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of the Communist
and Workers' Parties
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**February 1989
\$1.50**

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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

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3-4 (619-620) Volume 27
PRICE: \$1.50

Mikhail Gorbachev's Address to the UN General Assembly

Esteemed Mr. Chairman,
Esteemed Mr. Secretary General,
Esteemed delegates,

We have come here to express our respect for the United Nations Organization, which is increasingly manifesting itself as a unique international center serving peace and security.

We have come here to express our respect for the great merit of this organization, which is capable of accumulating humankind's collective intellect and will.

Developments show ever more vividly that the world needs such an organization. This organization, for its part, needs the active participation of all its members and their support for its initiatives and actions. Its activities are enriched by their abilities and their original contributions.

In my article "Realities and Guarantees for a Secure World" written slightly over a year ago, I made several observations concerning matters within the competence of the United Nations.

The time that has passed since then has given new grounds for consideration. The world has truly reached a turning point in its development.

The Soviet Union's role in world affairs is well known. In view of the revolutionary reforms (perestroika) which are taking place in our country and which have a huge potential of peace and international cooperation, we are particularly interested today in being understood correctly.

That is why we have come here to express our ideas, and we want this most authoritative global organization to be the first to be informed of our new and important decisions.

I

What will humanity be like as it enters the 21st century? Thoughts about this very near future are already exercising people's minds. We look forward to the future with the anticipation of change for the better, yet, at the same time, with alarm.

Today, the world is a very different place from what it was at the beginning of this century, and even in the middle of it. And it keeps changing, in all its components.

The emergence of nuclear weapons was a tragic way of stressing the fundamental nature of these changes. Being the material symbol and the bearer of the ultimate military force, nuclear weapons simultaneously laid bare the absolute limits to this force.

Humanity is faced with the problem of survival, of self-protection, in all its magnitude.

Profound social changes are taking place. In the East and in the South, in the West and in the North, hundreds of millions of people, new nations and states, new public movements and ideologies have advanced to the forefront of history.

The striving for independence, democracy and social justice manifests itself in all its diversity and with all its contradictions, in broad and frequently turbulent popular movements. The idea of democratizing the entire world order has grown into a powerful social and political force.

At the same time, the revolution in science and technology has turned economic, food, energy, ecological, information and demographic problems, which only recently were of national or regional character, into global problems. The newest techniques of communications, mass information and transport have made the world more visible and more tangible to all. International communication is simpler now than ever before.

The existence of any "closed" societies is hardly possible today. That is why we need a radical revision of views on the sum total

of the problems of international cooperation as the most essential component of universal security.

The world economy is becoming a single organism, outside which no state can develop normally, regardless of the social system it might belong to or the economic level it has reached.

All this calls for creating a totally new mechanism for the functioning of the world economy, a new structure of the international division of labor.

But world economic growth lays bare the contradictions of the traditional type of industrial development and sets its limits. By expanding and deepening, industrialization is leading to an ecological catastrophe.

However, there are many countries with insufficiently developed industry and some that have not yet passed the pre-industrial stage. Whether these countries follow the old technological patterns in their economic development or whether they will be able to join the search for ecologically clean industries is one of the biggest problems.

Another problem is the gap between the industrialized nations and a majority of developing countries which is not closing, thereby presenting an increasingly serious threat on a global scale.

All this makes it necessary to look for a principally new type of industrial progress which would agree with the interests of all peoples and states.

In a word, the new realities are changing the entire global situation. The differences and contradictions inherited from the past are either weakening or shifting, while new ones are emerging. Some of the previous disagreements and disputes lose their importance, yielding to conflicts of a different nature.

Life is forcing us to give up habitual stereotypes and obsolete views, and free ourselves from illusions. The very idea of the character and criteria of progress is changing.

It would be naive to suppose that the problems tormenting humanity can be solved by the means and methods which were used or which seemed to be suitable in the past.

Indeed, humanity has accumulated a very rich experience of political, economic, and social development under the most diverse conditions. But this experience belongs to the practice and the type of world which are either gone or are receding into the past. This is one of the signs of the crucial character of the current stage in history.

The greatest philosophers tried to understand the laws of social development and find the answer to the main question — how to make human life happier, fairer and more secure. Two great revolutions — the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 — exercised a powerful impact on the very character of the historical process, having radically changed the course of world developments.

Each in its own way, these two revolutions gave a mighty impulse to human progress. They also greatly contributed to forming the pattern of thinking which has so far prevailed in the minds of people. This is the greatest intellectual asset.

A new world is emerging today, and we are to look for new ways of its development in the future. We should certainly rely on the experience we have accumulated but, at the same time, we should see the fundamental difference between what existed yesterday and what is now taking place.

The novelty and difficulty of our tasks are not due to this alone. We are entering an era where progress will be based on the common interests of humanity as a whole, and realization of this fact demands that humanity's common values should be the priority determining world politics.

The history of past centuries and millennia is a history of war waged almost everywhere. Some wars were so desperate, they were nothing short of mutual annihilation. They were the result of a clash of social and political interests, national enmity and ideological or religious incompatibility. All this has taken place.

And to this day many claim that the past that has yet to be overcome is an inexorable law.

But an equally objective process was developing parallel to the process of wars, animosity and dissociation of peoples and countries: the process of asserting the interdependence and integrity of the world.

Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal human consensus as we move forward to a new world order.

We have reached a point where spontaneity and disorder may lead us into a blind alley. The world community has to learn to form and channel processes in such a way as to save civilization and make it safer for all and fitter for normal life.

What I mean here is that kind of cooperation that we might call co-creativity or co-development.

The concept of development at others' expense is outdated. Current realities rule out genuine progress at the expense of human and national rights and freedoms, or to the detriment of the environment.

If we are to solve global problems, countries and socio-political trends have to arrive at a new scope and quality of their interaction, whatever their ideological or other differences.

Radical changes and revolutionary transformations are sure to take place in particular countries and social structures. It was, and ever will be so.

But our times change the way of things here, too. Transformations at home can't achieve their national goals unless they take into account the achievements of the entire world and the potential of equal cooperation, that is, if they merely remain parallel to each other.

Interference in those internal processes to adjust them to alien ways would be destructive for the emergent peaceful arrangement. Such are the conditions today.

Differences often acted as barriers in the past. Now they can develop into factors of rapprochement and mutual enrichment.

Specific interests underlie all differences of social systems, ways of life, and value preferences. We can't run away from this fact.

But then, there's no running away from the need to balance interests on an international scale where balance is a vital condition to survival and progress.

As we think it over, we see we must seek ways together to improve the international situation, to build a new world — if we are to consider the lessons of the past, the realities of the present, and the objective logic of global development.

If that is really so, it's worthwhile to reach an understanding on the basic and truly universal principles for this search and the prerequisites for it.

It is particularly evident that force and the threat of force neither can nor should be instruments of foreign policy. This mainly refers to nuclear arsenals, but not to them alone. All, and the strongest in the first place, have to apply self-restraint and renounce the use of force in the international arena.

This is the pivotal concept of the ideal of a non-violent world that the Soviet Union and India proclaimed in their Delhi Declaration. We invite all to adopt this ideal.

It is clear even today that no country can achieve omnipotence, however much it builds up its military might. More than that, emphasis on that might alone will, in the final analysis, undermine national security in other aspects.

We also clearly see that the principle of *freedom of choice* is obligatory. Refusal to recognize this principle will lead to serious consequences for global peace.

To refuse freedom of choice to nations, under whatever pretext

and in whatever verbal guise, is to upset the precarious balance that has been achieved so far. Freedom of choice is a universal principle. It knows no exceptions.

Good intentions alone did not make us recognize the immutable nature of this principle. We arrived at it as we engaged in unbiased analyses of objective current processes.

Among their other features, the *variety of ways* of social development in different countries is coming to the fore. This is true of both the capitalist system and the socialist.

This point is further borne out by the diversity of socio-political structures which has emerged in recent decades out of national liberation movements.

This objective factor demands respect of others' views and stances; tolerance, the ability to learn how to coexist while remaining different, while we still disagree with each other on some points. We need good will not to see the alien as bad and hostile.

As the many-sided nature of the world asserts itself, it undermines high-handed attempts to teach "one's own" democratic patterns to others — to say nothing of the fact that democracy, when exported, frequently loses its values.

So what we need is unity through variety. If we recognize it in politics and declare our adherence to the principle of freedom of choice, then we shall no longer think that some of us inhabit this world in fulfillment of the providential will while others are here by mere chance.

It's high time to discard such mental patterns and change policies accordingly. Then we shall see further prospects to bring the world closer together.

This new stage demands that international relations be freed from ideology. Not that we give up our convictions, philosophy and traditions, or appeal to anyone to give up theirs.

But we don't intend to shut ourselves away with our values. Such isolation would mean the rejection of exchange of all nations' independent achievements. It would weaken us culturally.

As this exchange thrives, let all demonstrate the benefits of their systems, their way of life, their values, not only in their words and propaganda but in their deeds.

This is honest competition between ideologies. But it mustn't spread into the field of relations between states. Otherwise, we shall be unable to tackle global problems:

To develop extensive, equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between nations;

To wisely use breakthroughs in science and technology;

To restructure global economic contacts, protect the environment;

To put an end to underdevelopment, hunger, disease, illiteracy and other scourges;

Last but not least, we shall be unable to eliminate the nuclear threat and militarism.

Such are our conclusions on global patterns on the threshold of the 21st century.

To claim the ultimate truth is the last thing to which we aspire. But profound analysis of realities past and present brings us to the conclusion that it is precisely these steps that we must take in our joint quest for the *supremacy of the universal human idea* over the multitudes of centrifugal trends, if the global civilization, possibly the only civilization in the universe, is to remain viable.

