tel Aviv's old scheme to have in that Arab country a submissive regime prepared to conclude a peace treaty with Israel after the example of Egypt. One Israeli journalist tells of how, during a recent tour of the occupied Lebanese lands, Ariel Sharon, Israeli Defense Minister, showed his company a curious geographical map, on which Lebanon was marked as a country ruled by groups subservient to Tel Aviv; the West Bank — as a province of Israel, and Jordan — as a Palestinian state. It is clear that this general and his chiefs are planning to begin from now the mass expulsion of the Palestinians to Jordan, where there are already almost one million refugees.

But Tel Aviv has another aim as well: to weaken Syria, deal blows against its army, which is in Lebanon under a mandate of the Arab League, dislodge it from there, and thus force Syria to resign itself to the loss of the Golan Heights, and, perhaps, to make

that country more complaisant toward Israel and the USA. Numerous reports from Lebanon show that the Israeli command has already begun to throw large forces into the Bekaa Valley and the town of Tripoli, where Syrian units and the Palestinian detachments cooperating with them are located. Many data confirm the probability that Israel will extend its aggression to those regions to seize the remaining parts of Lebanese territory.

It is not difficult to understand that Israel's actions meet U.S. strategic designs in the Middle East. Washington's policy during the last few years — under President Carter and also under the present administration — has been an overt striving to install its military and political diktat over the Arab peoples. In this case, Israel has the role of U.S. gendarme and the executor of the will of U.S. imperialism.

It is true that grumbles and even criticism against the Israeli actions have been heard in Washington of late. Thus, President Reagan recently gave out that they were breaking their agreements, and U.S. State Secretary Shultz ventured to mention the need for Israel to make some concessions to the Arabs. It appears that all that is being done under the pressure of world public opinion: practically all countries, even the USA's NATO allies, have condemned the Israeli tyranny, and they must be taking that into account in Washington. There is, of course, the Arab factor, too. U.S. authority in the Arab world has been thoroughly shaken because of its support for Israel during the present aggression, and that also has to be looked at.

As a whole, U.S. relations with Israel have the special character of a strategic alliance. Washington's support for Israel, said an ABC TV commentator, remains as strong as it was before the invasion of Lebanon and the bombing of Beirut. Some figures to explain that view: since 1951, Israel has received \$28 billion in U.S. credit, including \$15 billion to buy arms. According to *The Washington Post*, of the 567 fighter planes with which the Israeli army was equipped before the invasion of Lebanon, 457 were U.S. planes and had been acquired through loans or grants from the United States, and 80 were Israeli-made "Kfir" planes equipped with U.S. engines.

But there is more to it than just military and economic support: the U.S. provides the political screen for Israel's aggressive attacks. It also helps its client by its open course aimed to split the Arab world. Thus, the infamous Camp David agreement, signed by the U.S., Israel and Egypt, has practically removed the largest Arab country from the front of opposition to the aggressor. It is not by chance that Western journalists have been writing that the fifth Middle East War is characterized not only by its duration and the unprecedented number of victims and amount of destruction, but also by the fact that, for the first time, Egypt, confining itself to diplomatic demarches, did not participate, and several other Arab governments displayed unusual passivity.

Such is the result of the Camp David agreement first and foremost, which untied the aggressor's hands and once again confirmed that the strategic aims of the U.S. and Israel in the Middle East are, on

the whole, the same. The U.S. "does not have a more loyal and faithful friend than Israel," said Prime Minister Begin. "This is the only country it can rely on . . ."

How is this manifested in practice?

We will recall that, thanks to the Camp David agreement, U.S. units have appeared in the Sinai. Now, thanks to the Israeli aggression, U.S. marines have landed in Beirut. It has been officially announced that there will be 800 of them and that they will stay in Lebanon for 30 days. Reports have been coming from Washington that the White House has already worked out a plan aimed to maintain the U.S. military presence in Lebanon. An ABC correspondent reported, for example, that the Pentagon is preparing to send groups of advisors and experts there for an indefinite period, and also to make arms deliveries.

Thus, Israel is helping its patron — a virtual accomplice to the aggression — to "assimilate" yet another military bridgehead. Here is what Simkha Dinitz, former Israeli Ambassador in Washington, had to say on this matter: "From time to time we create military factors which the United States manages to use in its own interests." Every attack by the Israelis, he continues, enables the United States to then come forward as a peacemaker and demonstrate to the Arabs its interest in resolving their problems.

As we see, the principle "one good turn deserves another" operates here. And taken together all this forms a united adventurist course, which is complicating the situation in the Middle East. It is only natural that our country has strongly condemned the Israeli aggression, effectively supported the victims of the aggression, taken a fully determinate stand against the landing of the U.S. marines on Lebanese land, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops from there. The Soviet Union will continue to do its utmost to stop the aggression.

It must be specially noted that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has once again very sharply posed the question of the situation in the Middle East as a whole, again recalling the need to eliminate as soon as possible the conflict in that part of the globe. Historical experience shows that only a general settlement can bring peace to the Middle East peoples, and not the "big stick" policy, diktat and separatist deals, or a policy of pandering to the aggression. This complicated problem can only be solved through the collective efforts of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which demonstrated its vitality during the severe test which befell it. To that end, the Soviet Union has proposed the convening of a representative international conference. As Leonid Brezhnev said: "The Soviet Union is prepared to work practically in that direction, to cooperate fairly with all who would like to make their contribution to the establishment of a stable peace in the Middle East."

The situation now is that the fire in the Middle East threatens to spread. An immediate end must be put to that, and the Israeli aggression stopped!

P. Demchenko
Pravda, August 26, 1982

Organizing the Anti-Reagan Election Wave

The main policy line of our electoral work is clear — the building of an all-people's front against Reagan and Reaganism. In 1982 terms it means above all sharply changing the composition of the new Congress.

Such a change will be viewed everywhere as a repudiation of Reagan's anti-labor, anti-people, racist policies at home and his aggressive policies abroad. It will stimulate new people's movements here and abroad and can change the course of history.

Such is the crucial importance of the 1982 elections.

The central issues have been well defined — above all, the economic crisis and the supreme need of an emergency program for survival. Jobs, peace, the struggle against racism: these are the issues of the day and the issues around which the struggle against Reaganism is being waged. Increasingly, millions are beginning to see the connection between Reagan's policies of gorging the Pentagon while starving the cities. They recognize the connection between his huge tax breaks for the super-rich and his ruthless slashes of budgets for the needy.

And even as we meet here a tidal wave of opposition to Reagan's pro-war policies is mounting as evidenced by the great movement for a nuclear freeze: endorsement by 30 city councils; 6 state legislatures; 257 New England towns; 139 members of Congress and about three-quarters of a million California voters.

All this will have its impact on the 1982 elections of all 435 House members, 33 senators, 36 governors and the legislatures of most states.

Today we emphasize the question of organization because it is clear that a many-sided revolt against Reagan and Reaganomics is developing. It is reflected in many ways: in anti-Reagan demonstrations; in the ever sharper anti-Reagan positions taken by the labor movement; by the Black people's movement, by senior citizens' and women's organizations, by a resurgent student movement, by sharp divisions within the ranks of monopoly capital, and last but by no means least by the polls showing a sharp decline in Reagan's standing.

And increasingly we see politicians — including some Republicans — anxious about their own political survival, beginning to put distance between themselves and Reagan. This is considerably different than the situation last year when most of them caved in on Reagan's budget and tax bills. Mayors, governors and other local officials are openly resisting the President today and even forcing him to retreat on some of his plans to unload new burdens on the cities and states, particularly much of his "New Federalism."

In short, there are already the elements of an all-people's movement against Reagan and Reaganomics. But these elements are far from united. This movement has to be organized in a massive, anti-Reagan electoral wave that will impact on the new Congress, making it a clearly anti-Reagan Congress, a peace-minded Congress with a stronger Black

Caucus and a greater labor and pro-labor component. It is on this question of organization that we focus today.

Before getting into the nuts and bolts questions, however, there are certain special aspects of the 1982 campaign that require some discussion.

A crucial priority issue is the fight for the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 — without any crippling amendments. This is a basic democratic issue, vital to the struggle against Reaganism.

Another important issue, unfortunately obscure to many people, is being fought out currently in the various state legislatures and the courts. That is the question of redistricting, that is, the redrawing of the lines of many congressional and legislative districts.

As we know, after every census a reapportionment of districts must take place because of population shifts. The industrial northeast and mid-west states are losing 17 members of the House; southern and western states which gained population in the last decade gain these seats. That means that a number of states have to redraw their congressional and legislative district lines.