Some people at home and some of our Western partners think these views smack of romanticism and exaggerate the maturity and potential of global public mentality.

But they are realistic, of this I am convinced.

Forces have already emerged in the world which prompt us, in some way, to *enter an era of peace*. Nations and broad social strata are indeed eager to see improvements. They want to learn cooperation.

The trend is sometimes amazingly strong. What's most important, such public opinion is being transformed into a policy.

A change in the philosophical approaches and political relations is a powerful impetus to the efforts to establish a new type of international relations on the basis of the objective processes on a global scale.

Similar conclusions are being made even by those politicians whose activities were once associated with the Cold War, sometimes even with its peaks. Of all people, they find it especially difficult to renounce the stereotypes and experience of that time.

And if even they are taking such a turn, then more opportunities are likely to appear with the arrival of new generations.

In a nutshell, the understanding of the need for a peaceful period is making headway and becoming a prevalent trend. As a result, the first real steps in improving the international situation and in disarmament have become possible.

What should we do in practical terms? It would be natural and rational not to give up the gains we have already made, and to advance everything positive which we have achieved in recent years by joint efforts.

I mean the negotiating process on the problems of nuclear armaments, conventional arms, and chemical weapons, and the search for political approaches to the cessation of regional conflicts.

Of course, this applies first and foremost to political dialogue. I mean a more intensive and open dialogue, which would be aimed at the essence of problems, not at confrontation, which would imply an exchange of constructive considerations, rather than accusations. The negotiating process won't go forward without political dialogue.

As we see it, there exist rather optimistic prospects for the near and the more distant future.

Look what changes have taken place in our relations with the United States. Mutual understanding has begun to develop gradually, and elements of trust have appeared, without which it is very difficult to advance in politics.

Such elements are even more pronounced in Europe. The Helsinki process is a great process. In my opinion, its validity still stands. It should be preserved and deepened in all aspects — philosophical, political, and practical, but with due account of new circumstances.

Today's realities are such that the dialogue which is ensuring the normal and constructive development of the international process, requires permanent and vigorous participation of all countries and regions including major powers such as India, China, Japan and Brazil, and others large, medium and small.

I stand for making political dialogue more dynamic and meaningful, for consolidating the political prerequisites necessary for improving the international atmosphere. This would also facilitate the practical solution of many problems. This is a difficult task, but it is this road that we must follow.

All should take part in the drive towards greater world unity.

This is especially important now, for we are approaching a crucial moment when the question of ways to ensure solidarity, peace, stability, and a dynamic character to international relations is coming to the fore.

Meanwhile, talking with foreign government officials and politicians — I've had more than 200 conversations with them — I sometimes felt they were dissatisfied with the fact that at this crucial stage they found themselves on occasion alienated, as it were, from the main questions of world politics for different reasons.

It is only natural and correct that nobody wants to reconcile themselves to this.

If we are parts, even if different, of one and the same civilization, if we are aware of the interdependence of the modern world, this understanding should increasingly manifest itself both in politics, and in practical efforts to harmonize international relations. Perhaps the term "perestroika" does not fit in very well in this case, but I do express myself for *new international relations*.

I'm sure that our time and the realities of the modern world

demand that a stake should be made on internationalizing the dialogue and negotiating process.

This is the *main, general conclusion* we have arrived at, studying global processes that have been gaining momentum in recent time, and taking part in world politics.

II

The question of a new role of the United Nations suggests itself at this historical juncture.

It seems to us that states should carry out a certain reappraisal of their attitude towards such a unique instrument as the United Nations, without which world politics is inconceivable.

The recent invigoration of the United Nations' peacemaking role has again demonstrated its ability to help its members cope with the formidable challenges of the time, and follow the road of making relations between them more humane.

Regrettably, immediately after its foundation the United Nations was subjected to the onslaught of the Cold War. For many years it was a propaganda battlefield and a scene of political confrontation.

Let historians argue whose share of the blame was bigger and whose was smaller. As for politicians, they should now study the lessons of this chapter in the history of the United Nations, which was at variance with the very essence and mission of the United Nations.

One of the most bitter and important lessons is the long list of missed opportunities, and, as a consequence, the decline in UN prestige at a certain stage, and the failure of its numerous attempts to act.

It is highly indicative that the revival of the United Nations' role is linked with an improvement in the international climate.

The United Nations embodies, as it were, the interests of different states. It is the only organization which can channel their efforts — bilateral, regional, and comprehensive — in one and the same direction. Fresh opportunities are opening before it in all the spheres within its competence: military, political, economic, scientific, technological, ecological and humanitarian.

Take the problem of *development*. This is a truly universal problem. The conditions in which tens of millions of people exist in some Third World regions are simply becoming a danger for all humanity.

No closed formations, not even the regional communities of states, however important they might be, can untie the major knots which have appeared on the main lines of world economic ties: North-South, East-West, South-South, South-East, and East-East.

Needed here is joint effort, consideration of the interests of all groups of countries. This can only be ensured by such an organization such as the United Nations.

One of the most acute problems is the *foreign debt*.

Let us not forget that in the colonial period the developing world ensured the prosperity of no small part of the world community at the cost of incalculable losses and sacrifice. The time has come to make up for the privations which accompanied its historic and tragic contribution to the world's material progress.

We are convinced that the way out again lies in *internationalizing* our common approach.

Making a realistic assessment of the situation, we have to admit that the accumulated debt cannot be either repaid or recovered on the original terms.

The Soviet Union is ready to establish a long-term (up to 100 years) moratorium on the repayment of this debt by the least developed countries, and to write it off completely in a whole number of cases.

As for *other developing countries*, we invite you to consider the following propositions:

To limit their official debt servicing payments depending on the economic development figures for each particular country, or to reschedule a major portion of such payments until much later;

To support the appeal by the UN Conference on Trade and Development for reducing debts owed to commercial banks;

To provide government support for market debt relief mechanisms for the Third World, including the establishment of an international debt-takeover agency to repurchase loans at a discount.

The Soviet Union is in favor of practical discussion of ways to settle the debt crisis at multilateral forums, including UN-sponsored consultations of the heads of government of debtor countries and their creditors.

International economic security is inconceivable in isolation from not only disarmament but also from the *threat to the world ecology*. The environmental situation in a number of regions is simply appalling.

There is a UN-sponsored conference on the environment scheduled for 1992. We welcome this decision and are preparing for that forum to produce results commensurate to the scope of that problem. There is no time to be wasted, and people in various countries are doing a great deal. Here I would like once again to give special emphasis to the opportunities opened up for ecological revival in the process of disarmament — first of all, nuclear disarmament, of course.

Let us think about setting up an emergency ecological aid center within the UN framework. Its function would be to promptly dispatch international expertise groups to areas that have experienced a sharp deterioration in the ecological situation.

The Soviet Union is also prepared to cooperate in the establishment of an international space laboratory or manned orbiting station that would deal exclusively with monitoring the state of the environment.

As regards *space exploration* in general, the outlines of future industry in space are becoming increasingly clear.

The Soviet position on this point is well known: any activities in space must exclude any deployment of weapons there. For that, too, we need a legal base which, in fact, already exists in the 1967 Treaty, and other agreements.

Even so, there is a pressing need to develop a comprehensive program for peaceful activities in space. Verification of the observance of that program would be a prerogative of a World Space Organization.

We have proposed the establishment of such an organization on many occasions. In fact, we are prepared to include in its network our radar station at Krasnoyarsk. The decision to hand that radar over to the USSR Academy of Sciences has already been made.

Soviet scientists are prepared to receive their foreign colleagues and to discuss with them ways of converting it into an international center for peaceful cooperation by dismantling and remodelling some of its systems and installations and also adding equipment essential for such a center.

This system could operate under the auspices of the UN.

The whole world welcomes the efforts of the United Nations, of its secretary-general Perez de Cuellar, and his envoys in untangling *regional problems*.

Let me be somewhat more specific on this subject.

To paraphrase the words of an English poet which Hemingway used for the epigraph to one of his famous novels, I would say: The bell of each regional conflict tolls for all of us.

This is particularly true because those conflicts are taking place in the Third World, which already has troubles and problems on a scale that cannot help but worry us all.

The year 1988 has also brought us a ray of hope in this common concern. It has touched upon nearly all regional conflicts, and there have been signs of improvement in some places. We welcome them and will do all in our power to help them.

The one point to which I want to give special mention is Afghanistan.

The Geneva Accords, whose fundamental and practical importance has been appreciated all over the world, offered an opportu-

nity for completing the settlement process even before the end of this year. That did not happen.

This regrettable fact reminds us once again of the political, juridical and moral importance of the Latin maxim *Pacta sunt servanda* — agreements must be honored.

I do not want to use this podium to issue rebukes.

We think, however, that it would be within the UN jurisdiction to complement the November Resolution of the General Assembly with some practical measures.

To quote the resolution, "For the Earliest Comprehensive Settlement by the Afghans Themselves of the Question of a Government on a Broad Basis", the following measures should be taken:

As of January 1, 1989, a ceasefire and the cessation of all offensive operations and rocket attacks should come into effect, with all the territories controlled by the competing Afghan groups to remain under their control for the duration of the talks;

Accordingly, all arms deliveries to the warring sides should be stopped as of the same date;

For the duration of the establishment of a government on a broad basis, as envisaged by the resolution of the General Assembly, UN peacekeeping forces should be sent to Kabul and other strategic centers in Afghanistan;

We are also asking the UN secretary-general to contribute to the earliest implementation of the idea of holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

We will continue to make an active contribution to the healing of the wounds of war, and are also prepared to cooperate in this work both with the UN, and on a bilateral basis.

We support the proposal for the establishment of a UN-sponsored international volunteer peace corps to assist in revitalizing Afghanistan.

In connection with the problem of the settlement of regional conflicts, I cannot but express my view on a serious incident which has happened just recently and has a direct bearing on this session.

A representative of an organization which enjoys the status of a permanent observer in the UN has been banned by the United States authorities from addressing the General Assembly. I am speaking of Yasser Arafat.

Moreover, this has happened at a time when the Palestine Liberation Organization has made a crucial and constructive move to facilitate the quest to solve the Middle East question with the help of the UN Security Council.

This has happened at a time when a positive tendency has emerged favoring a political settlement of other regional conflicts, in some instances with the help of the USSR and the USA.

We deeply regret what has happened and express our solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The concept of comprehensive international security is based on the principles of the UN Charter and the assumption that *international law* is binding on all states.

In championing demilitarization of international relations, we would like political and legal methods to reign supreme in all attempts to cope with outstanding issues.

Our ideal is a world community of states with political systems and foreign policies based on law.

This could be achieved with the help of:

An accord in the UN framework on a uniform understanding of the principles and norms of international law;

Their codification in the light of new conditions;

Elaboration of legal standards for new fields of cooperation.

In the nuclear era, the effectiveness of international law must be based on norms reflecting the balance of interests of states, rather than on compulsion.

Amid the growing awareness of our common fate, every state would then be genuinely interested in confining its actions within the limits of international law.

To make international relations more democratic means not only to involve the highest possible number of members of the international community in the drive to cope with outstanding issues, but also to *humanize* international relations.

International ties will fully match the real interests of nations and serve the cause of their overall security only when humanity's concerns, rights and freedoms are the focus of everything.

In this context, let my country join the chorus of voices expressing appreciation of the significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago, on December 10, 1948.

This document remains valid today. It spells out the universal nature of the goals and principles of the United Nations.

The best way for states to mark this anniversary of the Declaration would be to improve their framework for the observance and protection of the rights of their citizens.

Before I inform you about what we have done in this direction recently, let me say the following.

Our country is living amid truly revolutionary enthusiasm. The process of perestroika is gathering momentum. We started by elaborating the philosophy of perestroika. We had to evaluate the nature and scope of the problems, learn the lessons of the past and translate our findings into political conclusions and programs. This has been done.

Theoretical effort, reappraisal of what is happening, specification, enrichment and correction of political positions are yet to be completed. They are still underway. But it was crucial to begin with a general philosophy which, as the experience of the past few years shows, is correct in principle and has no other alternative.

It took genuine democratization to involve society in the drive to accomplish the plans of perestroika. Under the banner of democratization, perestroika has been projected into the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields.

We have launched a radical economic reform. We have gained some experience and will accomplish a shift of the entire economy to new forms and methods of work from the New Year. As part of this effort, we will profoundly reorganize production relations and tap the vast potential inherent in socialist ownership.

In choosing to pursue such bold revolutionary transformations, we knew there would be blunders and resistance to the new, engendering new problems, and we anticipated delays in some areas.

But what makes it certain that the overall process of perestroika will proceed steadily ahead and gather momentum is the profound democratic reform of the entire system of government and administration.

As the USSR Supreme Soviet has recently introduced constitutional amendments and adopted a new electoral law, we have completed the first stage of the political reform.

Without pausing, we entered the second stage, where the paramount task will be to practice coordination between the central authorities and Republics, to settle ethnic relations in line with the principles of Leninist internationalism, as bequeathed to us by our great revolution, and at the same time to reform the administration of local government councils.

We have much to do, while at the same time coping with an array of formidable issues.

But we are looking with confidence into the future. We have the theory, and the political framework, and the vanguard force of perestroika — the party, which also has been reforming itself in line with the new tasks and profound transformations in society.

And, most important of all, perestroika is supported by all nations and all generations of citizens of our great country.

We have come to grips with constructing a socialist state based on the rule of law. A whole series of new laws have been elaborated or are nearing completion.

Many will enter into force in 1989, and, we believe, comply fully with the highest standards in ensuring human rights.

Soviet democracy will then develop a sound legal basis — laws on freedom of conscience, on glasnost, on civic associations and organizations, etc.

No longer are people kept in prisons for their political and religious views.

The draft new laws propose additional guarantees to rule out any form of persecution on these grounds.

Of course, this would not apply to criminal offenders or those guilty of crimes against the state (spying, sabotage, terrorism, etc.), no matter what political or philosophical views they profess.

The draft amendments to the Criminal Code have been completed and are on the waiting list. The articles to be revised will include those involving capital punishment.

The problem of emigration and immigration, including the question of emigration for reunification of families, is being resolved in a humane way.

Permission to leave, as you all know, is denied to citizens who have knowledge of state secrets. Stringent time limits are being introduced in relation to knowledge of classified information.

Anyone to be employed at an office or enterprise with access to classified information will be duly informed about this rule. Disputes shall be appealed in conformity with the law.

This will help remove the problem of so-called "refuseniks" from the agenda.

We intend to expand the Soviet Union's participation in the human rights monitoring arrangements under the UN aegis, and within the framework of the European process. We think that the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in The Hague with regard to interpretation and application of agreements on human rights should be binding on all states.

We are considering an end to the jamming of broadcasts by all foreign radio stations that transmit programs to the Soviet Union, also within the context of the Helsinki process.

On the whole our credo is as follows: political issues should be resolved by political means, and human problems in a humane way.

III

And now for the most important thing of all, without which no other issues in the coming century can be solved — *disarmament*.

International developments and affairs have been deformed by the arms race and militarization of thought.

As you are aware, the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986, advanced a program to construct a world free from nuclear weapons. Efforts to translate this program into negotiations already have produced some tangible results.

Tomorrow will be the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. I am pleased to say today that the implementation of the Treaty — the destruction of missiles — is proceeding normally, in an atmosphere of trust and constructive work.

A large breach has been made in the wall of suspicion and hostility, which once seemed to be impenetrable. We are witnessing a new historic reality: *the principle of excessive arms build-up is giving way to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency*.

We are witnessing the first efforts to build a new model of security through reduction of armaments on the basis of compromise, not their build-up as was almost always the case in the past.

The Soviet leadership has decided once again to demonstrate its willingness to encourage this healthy process not only in words but *in deeds*.

Today I am able to inform you of the fact that the Soviet Union has decided to reduce its armed forces.

In the next two years their strength will be reduced by 500,000 men, and substantial cuts will be made in conventional armaments.

These cuts will be made *unilaterally*, regardless of the talks on the mandate of the Vienna meeting.

By agreement with our Warsaw Treaty allies, we have decided to withdraw from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary by 1991, six tank divisions, and disband them. In addition, landing assault and some other units, including landing crossing units with their armament and combat materiel, will be withdrawn from the Soviet forces stationed in these countries. Soviet forces stationed in these countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. Soviet divisions which still remain on the territory of our allies will be restructured, a large number of tanks will be withdrawn, and they will become strictly defensive.

Simultaneously we shall cut troops and armaments in the European part of the USSR.

The total reductions of Soviet armed forces in the European regions of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies will amount to 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft.

During the next two years we shall in addition make considerable reductions in the armed forces in the Asian regions of our country. By agreement with the Mongolian government, a large number of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed there will return home.

The Soviet leadership, by taking these historic decisions, is expressing the will of the Soviet people, who are engaged in a radical overhaul of their entire socialist society.

We shall maintain the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and dependable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach upon the security of the USSR or its allies.

By this action and by all our efforts to demilitarize international relations, we want to draw the attention of the international community to yet another urgent matter, the problem of *converting the armaments economy into a disarmament economy*. Is the conversion of arms production possible? I have already spoken on this score. Our view is that it is possible.

The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to do the following:

- draft as part of its economic reform and present its own internal conversion plan;
- prepare as an experiment during 1989 plans for the conversion of two or three defense plants;
- make public its experience in re-employing defense industry personnel and using defense industry facilities and equipment in civilian production.

We consider it desirable for all countries, especially the major military powers, to submit to the United Nations their national conversion plans. It will also be of benefit if a team of scientists is formed and entrusted with the task of analyzing in depth the problem of conversion in general and with regard to individual countries and regions, and report its findings to the UN secretary-general. Later, this question should be discussed at a session of the General Assembly.

IV

Lastly, since I am on American soil and for other understandable reasons, I cannot help speaking about our relations with this great nation. I was able to fully appreciate its hospitality during my memorable visit to Washington precisely a year ago.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have a history of five and a half decades. As the world changed, the character, role and place of these relations in world politics changed too.

For too long these relations were characterized by confrontation and sometimes hostility, open or concealed. But in recent years people all over the world have sighed with relief as relations between Moscow and Washington have changed for the better.

I am not underestimating our differences or the complexity of the problems yet to be resolved. However, we have learned the first lessons in mutual understanding and the search for solutions

that meet our own and general interests.

The USSR and the United States have built immense nuclear missile arsenals. But they have also managed to realize their responsibility and become the first to conclude an agreement on the reduction and physical elimination of some of those weapons, which threatened our two countries and all other countries.

Our two countries have the greatest and most sophisticated military secrets. But they also have begun, and continue to develop, a system of mutually verifying the destruction of armaments, their limitation and the ban on their production.

Our two countries are accumulating experience for future bilateral and multilateral agreements.

We cherish this experience, and we appreciate and value the contribution made by President Ronald Reagan and the members of his administration, especially Mr. George Shultz.

All this is capital we have invested in a joint venture of historic significance. It must not be wasted or left idle.