Black and Hispanic organizations are paying particular attention to this question. In the Northeast and Midwest they are guarding against losing seats. In the Southwest and West there are new possibilities for strengthening the Black Caucus and adding Hispanic representation, with similar possibilities in some other states. In this fight they are meeting the bitter resistance of both old party machines which seek not only to limit Black and Hispanic representation but also try to eliminate progressive and insurgent congressmen as they did, for instance, to the liberal Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts. This is a major democratic issue. Gains can be made if the fight is stepped up and labor and progressive forces join the battle.

But the redistricting issue, important as it is, affects only a relatively few states. What is becoming even more important to labor, the Black, Hispanic, peace and women's movements is the question of the primaries. Increasingly we are beginning to see a new emphasis in these movements — on the selection of candidates around issues.

There is some evidence that in the labor and people's movements generally there is the beginning of change from past practices in the electoral field. Usually labor and the various people's organizations were passive during the selection period, that is, the primaries. They would usually wait until just before the general elections and then almost invariably choose the Democratic candidate, whoever he/she was, as preferable to the Republican.

Today, however, there is a growing demand for input on the choice of a candidate and knowledge of his/her stand on issues. For example, the Greater New York Coalition to Save our Social Security (SOS) has issued a questionnaire containing 10 questions on Social Security for every candidate. The answers to these questions — and the record, in the case of incumbents — will form the basis of the SOS

position in the primaries and the general elections.

A recent example of labor initiative in respect to the primaries was that of the New York City Central Labor Council in last year's mayoralty election. The Labor Council in the past was generally neutral in the primaries. This time, in an unprecedented move, the Labor Council endorsed Assemblyman Frank Barbaro, an ex-longshoreman and populist Democrat, against Mayor Koch, the Democratic machine choice (who was also designated by the Republicans). Barbaro, it will be recalled, despite being outspent 10 to 1, polled 36 per cent of the primary vote and carried every Black and Hispanic district.

We cannot yet say that this is common to the labor movement, but it does indicate a developing trend toward a form of labor independence. This trend is even stronger in the Black people's movement. It is to be observed also in the Hispanic people's movement, among women's and youth and senior citizens' organizations and the host of coalitions that have sprung up in the battle against Reagan's gutting of social programs. No longer are these forces ready to accept meekly whatever candidates the old party machines put forward.

So we are beginning to see something qualitatively new — a greater mass participation in the selection of candidates. In practice, that means greater struggle around issues in the old party primaries where in many cases the general elections are in fact decided.

This means that in the struggle to defeat Reaganism in the 1982 elections, the primaries must get far greater attention from progressives than has been the case in the past. November is too late. . . .

That does not mean that the primaries, while central at this point, become the only form of electoral struggle. There will undoubtedly be various forms of independent electoral activity outside the framework of the two-party system. Sometimes this will be associated with non-partisan groupings. Other times there will be a combination of forms — working outside and inside simultaneously. And still others will be out-and-out third party formations. But given the present electoral set-up in our country the bulk of these struggles in 1982 will take place within the framework of the party primaries.

Here we should be clear about one question — participation in the primaries is not in contradiction to the concept of political independence. On the contrary, the struggle for an unwavering anti-Reagan program and candidates requires independent activity and independent organization. For many people in the labor and people's movements, this type of participation in the primaries becomes the first stage in a growing political independence, one that can facilitate a mass political realignment and the ultimate formation of a mass, independent anti-monopoly party able to challenge the two old parties of capitalism.

This requires a new level of concreteness in approaching specific situations and the development of tactical skills, particularly in the relationship between independent formations and people still within the orbit of the two old parties. An example of the type of problem we have in mind — undoubtedly

there are many — was the 1981 New York mayoralty race.

There, it may be recalled, an independent grouping arose in the fight to oppose Koch. This grouping developed a two-track strategy — one, a struggle in the Democratic primary and the second, the building of an independent line. This strategy attracted the labor movement which became particularly active in the primary phase of the campaign and aided greatly in winning for the insurgent candidate, Frank Barbaro, 36 per cent of the vote. Even as the Barbaro forces battled in the primary, petitions were gathered for an independent line, so that when Barbaro lost in the primary, voters had a chance to express themselves in the general election. Running on the Unity Party line in November, Barbaro received over 160,000 votes — on a line of a party no one had ever heard of before! Thus, the independents' flexible tactics paid off. The struggle in the Democratic primary meshed with the struggle outside the two-party system and a basis was laid for further independent political action in 1982.