The new U.S. administration, to be led by President-elect George Bush, will find in us a partner prepared, without procrastination or backsliding, to continue the dialogue in the spirit of realism, openness and goodwill, and determined to achieve practical results on the agenda which now embraces key issues of Soviet-American relations and international politics.

I mean, above all, the consistent advance to a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms with simultaneous observance of the ABM Treaty; work to draft a convention to eliminate chemical weapons (we believe that 1989 may become a crucial year in this respect); negotiations on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

I also mean economic, ecological and humanitarian problems in the broadest context.

It would be wrong to ascribe all positive changes in the international situation to the USSR and the United States alone. The Soviet Union highly values the great and original contribution made to the improvement of the international situation by the socialist countries.

Whenever we negotiate, we feel the presence of other great states, nuclear and non-nuclear. Many countries, including medium and small ones, and, of course, the non-aligned movement and the intercontinental Group of Six, play an invaluable and constructive role.

We in Moscow are pleased that more and more government, political, party and public leaders and — I attach particular importance to this — scholars, scientists, cultural figures, representatives of mass movements and various churches, activists of what is called people's diplomacy, are prepared to carry the burden of general responsibility. In this context, I think the idea of convening on a regular basis under the aegis of the United Nations an assembly of public organizations deserves consideration.

We are not going to over-simplify the situation in the world. True, the drive for disarmament has received a strong impetus and is gaining momentum, but it has not become irreversible.

True, there is a strong desire to end confrontation, in favor of dialogue and cooperation, but this trend has not become a permanent feature of international relations.

True, the advance to a world without violence and nuclear weapons can radically change the political and moral face of our planet, but we have just taken the first steps, and even these steps have been met with distrust and resistance in some influential circles.

The heritage and inertia of the past are still at work, and deep contradictions and the root causes of many conflicts have not disappeared. The fundamental fact remains that the shaping of a period of peace will be accompanied by the continued existence and rivalry of the different social, economic and political systems.

However, the aim of our efforts in the international arena and one of the key provisions of our concept of new thinking is that we must transform this rivalry into sensible competition on the

basis of respect for freedom of choice and balance of interests. In this case, competition may even be useful and beneficial from the point of view of the overall development of the world.

Otherwise, if the arms race continues to be its main element, this rivalry will be fatal. More and more people throughout the world, ordinary people and leaders, are coming to realize this.

Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed delegates,

I am concluding my first address at the United Nations with the same feeling as I began it, the feeling of responsibility to my own people and to the international community. We have met at the end

of a year of much significance for the United Nations, and days before the New Year, from which we all expect so much.

I hope our joint efforts to end the era of wars, confrontation, regional conflicts, aggression against nature, the terror of hunger and poverty and political terrorism will be up to our aspirations.

This is our common goal and we shall be able to achieve it only if we work together.

Thank you.

Pravda, December 8, 1988

Nicaragua: Don't Sigh, Act

Interview Given by Doris Maria Tijerino, Member of the Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and President of the Continental Front of Women Against Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean

A true symbol of the Nicaraguan women's heroism, this woman from Matagalpa with wavy hair and a penetrating look knew from an early youth the risks of clandestinity, the rigors of guerrilla life and sadistic tortures during various years of captivity in the hands of the Somocist dictatorship.

Now, with her commandante's stars on the shoulder straps, she is in charge of the Sandinist national police. She no longer uses the pseudonym of "Conchita Alday" with which she joined the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) in 1965 when she was only 22, but continues to act in the arena of world politics with the same passion she displayed in battle.

Her answers, quiet and yet mature, reflect the reason why the movement of women who are fighting in Latin America against U.S. intervention has elected her president.

Question. How do you assess the political changes in Latin America since 1982?

Answer. I think that the Continental Front of Women Against Intervention emerged at the moment when U.S. imperialism was attacking mainly Nicaragua. At the meeting in 1982, which was held precisely in Nicaragua, we considered the need to set up a body which would permit mobilizing the women around this specific problem. Later we witnessed the conflict around the Malvinas, involving Argentina, then came the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and we could see that while it was indeed very urgent in 1982 to organize support for Nicaragua, historically the urgency lies with Latin America and the Caribbean, due to the highly aggressive U.S. policy prejudicial to the national interests.

We met in this forum with the women who came to Managua in representation of their countries and national organizations or as independent personalities and representatives of unions of artists and intellectuals, and with whom, regardless of our ideological or political differences, we coincided in a sentiment highly nationalist not in the bourgeois sense of the word, but quite the contrary, in its revolutionary sense.

We equally coincided in appreciating the need to give it a channel of participation of the women through the creation of their own Latin American organizational vehicle, for it is well known that the other bodies, such as the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Our America (TANA), or the Peace Movements, where women have a very active role, were bodies where the women's particular cause got lost in the globality of the problem.

We considered that it was necessary to give the women a vehicle for involvement distinct from what they had traditionally had with the various earlier women-sponsored organizations or movements.

Many of us thought of an organization, but later we realized that what we really needed was a movement so that, without having an organizational structure, we could rally around specific aims and we now see that the threat of U.S. intervention has enabled us to stimulate various sectors of the women's movement to fight against it.

Starting from this, we are beginning to work with women film makers, writers and artists against the penetration of U.S. culture,

and with women economists and politicians against U.S. economic and political intervention.

To this end we have realized various events which have enabled the increasingly broad participation of the women of Latin America.

Question. How can the Latin American women struggle to change the conditions of poverty and exploitation in the region?

Answer. The women on their own can do something, but they cannot achieve a change in these conditions; they have to unite their capacities, all their efforts and mobilizational and organizational resources with those of society as a whole, from their position of women who suffer from the various political interventions which generate an enormous poverty in our countries.

Since 1984 we have had a magnificent participation of the Colombian women around the theme of the external debt, a phenomenon which lies at the origins of and which aggravates the condition of impoverishment of our countries.

At first we got an understanding of this phenomenon, how it affects the lives of our families and each home, then we started to explain it to the masses of women. In this way we have ensured that broad sections in Latin America — from housewives to intellectuals — are now conscious of the debt problem and are uniting to fight it.

Question. What do peace, independence and self-determination mean to you?

Answer. I think that they are all closely linked. We cannot speak of peace if we do not have independence and the capacity for self-determination, which is the bedrock of independence.

If a nation is capable of determining its system of government, its economic regime, its international projection, without impositions or restrictions from any foreign power, then I think that yes, it has independence and self-determination, and peace would in this case be evidence of the due respect of U.S. imperialism for this self-determination and independence of the peoples.

Question. How do you evaluate the participation of women in the revolutions of Nicaragua and Cuba and in the Liberation Movements in El Salvador and Guatemala?

Answer. By and large, this participation accords with the development achieved by the revolutionary movements. In the first revolutionary experience in Latin America, which the Cuban revolution was, we saw that the women involved had very high personal qualities. When I am saying this I think of Haydee Santamaria, Celia Sanchez and Vilma Espin, who gave such a decisive impulse to the establishment of the Continental Front of Women, and I think of other Cuban women whose participation was more important in terms of quality than of quantity, because this has a particular influence on a country in times of war and revolution.

The activeness of the Cuban women later grew with the development of society and with its liberation from every kind of dependence, a product of the advance of the Revolution.

In Nicaragua, the dictatorship was all-pervasive, including the petty, middle and big bourgeoisie, which undoubtedly motivated a mass participation of the entire people, including women, and their involvement in different tasks, from military to political and organizational, during the war, and later after the revolutionary triumph.

I think that the participation in the struggle of the women of El Salvador will be broader than in our country because of the different political context of the revolution there. Salvadoran society and the women of that country are having to participate in the struggle more actively than did the Nicaraguan women, because their very lives depend on this.

They are defending their right to live.

Question. What is, in your opinion, the main task of the Latin American women at this hour?

Answer. We are speaking in generic terms that the emancipation of the woman is our chief objective. It is clear that this is only attainable through the emancipation of the entire society; there is no other route.

This will continue to be our main task while there exist discrimination, marginalization and exploitation of the woman in Latin America.

Therefore our immediate aim is to promote a growing consciousness of the social realities in which the Latin American women live.

Each country has its own problems, although globally these are common to all, and therefore the search for organizational forms to channel the woman's revolutionary potential should be so conducted as to help her grasp the existing realities. This will induce her to action and will take matters out of the field of contemplation of intellectuals who only sigh and are ready to talk endlessly of discrimination, but do nothing to resolve the problem.

Question. What can you say about the situation of Central American children?

Answer. This is a very painful issue which refers not only to children in Central America, but throughout Latin America. Though, in Central America, this problem is becoming ever more acute and we must primarily see to the defense of the physical and moral life of the child, a consequence of war being experienced by nearly all our countries.

In Nicaragua we have the problem of the orphans of war. There are children who are having to tramp the streets because their fathers have been mobilized and mothers called to work, as well as difficulties with education and the vocational training of children. The country is also facing difficulties in satisfying the vital needs of the population.

In El Salvador they have similar problems to ours: children massacred, children having to become adults before they have reached adolescence, and killed in some cases at the assassins' hands and in others as fighters for the liberty of their people.

The same is happening in Guatemala and Honduras.

Unquestionably, this problem overshadows all the rest. But there are other problems related, in particular, to cultural backwardness, the problems of health which we cannot solve because of the poverty of the overwhelming majority of the people in Central America. It is ultimately due to poverty that there appear children with limited capabilities, which impedes their acquiring even technical skills and so later, when they grow up, higher-paid jobs. And all this because they have grown undernourished.

Question. How do you envision the future of Latin America?

Answer. I think that the revolution is one possibility which is increasingly becoming a reality in Latin America. There was Cuba, then Nicaragua, now it's El Salvador. There are liberation movements in Guatemala, and also in South America, and more are sure to develop since this is a situation which the peoples can no longer bear. It is clear that each country will find the solution to its problems that accords with its own reality.