Not every state has the possibility of carrying through a similar strategy. But there are still many possibilities of this sort where political struggle can be carried on by independents both within and outside the two-party structure. (And, of course, there are problems as, for instance, in California, with its complex gubernatorial and senatorial races and with the existence of a Peace and Freedom Party with ballot status.)

Or take the situation in Connecticut. There is the problem in the third Congressional District where Joelle Fishman running on the communist ticket has cut a substantial niche and won regular ballot status, not requiring petition signatures to get on the ballot. There a liberal Democrat is seeking the Democratic nomination and the incumbent is a "gypsy moth" Republican who at times discreetly distances himself from Reagan. Should Joelle run in a race where the liberal Democrat has been endorsed by the largest local union in town? Or should she not run and lose the opportunity to advance publicly the communist position and the hard-won ballot status?

We can't lay down blueprints but we must be clear about the major question — strengthening the fight against Reaganism. It is within that framework that we must develop our specific tactics to meet specific situations.

From all this one major observation must be made: electoral work must be elevated to a new level in the progressive movement. It cannot be a sometime thing left to a few people a few weeks before election day. It must be closely associated with mass struggles on a day-to-day basis. We must master not only the general politics — knowing the issues, the relationship of forces, the personalities — but also the mechanics of campaigning, leafletting, fundraising and the special problems inherent in the primaries.

The totality of such consistent work can provide the necessary organization for a successful anti-Reagan electoral movement.

Si Gerson,
member of the Central Committee, CPUSA
Abridged from *Political Affairs*, June 1982

Youth and the Fight-Back

As the crisis of capitalism deepens and its negative effects are felt by large sectors of the population, the specific issues confronting youth are increasingly coming to the fore. The crisis affects young people in a different and more acute way: as they start out on life they quickly find that little is available in the way of opportunities to build a future. As capitalism creates a vast army of unemployed in which young people predominate, and education is put at the mercy of big business' immediate interests, when such emphasis is put on recruiting in the Canadian Armed Forces, one can rightly wonder what the legacy of today's generation will be.

Unemployment among youth has reached catastrophic proportions with the official unemployment rate among men aged 15 to 24 listed at 18.6 per cent, and among young women at 14.3 per cent.* With the summer months, a large number of high-school, college and university students will seek work, only to join the ranks of the already too large number of unemployed youth. Many will not be able to afford to go back to school; others will simply give up on getting an education due to lack of future job prospects.

In high schools, cutbacks contribute to the built-in discrimination of the school system, in which inequalities work against working-class youth. In post-secondary institutions, rising tuition fees and cutbacks in student aid have become permanent problems, with the end result being that the social composition of the student population is significantly changing to the benefit of the rich and wealthy. A University Students' Council survey of students at the University of Western Ontario showed that in 1976, 64 per cent of the respondents came from families with incomes under \$24,000 (approximately \$29,800 in 1979 dollars). In a 1979 survey, only 50.7 per cent of the respondents reported family incomes of less than \$30,000.

Attacks are also felt in other spheres of the lives of young people — increase of racism, the particular problems which young women are facing, the fees for access to sport, recreational and cultural facilities, etc.

In such circumstances, the trend toward increased youth delinquency and youth suicide should not be surprising.

To these problems, the "solutions" brought forward by governments have been, to say the least, revolting. They range from offering more money to coercive institutions such as the police; to work programs such as Katimavik where young people are paid a dollar a day for their work with a bonus of \$1,000 and an option to join the Canadian Armed Forces on conclusion of the program; to straight recruiting to the Canadian Armed Forces. Youth Employment Programs, which are already inadequate, are being cut back: in Ontario, the money allocated in 1982 for the Summer Employment

Youth Program has been reduced to \$23 million from \$29 million in 1981.

Given the acute way in which young people are feeling the crisis, one might wonder why participation by youth — particularly working-class youth — in the fight-back has as yet been limited.

An examination of this problem must begin with an assessment of youth's position in society. Marxist-Leninists define youth as "a heterogeneous group of people which corresponds fully to the social structure of the given society with specific features of social activity which lie primarily in the socio-psychological sphere." In other words, young people constitute a distinct social group, whose interests are reflected in the interests of their respective social class.

From this, Marxist-Leninists deduce the need for the working class and democratic movement to specifically respond to the problems and interests of youth, and the need for comparatively autonomous youth organizations (independent organizations, run by and for the youth — but not ideologically independent).

How are these two aspects of the many-sided problem of youth activity seen in Canada today? Although by no means representing the full answer to this problem, one can see shortcomings in these two sides.