Question. What message would you have for the women of Latin America?

Answer. Taking into account the fact that we constitute more than 50 per cent of the population in Latin America and the world, I consider that it is important that all women should become more profoundly aware of the reality existing in our countries, that we should understand this reality and what is its origin in order, as women and citizens, to play a role worthy of us in the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of our peoples.

Bohemia, No. 40, 1988

South Africa: Some Glasnost on the Women's Question

Helen Joseph, Awarded Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe in 1988

Article in a Quarterly Published by South African Communists

The permanent state of emergency and increased state repression have placed as urgent the question of more active participation of women at all levels of our liberation struggle. We must reassess our positions regarding women. The situation demands that we deal with this question in openness and determination, with a drive to resolve, educate and eradicate.

Marxist theory teaches that the fight for women's equality is a social one, and that it can be resolved only under socialism. The roots of women's oppression (sexism) are the same as those of exploitation and oppression of the black working people, roots sprouted and entrenched in the capitalist system of apartheid. The struggle for women's liberation is linked with the overall struggle for national and social emancipation of the working people of our country.

The liberation of women cannot be achieved in isolation from the main currents of the anti-racist and class struggle. It is based

on the class struggle itself. We must guard against extreme feminist tendencies which regard the women's question as a thing-in-itself, separated from the broad struggle. Such views distort and reduce the specific nature of the women's movement. They vulgarize this movement as a struggle between the sexes, as anti-man and anti-family. These concepts dilute and divide the broad democratic movement.

However, we must also guard against the other extreme. Some see the fight for women's equality as trivial and self-indulgent, and dismiss it as "feminism". They regard women's specific needs as attempts to promote women's issues above those of others. And they see women's emancipation as a task to be tackled only after liberation. Karl Marx said "... great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment." To ignore issues affecting women, is to distance and isolate ourselves from this important section of the population.

We must address their demands in the factories and kitchens if we want to draw women into active involvement. This will enhance understanding of the interconnection of women's interests and the broad struggle against apartheid rule.

To dismiss and stigmatize women's needs and demands as "feminism" is political infantilism. There is feminism and feminism. Our perspective of feminism seeks to affirm the role and status of women now and after liberation. We regard women as equal and dynamic participants both within the party and society. Communists do not tolerate the attitudes of male supremacy and female subordination. We strive to combat the tendency of patriarchal contempt for women, and also to fight traditionalist attitudes of subservience and submission on the part of women.

The status of women within an organization is a sensitive barometer of the level of political maturity and the extent of democracy in that organization. And the degree to which women's demands are accepted, integrated and implemented in our programs indicates the nature of commitment to fight discrimination whoever the victim and from whatever quarter.

The time has come to critically examine the vacuum of women's leadership in the democratic and liberation movement. Fallacies and justifications must stop. We need no self-deception. *The militancy of women in shopfloor struggles, in civic and community-based battles of rent, bus, and consumer boycotts do not match the inadequate presence of women on leading bodies.* Catch phrases and paper resolutions of women's equality are worn-out. Window dressing of one or two women on executives cannot be sufficient. The fight ahead demands strong and seasoned women's leadership, a leadership that will play a crucial role in the tough times ahead!

Women have demonstrated a great capacity to resist and confront the regime which robs them of family life, imprisons their husbands, hangs their sons and slaughters their children. This disciplined and decisive force must be harnessed. Their resilience and collective refusal to surrender point the way towards future victories!

Umsebenzi, No. 3, 1989

Communists & the Struggle for Peace

Militarization: an Attack on the Environment

Militarization could have disastrous effects on the northern environment. Many activities within the region have profound effects on local biological systems. Industrialization and other activities far to the south are now affecting the North.

The Arctic Ocean basin is a final repository for much of the long-lasting pollution from the industrial world. Air and water pollution from eastern North America gets washed to the Atlantic Ocean.

A large proportion of all the sea-birds that breed along the east coast of North America north of Florida are known to nest in the Lancaster South region, and significant populations of whales visit the same area during their yearly travels.

Nanisivik, near the north end of Baffin Island, is the eastern entrance to the passage between the Atlantic and Pacific. It the proposed site for a permanent military base. The base will be open within five years, and no cost for the project has been revealed. It will be used to train soldiers and test equipment for Arctic warfare. Groups of about 100 million instructors and about 500 soldiers will rotate through the center.

While the Mulroney government has promised a detailed study on the environmental and cultural impact of the facility, activists are skeptical noting its refusal to release the report on visits of nuclear-powered and nuclear-capable ships to our ports.

Environmentalists are also quick to point out the numerous collisions and equipment failures on board nuclear-powered submarines. At least six of these subs (two American, four Soviet) have sunk.

Japan plans to send regular air shipments of plutonium across the high Arctic. The flights of reprocessed nuclear fuel to Japan from France and Britain, due to start in the early 1990s, will probably cross the North Pole, about 800 kilometers north of Alert in the Canadian Arctic.

Under pressure, Japan and the United States dropped plans to have the plutonium-laden airplanes cross Canadian territory and refuel at Anchorage, Alaska. However, the shipments, no matter whose territory they cross, dramatically increase the danger of a serious nuclear accident in the Arctic. The recent Canada/U.S. pact on Arctic shipping will not recognize Canadian sovereignty or stop these shipments.

Some of the most urgent and important needs for scientific research and engineering or technical development in the North arise from the necessity to understand natural processes, to ensure that the environment is protected and that natural resources are managed in a responsible and sustained manner.

An important feature of the increasing importance of the North is that Canada cannot expect to deal with its own northern issues or develop effective northern policies on the basis of activities and expertise in northern Canada alone. We need knowledge, experience and cooperation from other countries.

This is especially so with the USSR, which has more experience, scientific knowledge and development than any other country.

Canadian Tribune, October 31, 1988

Contrary to African Peoples' Interests

The recent events in the Gulf prior to the Iraq-Iran ceasefire agreement and the preceding developments in Chad graphically demonstrated the deployment of military forces in Africa and the western part of the Indian Ocean and the utilization and reinforcement of French continental bases, such as Djibouti, and island ones, like those on Mayotte and Reunion. The increasing number of French warships in the region and multiple operations in French-Senegalese, French-Ivoirese, and French-Gabonese military maneuvers clearly illustrate that aspect of French imperialism which consists in French military presence in that part of the world.

The Defense Ministry said in a communique released on Septem-

ber 4, 1988, upon the return of the aircraft-carrier *Clemenceau* from the Gulf region: "France continues to maintain a presence in the Indian Ocean. If the situation in the region makes it necessary, she is prepared to reinforce it".

France is quite determined to proceed, from Dakar through Abidjan, Libreville, Reunion, Port Dzaoudzi on Mayotte and on to Djibouti, with the reinforcement of her military presence on the continent with a view to support her clearly neocolonialist strategy there.

Official France states that "Africa is the south of Europe", as Chirac's former cooperation minister Aurillac has put it. He was

echoed by his successor Pelletier, who said recently: "Our policy of cooperation will be characterized by continuity."

A new concept of global security measures, one based on the so-called Soviet threat, is emerging in the imperialist strategies aimed at achieving dominance in the sensitive seas and oceans, including the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

But that globalization does not rule out but, conversely, presupposes regionalization with a potentiality of conflicts, which engenders a need for weapons — precisely those which France sells.

The world's third largest arms exporter, France sells three-fourths of its arms exports to the Third World. While in 1968, at the dawn of its independence process, Africa was a very insignificant arms importer, buying just 183 million dollars' worth of weapons, 10 years later its imports grew 15-fold to \$2,718 million.

At present French African military policy is oriented mostly to the consolidation of its positions in France's ex-colonies.

In 1959, the French-speaking Black Africa had 400 officers in the lieutenant's rank and 2,500 "indigenous" non-commissioned officers.

Subsequent changes in the military structure were not radical: the command, just like weapons and organizational patterns, have remained French. In fact, independence notwithstanding, France is the boss by virtue of agreements on military and technical assistance.

In the 1970s, 11 out of the 15 member countries of the former African Union, such as the Central African Republic, Congo and Chad, were closely associated with France through an automatic engagement against aggression, while the others (e.g., Senegal and Gabon) could in such a situation appeal to France, which had the right to refuse to intervene.

Since 1986, as many as 960 French military advisers have been serving in 21 countries of Black Africa, including Zaire and Guinea-Bissau.

At the dawn of independence, mutual defense accords — treaties with clauses on military aid — were signed, or rather, almost imposed.

In 1974, certain legal and administrative modifications were introduced to ensure that "respect" for sovereignty in the former French colonies went along with mutual confidence, the mood of France's partners or the attitude of their people. That "respect" for sovereignty, manifest in some areas of cultural and economic relations, failed to extend to defense matters, with a few exceptions (Guinea, Mali and in part Congo). France unambiguously remained in charge of security.

The situation is well illustrated by the following quote from a bulletin issued in 1987-1988 by the services of former prime minister Chirac:

"Security serves development:

"The army also is (for those countries) a most important corps... a fish-well producing senior functionaries and sometimes even heads of state.

"The military mission of cooperation (within the French Ministry of Cooperation) exercises its activities in three forms: 1,000 resident French military advisers provide advice and instruction; in France more than 2,000 African career army men undergo complete training in French army schools; logistic aid is provided and weapons and munitions transferred free of charge."

France is present everywhere, or at least properly represented by her authorized emissaries. After the withdrawal of the French army and changes and replacements in African troops, military specialists were delegated to each African member country of the Community (formerly known as the French colonial empire) to put together police services, usually the "praetorian guard" of the head of state, which was fed "advice" by some French officer.

The French armed forces have a mission of defending against outside attack and of technical cooperation with the indigenous army. In case of a local aggression or "subversive actions", they can intervene immediately or at request, depending on the provision of the existing accords.

The military specialists have their functions neatly defined, particularly as regards the maintenance and servicing of hi-tech materiel and communications. They also provide instruction and advice.

Ever since the countries concerned gained independence, France has been seeking to train African cadres in her military schools.

This military training in the ex-parent state is a reflection of the increasing dependence of former colonies, one complemented by political and military aspects.

The world order demands that nothing change and that everything be controlled so that transnationals could practice their pillage. To this end France maintains a security umbrella for all her dependent territories. In short, France has undertaken to provide both military security and political protection for those countries.

Neither defense agreements nor military cooperation accords constitute military coalitions of the classical type, which one could see in the past and which exist today between sovereign states (such as NATO). The point is the continued maintenance of dependable and devoted regimes through rigid financial, political and military control over the activities of the authorities in most of such states, and also the expansion of the French zone of influence far beyond the boundaries of French ex-colonies to all the French-speaking and, eventually, Portuguese-speaking countries through aid to internal subversive movements, such as Savimbi's in Angola, and also through covert cooperation with South Africa in violation of the embargo demanded by the United Nations.

That policy fits into the global strategy of world imperialism, which has cast France in a special role. (According to what *L'etat du Tiers monde* wrote in 1987, France has 13 military bases in the Third World, the United States 20 and Britain 6.) Post-war history has seen numerous cases of France's military intervention, sometimes indirect, discreet, covert.

Stability became an essential need of the capitalist system as soon as it proved possible to establish a quite precise equation between priority investment zones of big international capital, the American bases in the "Western" world known as "free", and the necessity for that world to contain the USSR and other socialist countries since it could no longer roll them back.

General Michel du Peyrat wrote in *Revue de defense nationale* in May 1976: "France's security and interests may be jeopardized not just in Europe but also in those parts of the world where a strategy indirectly threatening our raw materials and energy sources is being developed. Such threats are as dangerous to us as an act of aggression on our borders".

In such a perspective, any struggle waged by a people for real independence or any progressive choice in a country within the imperialist system appears to be an act of subversion fomented from outside and a menace to vital Western interests.

Giscard d'Estaing stated at the Franco-African conference, held with the participation of 19 states in May 1978: "Africa must belong to the Africans", but also suggested at the Dakar conference of 21 states that a "Euroafrica" be built.

Francois Mitterrand reaffirmed at the "Conference of the heads of state of France and Africa" in Paris in November 1981 that France would honor the defense accords signed by his predecessors in order to demonstrate and ensure continuity in policy.

That provision was complemented at the 10th Franco-African meeting in October 1983: representatives of 38 states drew the conclusion that their heads of state expected from France "first of all security".

The French presidency and the Gaullist tradition maintained by Mitterrand vest constitutional powers in the President of the Republic in such a preserve as Africa. There was no revision of the conduct of African affairs either in 1981 or in 1988. Good old arguments are cited to justify this policy.

Security as Paris sees it means also the regulation of arms exports to 40 states of Black Africa and 5 states of North Africa and the maintenance of their communications and reconnaissance equipment at an adequate level.

France's imperial policy is characterized also by the establishment of a "rapid deployment force" in 1983, which expanded

the concept of security to the dimensions of military Atlantism, or world imperialism.

Pascal Chaigneru, director of the School of Higher International Studies, observed in *Revue de defense nationale*: "France cannot be indifferent to such problems (Chad — *Ed.*) because her future of a great power is at stake. Having lost Africa, she will very soon be reduced to the hexagon of her own territory and will no longer enjoy any advantage in the supply of primary materials".

The policy pursued for the past 30 years under the false slogan of decolonization has aggravated the detrimental effects of international imperialism on the Third World.

Underdevelopment and misery have pushed the peoples and states of Africa to the brink of an abyss. That is not a fatal inevitability but a product of a system based on the interplay of exploitation with security guarantees of that exploitation. The peoples should reject such "fatal inevitability" imposed on them.

Carrying on the long tradition of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle and of an alliance with the combative actions of the

oppressed peoples for full liberation, our party clearly stated at its 26th Congress its policy for the elimination of colonial and imperial practices in all their forms and manifestations. Our program specifies: "In Africa, it is necessary to respect the independence and sovereignty of all the states and cease any interference and neocolonial practices". That goal calls for fundamental change in the content and character of cooperation, including military cooperation, between France and African countries, towards which it has great responsibilities stemming, in particular, from the colonialist past of our country. Such cooperation of a new type could become an effective factor of shaping new international relations that would preclude any inequality or unequal relations and make it possible really to advance towards the new international economic, political and social order.

Gilbert Julis
Armand Guillotin

Abridged from *Cahiers du communisme*,
No. 10, 1988

congresses & plenary meetings

USSR: Carrying Out a Political Reform of the State Structure

Plenary Meeting Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee

The CPSU Central Committee held a regular plenary meeting on November 28, 1988. The plenary meeting considered the question of "Carrying Out a Political Reform of the State Structure" on which General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a report and made concluding remarks, heard a report of Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the drafting of a Concept of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR up to the Year 2005, and approved the composition of the CPSU Central Committee commissions established at the September 1988 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee to deal with the major aspects of domestic and foreign policy.

We present the resolution on "Carrying Out a Political Reform of the State Structure".

1. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes that the draft laws of the USSR "On Changes and Amendments in the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR" and "On the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR", amended as a result of their nationwide discussion, are consonant with the objectives of the first stage in the reform of the political system and with the decisions of the 19th Communist Party Conference. Their endorsement will be a major step forward in democratizing Soviet society, giving all power to the Soviets and building a socialist state based on rule of law. The proposed changes in the structure and procedure of forming the highest representative bodies of state power provide a constitutional basis for substantially improving legislative work, open and democratic management of the affairs of the state and the solution of major problems taking into account diverse social interests, and strengthen legal guarantees against abuse of power and authoritarianism. They create conditions for an effective and democratic functioning of the upper echelon of power.

The nationwide discussion in which individual citizens, work collectives and civic, academic and other organizations participated actively, has shown that most Soviet people support the proposed renewal of the political system and testified to increased social activity of all sections of the population. In the course of the discussions many people put forward proposals on key issues of state affairs, which must be closely studied and used in further legislative and practical work.

The CPSU Central Committee has approved the amendments made in the draft laws during the nationwide debate and instructed Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to present a report to the extraordi-

nary, 12th session of the 11th USSR Supreme Soviet on the proposed political changes.

2. The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes the great political importance of the forthcoming elections of People's Deputies of the USSR, which will ensure the creation of a congress of People's Deputies of the USSR on the basis of the voters' freely expressed will. The emerging opportunities for the active involvement of millions of people in the political process must be used fully. The fundamental issue is the creation of a body of deputies capable of effectively representing their electorate and actively promoting people's interests at the time of perestroika. It is important for people to nominate as candidates for election active members of the party and the YCL and non-party people from among workers, farmers and intellectuals, people capable of combining ethnic and local interest with interests of the whole nation, holding a firm civic stand and capable of running the state.

The election campaign should be organized in a new way, taking into consideration that this time elections will be different from all previous elections: for the first time in the country's political life candidates nominated for election will compete for seats. The election campaign should be conducted on the basis of socialist moral principles. The honor and dignity of every candidate and of all voters should be respected and the election campaign should help people master democratic procedures. The mass media have a great role to play in this.

3. Party organizations should assist in every possible way in the democratization of the electoral process. They must give up once and for all the practice of sending down instructions on who should be elected, avoid over-organization, carefully take into account

people's views and sentiments and work by persuasion and example.

The Communist Party Central Committees of the Union Republics, as well as territorial and regional committees must radically improve their political education work among the masses. They should be able to explain in simple terms all the aspects of the party's domestic and foreign policy and the progress of perestroika so that every Soviet citizen could profoundly understand the situation and the aims of the economic and political reforms. They must tell the truth without dodging difficult questions and skillfully use active methods of explaining things, including discussion. They must persistently channel people's growing political activity into the mainstream of practical work and make people realize that they can solve urgent problems of social development only if they work together and if everyone works to the best of his or her ability, imaginatively and with a sense of responsibility.

At this crucial moment the communists must build up their vanguard role in society, conscientiously perform the duties they have taken on of their own free will in line with the party rules and intensify in every possible way the party's political work. The review and election conferences of regional and territorial Communist Party organizations should serve this purpose.

The Commissions of the CPSU Central Committee are to draft the Central Committee's appeal to the party and the people in connection with the election of People's Deputies of the USSR, in which they should spell out the party's election program and its plans for the entire term in office of the supreme body of state power in the USSR.

4. The implementation of the tasks inherent in the first stage of the political reform should be accompanied by intense preparations for its next stages, such as the solution of the urgent problems of the Soviet federal system, reorganization of local government structures and the implementation of a full-scale reform of the judiciary.

Party organizations are to focus their efforts on the steady implementation of the measures endorsed by the Party Conference in the field of ethnic relations, paying as much attention to the specific interests of different nationalities as to the task of preserving and consolidating the fraternal friendship of the Soviet Union's peoples, a major accomplishment of the October Revolution. Preparatory work to review certain constitutional norms of ethnic and state organization of the USSR acquires special significance here. Efforts in the field should be guided by the party's policy of broadening the powers of the Union Republics and autonomous territories and harmonizing relations between the Union and the republics. At the same time, the constitutional principles of socialist federalism and the principle of equality of all Soviet republics and of all citizens regardless of their nationality should be strictly adhered to.