The specific problems of youth have yet to find their full reflection in the democratic and trade union movement. For example, few young people look upon the trade union movement as something they can be part of. Access to trade union jobs is most difficult; some trade unions do not recognize the right of apprentices to be full members of the union; the need to organize the unorganized (most of whom are young workers) is often only a generally stated goal.

On the other side, there are few independent youth organizations in Canada through which the interests of the young generation are directly expressed. Such organizations are limited at present to student organizations and, to a lesser degree, to political and religious youth organizations, sports and cultural clubs.

One also has to deal with the widespread belief that due to their inexperience and youth's transient nature, youth cannot be organized into autonomous youth organizations. However, the very existence of the student movement has shown this to be erroneous. Similarly, recognition of the increasing acuteness of the problems facing youth is seldom coupled with an understanding of the necessity to address those problems as youth problems, let alone encouraging corresponding organizational structures.

In light of the above, the main task of the Young Communist League of Canada is to seek to bring about a democratic united youth movement which will reach out to and organize the various sectors of the youth, particularly working-class youth, and which would elaborate a program of action for youth

*Statistics Canada, April 1982.

based on a set of democratic demands. This is part of the task to build unity of youth with the democratic and trade union movement in the struggle against monopoly capitalism.

Since its refounding in 1970, the Young Communist League of Canada has been developing and working around a Bill of Rights for Youth, and later the Charter of Youth Demands. Today's Charter outlines the demands of youth which the YCL feels must be recognized as rights for all Canadian youth. These include the right to a meaningful job, the right to a free and democratic education, the right to sports, leisure and culture, the right to democratic participation in society, and the right to live in a world at peace. The Charter represents both a guide for our daily work among youth as well as a program which can help lay the basis for unity between varied youth and student organizations. Other organizations have adopted similar charters (National Union of Students, Rassemblement des associations universitaires du Québec, Manitoba Association of Student Councils, World Youth) and thus the potential for unity is developing.

Of course, the Young Communist League realizes the necessity of combining such "united front"

work with the independent mass campaigning of the YCL, with the strengthening of its work in all areas, education, club life, recruiting and press work.

Today the arms race threatens our right to a future by depriving us of the necessary money to get the jobs and education we deserve; the danger of nuclear war threatens our very right to live. The success of the October 1981 Continental Meeting of North American Youth for Peace, Détente and Disarmament has shown not only the potential and necessity for united action of the youth for peace, it has also shown how the struggle for peace serves as a catalyst for the unity of Canadian youth.

The year 1985 has been designated by the United Nations, International Year of Youth for Participation, Development and Peace. The period leading up to 1985 will be a time of renewed efforts on the part of the YCL to build and further concretize the unity of Canadian youth in the struggle for their legitimate aspiration to enjoy a life with a future.

Sylvie Baillargeon
General Secretary,
Young Communist League of Canada
Abridged from *Communist Viewpoint*,
August 1982

The 60th Anniversary of the USSR

Books on the principles and history of the formation of the union which raise significant questions for countries throughout the world today.

The State and Nations in the USSR

V. Shevstov

A thorough analysis of fundamental principles and their application.

cloth \$5.00 208 pp

National Sovereignty and the Soviet State

V. Shevstov

The institutions and principles which ensure sovereignty and bind together the republics and the USSR as a whole.

cloth \$2.25 175 pp

Genesis of the Soviet Federative State 1917-1925

Full historical background on the steps taken to solve the national question in the USSR.

cloth \$6.95 317 pp

USSR: Sixty Years of the Union 1922-1982

A collection of the key legislative acts and related documents.

cloth \$7.95 390 pp

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

Marxism-Leninism and our time

A series of booklets especially designed for political activists who cannot read as much as they would like but who know that the effectiveness of their work depends on correct theoretical understanding.

Each booklet contains articles on specific questions by leading international theoreticians, thus providing the reader with the breadth of experience of the world movement of communist and workers parties.

The 1982 Series:

The International and the National in the Working Class Movement

How the dialectical connection between the two affects day to day work.

Paper \$1.50

Reports on Real Socialism

Current problems and actual experience in socialist construction at its different stages.

Paper \$2.95

National Liberation Movement on the Threshold of the 80s

Paper \$2.95

Communists in the Struggle for the Anti-Monopoly Democratic Front

Class alliances and political blocs.

Paper \$1.50

Communist Parties — Their Life and Struggles

Problems and methods of work.

Paper \$3.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst Street

Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6