The Political Bureau and Commissions of the CPSU Central Committee are to intensify preparations for a Central Committee plenary meeting on ethnic relations and ensure that all matters be studied carefully with the participation of representatives of the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Areas.

In carrying out the political reform we should be guided by the fact that discussion of and due regard for all points of view and a balance of different interests is the only way of working out a solution that will satisfy all. Any rash, unilateral actions or moves that mislead public opinion are impermissible. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Communist Party Central Committees of the Union Republics are to work out and implement concerted measures designed to consolidate our society and rally it to the cause of perestroika, reduce the social and political tensions that exist in some republics and ensure that all party organizations pursue a common policy in this field.

Pravda, November 29, 1988

Yugoslavia: LCY's Immediate Tasks in Overcoming the Unfavorable Political, Economic and Social Situation in the Country

Document of the 17th Plenary Meeting of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

The 13th Congress of the LCY and the First Conference of the LCY were united on the need for deep reforms in the economic and political systems, and for democratic transformations in the League of Communists as the prerequisite for overcoming the crisis on the basis of market laws and greater efficiency of socialist self-management. But in the period since the LCY conference, and especially since the 16th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC, the economic and political situation took a sharp turn for the worse, and the working people were increasingly discontented with the sharpening situation in the autonomous territory of Kosovo, the further decline in their living standards and the impoverishment of the economy. It is necessary, therefore, for the League of Communists and the other socialist forces to take concrete steps without delay to satisfy the legitimate demands of the workers and all other working people and solve the key problems of our society.

In order to bring about a more resolute turn in implementing the decisions of the LCY conference and overcoming the unfavorable political, economic and social situation, the LCY CC approved the following tasks at its 17th Plenary Meeting, which was held from October 17 to 19, 1988:

1. The Central Committee instructs the Communists in the organs of the Federation, the republics and territories, including and above all in the Federal Assembly and the Federal Executive Council, to do their utmost to bring about, by the end of 1988, and on the

political and ideological basis of the decisions of the LCY conference and amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia, complex changes in the economic and political systems, and also in the economic development policy, all of which must be put through simultaneously and in connection with each other. The implementation of individual changes must be verified so as to create, by the beginning of 1989, the conditions for implementing the economic reforms. In the process, the League of Communists will work for the efficient operation of the market and complete observance of economic laws, and greater independence and responsibility on the part of individual economic subjects. More resolute efforts must be made to bring the changes in the structure of the economy in accord with the requirements of the internal and external markets.

In its political and ideological activity, the League of Communists must ensure the political conditions and the corresponding social atmosphere for implementing the economic reforms and mustering all the creative forces favoring them.

2. The Central Committee stresses that the primary economic, social and political tasks, and an important condition for effecting the reforms, are an end to the growing inflation and its gradual lowering, a revitalization of production and implementation of economic development programs, a further expansion of export, an urgent improvement of the economic situation, an end to the decline in living standards, and efforts to raise them. The Commu-

nists and all the other socialist forces must act vigorously to have the work collectives, communities, territories, republics and the Federation take the necessary steps without delay to fulfil these tasks. The Communists must work resolutely to release economic processes from unwarranted state regulation, and to make the enterprises more independent.

The Communists and all the other working people must carry on a resolute struggle in the work collectives and in society as a whole for all-round economy and rational use of social funds with radical cuts in all expenditures, especially unproductive expenditures, and complete public control. This applies especially to reducing the state and administrative apparatus, government spending, the number of business trips at home and abroad, the number of official cars, and ceremonial functions.

The requirement of all-round economy and more rational use of all public funds also applies to all the organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, from the community committee to the LCY Central Committee.

There is a need consistently to carry out programs to make the economy and the banks stronger financially, especially in the economically less developed republics and the autonomous territory of Kosovo, and to solve more efficiently — mainly on the basis of the enterprises which have good prospects — the grave problems of internal debt, insolvency, deficit, and financial improvement of the economy as a whole.

The Communists in the communities, towns, territories, republics, and the Federation must invigorate their efforts to provide without delay, through compensations, subsidies, additional payments, rebates, bonuses and other measures, protection for the living standards of citizens with the lowest incomes, to ensure regular food supplies and do away with the major problems in the provision of staple foods. The funds for doing so should come from the communities, territories, republics and the Federation.

The Central Committee instructs the Communists in the Federal Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and territories to take the initiative in making an urgent and all-round critical examination of the activity and the responsibility of individuals, all competent executive agencies and other juridical subjects (in accordance with their role within the system) for the inadequate work in fulfilling the tasks of the economic development policy in 1988, especially in the sphere of inflation and prices, and to take, on this basis, relevant measures, including cadre changes.

3. It is necessary to solve pressing social problems more effectively and consistently to pursue the social policy, which is an essential element of the economic growth policy and an important factor in developing the productive forces. That is why the LCY Central Committee requires the members, organizations and LCY organs to induce the communities, autonomous territories, republics and the Federation, and all work collectives to work out and implement, in the shortest possible period, realistic and effective complex programs in social policy and social protection of the working people and all other citizens. These programs should ensure the distribution of income in accordance with the results of labor, and also the practice of the principle of socialist solidarity.

In order to implement these programs, real and stable sources of funds must be ensured, and they must be given priority over other requirements.

In adopting and implementing the programs in social policy and protection of the people's living standards, a great responsibility falls on the Communists in the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, and other political and social organizations in the communities, territories, republics and the Federation.

4. One of the most important tasks of the LCY is the creation of constitutional legal prerequisites for the economic reform and the reform of the political system. Accordingly, the 18th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC is to assess the political and ideological substance of the draft amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia in the light of the decisions of the 13th Congress and the LCY conference, and to formulate the concrete tasks of the Communists

in the corresponding institutions of the system within the framework of further efforts to coordinate open questions and pass constitutional amendments with the view to ending this work by the close of November 1988. The LCY is also to determine the tasks of the League of Communists in the most effective implementation of the enacted provisions of the Constitution.

5. The LCY CC reaffirms that consistent and fullest implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress on strengthening unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is of essential significance not only for the political stability of Serbia, but also Yugoslavia as a whole. A contribution to this is made by the relevant provisions of the draft amendments to the Constitution of Serbia, which have been adopted by Serbia's Assembly and put up for public discussion. The final versions of the amendments must result from public discussion and joint work within the institutions of the system. The LCY CC wants amendments to the Constitution that would assure Serbia, as a state and self-governing community, the exercise of the necessary functions throughout its territory and consistent realization of the autonomy of the territories within Serbia, as a component part of the Federation. That is the political and ideological approach the Communists must stand for in the public discussion of these draft amendments, and work for concerting their positions within the framework of the relevant institutions without delay, especially since the differences are not so great that they could not be overcome in a common effort. The Communists must stand for the adoption of amendments to Serbia's Constitution within the approved period, for this is highly important in reducing the political tensions which have arisen on this basis.

6. It is necessary to strengthen the LCY CC's unity, political authority and efficient activity by invigorating the actions of its members in implementing the decisions of the LCY CC and its Presidium, which is an important prerequisite for efficient action by the LCY as a whole.

The LCY central committees in the republics, the LCY territorial committees, and the LCY committee in the Yugoslav People's Army must, in accordance with the approved policy and principles of democratic centralism, strengthen the party's unity and take all the political and ideological measures to do away with the unfavorable trends and stabilize the state of their ranks and the country as a whole.

In the event of non-fulfilment of LCY policy and the decisions of its top organs, in the event of an opportunistic approach to implementing these decisions, political and ideological responsibility measures must be resolutely applied, whether to individual party members or to political executive bodies as a whole.

The LCY CC instructs the LCY CCs of the republics, the territorial committees and the LCY committee in the Yugoslav People's Army to assess, by the end of the year, their activity and responsibility for fulfilling the decisions of the 13th Congress of the LCY and consolidating the unity of the LCY, to effect, on this basis, cadre changes within their ranks and within those of the political executive bodies, and to duly inform the LCY CC of what has been done.

The LCY CC instructs the LCY CC Presidium to examine the pressing questions of policy, the economic situation, and the political and ideological activity of the LCY in the republics and territories, and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and their organs, and also the political and ideological differences and signs of discord and confrontation between individual organizations and leadership of the League of Communists. The LCY CC Presidium must do this before the end of 1988. If the need should arise, the Presidium will ask the LCY CC to discuss these matters.

7. In accordance with the requirements of the LCY conference on strengthening the ideological unity and unity of action by the LCY, in enhancing its political authority and making the work of its top bodies more efficient, it is necessary to make cadre changes in the LCY CC and CC Presidium, and also in their working organs on the basis of a single set of political, ideological and statutory criteria and assignment of responsibility of CC members for imple-

menting the policy approved at the 13th Congress of the LCY.

In the course of these changes, there must be consistent application of the criteria of LCY cadre policy concerning the separation of the functions of CC members from the most responsible professional functions in the organs of state power, in the executive and administrative agencies, and organs of other political and social organizations in the Federation, the republics and territories.

In any cadre renewal and election of new CC members, it is necessary to ensure that there are more Communists on the LCY's highest body from the sphere of actual production, scientific and other creative workers, and Communists of the younger generation who have proved their worth in the struggle for social and economic reforms, and for strengthening the unity and democratic transformation of the LCY, and enjoy authority and trust among party members.

In the light of an assessment of the activity and responsibility of the LCY CC Presidium, as a collective body, and of its individual members for implementing the decisions of the 13th Congress, the decisions of the LCY conference, and the decisions of the 9th Plenary Meeting of the CC (1987), the LCY CC adopted at that plenary meeting a number of decisions on changes in the composition of its Presidium which should make its activity more efficient and help to implement LCY policy and CC decisions more resolutely and coherently.

8. The Central Committee believes that one urgent task, in accordance with the decisions of the LCY conference and the decision to launch preparations for the 14th Congress, is to invigorate activity in the political, ideological, organizational and cadre transformation of the LCY.

The CC instructs the LCY CC Presidium to submit, by the end of November 1988, proposals for a concept of preparations for the 14th Congress. In the light of the decisions of the LCY conference, and the proposals and requirements of its bodies and organizations, the CC must adopt, at the end of 1988, a decision on the date for the convocation of the 14th Congress, taking account of the political and economic situation in the country.

The CC is to set up a commission for preparing the guidelines for transforming the LCY, setting itself the task of a detailed study of the present role of the League of Communists. By the end of 1989, the CC must put forward proposals for reforming the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

9. The CC believes that in the period since the 16th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC, the situation in Kosovo and security in the country were worsened despite the activity of LCY bodies and organizations.

The worsening situation in Kosovo is due to inadequate effectiveness, opportunism and shortcomings in the work of state agencies, other institutions of the system, and political and social organizations in that autonomous territory. The LCY CC believes that the greatest responsibility for the worsening situation in Kosovo and for the failure to fulfil LCY decisions on the main issues falls on the present membership of the Kosovo LC Territorial Committee and its Presidium. The LCY CC instructs them to establish the degree of responsibility of each of their members and to take steps, in accordance with the decisions of the 13th Congress of the LCY and the 9th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC on Kosovo.

The activity of Serbia's LC CC and its Presidium, which was especially heightened after the 9th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC, has also failed to produce the desired results primarily because of the differences between Serbia's LC CC and the Kosovo Territorial Committee in assessing the political situation in the territory and the methods of work. The organs of the Kosovo LC have the duty, in accordance with their statutory competence and the principle of democratic centralism, to take all the necessary steps to effectively implement LCY policy, consolidating the Kosovo LC as a component part of Serbia's LC, and to carry on the integration and development of the autonomous territory of Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia. The organs concerned must take the measures determined by the Constitution to pursue this policy consis-

tently and effectively, and bear the political responsibility for their implementation.

The LCY CC believes that its Presidium also bears responsibility for having failed to create the conditions and the situation in Kosovo in which the decisions of the 9th Plenary Meeting of the CC would be the basis for concrete action in changing the situation, for having failed to overcome in due time the growing differences, especially those between the organs of Serbia's LC and the Kosovo LC in assessing the problems of the territory and in the approach to them.

In view of what has been said, the LCY CC addresses critical remarks to the Presidium and instructs it to take all the necessary measures for consistently implementing the whole set of LCY decisions on Kosovo.

The LCY CC Presidium will take the necessary measures to implement, resolutely and without delay, the agreed policy and to achieve greater coordination in the work of the members of the Presidium, the CC and the LCY working organs.

The LCY will develop its activity along two main lines:

It must involve the ideologically and politically mature forces in the party and in other socio-political and public organizations in setting up a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and other big and small peoples in Kosovo to carry on a vigorous struggle on the basis of the LCY platform and within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, to stabilize the relations between nations, and to overcome, as soon as possible, the mistrust and national-based divisions, which have also penetrated into the League of Communists.

In accordance with the Constitution and the laws, it will ensure full confidence in the law and security of citizens in Kosovo and their freedom and equality. It is to mobilize all the forces and organs in Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia for these purposes. This also applies to greater coordination of the activity of the organs of security and the state, especially in areas from which there is continued departure of Serbs and Montenegrins, and where relations between nations and nationalities have become most acute. It will resolutely carry on the struggle to strengthen legality in Kosovo, and for the political and ideological identity, cadre renewal, and heightened responsibility of the leaders in self-managing political, public and state bodies on which the fulfilment of these tasks depends, thereby bringing about the earliest stabilization of the overall situation in the territory.

10. Communists in the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the Socialist Youth Federation and other mass organizations must be the most active participants in the struggle for the all-round development of the working people's activity, for the revolutionary class character of their political acts, so as to strengthen the unity and viability of the Yugoslav community. Orientation towards socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, and loyalty to the gains of the revolution became most pronounced in the course of numerous solidarity rallies and mass meetings of working people and other citizens held after the 16th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC in connection with the desperate condition of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, where Albanian nationalists have long carried on counter-revolutionary activity against the background of failure to overcome the economic, social and political crisis.

The demands of the participants in solidarity rallies make it incumbent on the League of Communists and all the organized socialist forces to get down to solving the intricate social problems which led to the wide expression of discontent.

The LCY CC also draws attention to the excesses and anti-social behavior of individuals and groups at these rallies who tried to inflame nationalistic passions and who took an anti-socialist and anti-self management stand. The CC demands that the Communists act vigorously against these manifestations and against the putting forward of hostile slogans and other excesses. The competent state organs must take relevant measures with respect to those who violate law and order.

11. For a certain period of time some members of the LCY CC and its Presidium have been subjected to public criticism and

attacks on the part of individuals and LCY organizations. These critical statements assert that they objectively promoted the decline of confidence, the increase in the number of cases of differences and the further sharpening of the relations between nationalities in Kosovo by some of their statements, by their incorrect or untimely assessment of the situation in the territory, and by their opportunistic approach to fulfilling the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress, and especially of the 9th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC.

The LCY CC believes that public criticism and reminders of the responsibility of leaders based on arguments and verified facts are an element of democratic relations in society. In every case of well-argued criticism, the organs and forums of the League of Communists have the duty to establish the degree of responsibility of their members. At the same time, the CC instructs the Communists to carry on a consistent struggle against unjustified criticism, slander, personal abuse, and one-sided interpretation of public statements in some mass media. In the event of unjustified attacks and neglect of democratic norms of behavior, the Communists, and the bodies and organizations of the League of Communists must take vigorous measures with respect to the slanderers.

12. In recent months, there have been more frequent attacks on the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, which means also on the gains, principles and goals of the Yugoslav socialist revolution. These attacks are essentially reactionary and anti-communist. They are aimed against our revolutionary way and the results we have achieved, against socialist self-management, the brotherhood, unity and equality of our nations and nationalities, the vanguard role and legality of the LCY and Yugoslavia's independent international stand and policy of non-alignment.

Communists and LCY organizations must take a resolute and well-argued stand against such attacks without delay. It is necessary for historians, journalists and workers in the mass media to reflect the interests of the working people and other citizens by taking part in exposing the political and ideological substance and purposes of such attacks.

13. The LCY CC calls on rank-and-file party members, and on the bodies and organizations of the LCY to carry on a resolute, uncompromising and organized struggle to implement the policy of national equality, against the rising tide of nationalism in all strata of society, and its penetration into the LCY and some other institutions of the system, and against the mounting anti-socialist

and anti-communist attacks on our revolution, the LCY and our social system. Whatever the area in which such elements make themselves known in their efforts to legitimate their ideology in the mass media, at some meetings, in committees and other forums, LCY bodies and organizations and the Communists must give a political and ideological rebuff to such attacks, and to expose them with well-reasoned arguments. Communists in the institutions concerned must do everything to prevent such activity.

14. In accordance with the decisions of the 13th Congress and the conference of the LCY, the CC requires of party members, and of its bodies and organizations that they expose vigorously and in due time any attacks on the concept of national defense, and on the Yugoslav People's Army as the single armed force of all our nations and nationalities.

15. The LCY CC demands that Communists working in the mass media and in all institutions connected with public information should firmly and immediately end the practice of providing a rostrum for unprincipled squabbles, manipulations, abuses, and taking a tolerant attitude to the negative phenomena which have been growing since the 16th Plenary Meeting of the LCY CC, causing grave political and ideological consequences for the unity of the LCY and the country as a whole.

The entire system of public information must provide the public with all-round objective and timely information about events in the country. One-sided, selective information, sensationalism, primitivism and other abuses of the mass media must be resolutely eradicated.

Communists working in the mass media are called upon firmly to resist the ever more aggressive machinations of the nationalists, and to help raise social activity in consolidating the unity of the LCY and our country.

16. The LCY CC instructs all party members, and the organs and organizations of the LCY to work out concrete tasks in the light of these aims and to start resolute action in all institutions, delegate assemblies, work collectives and self-managing, territorial and other communities in order consistently to fulfill these tasks. This will be a pledge of the LCY's stronger ideological and political unity, the country's consolidation and successful implementation of social reforms. The LCY CC and its Presidium will actively promote fulfilment of these tasks.

Abridged

statements & speeches

Austria: Perestroika and Us

Volkstimme Interview with Franz Muhri,
Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria

Question. Considerable changes have taken place in the CPSU leadership; new people have come on the Political Bureau. I think this is a good opportunity to sum up what could be called the "intermediate results" of perestroika from the standpoint of the CP Austria. What has perestroika actually produced by this time? At its very beginning the conception of accelerated economic and social development was put forward, but have not the results of the first three and a half years perhaps fallen short of expectations?

Answer. In the area of implementation of a radical economic reform designed to accelerate economic development as the basis for raising living standards substantially, the advance has turned out to be smaller than along other lines. That there is already a clear-cut conception of this reform is definitely a positive fact, but its implementation has only just got under way, and it is bound to be a long and difficult process. The 19th CPSU Conference and the subsequent plenary meeting examined very definite steps to realize it. There is also no doubt that improving supply will be one

of the key tasks in the immediate future in the activity of the agencies concerned.

The qualitatively new stage in developing socialist democracy is another aspect of the economic and social transformations. It is most closely linked to the economic reform. One could say that highly significant steps have already been taken here in applying the "more democracy — more socialism" principle through a basic reform of the political system. The current changes can be described as revolutionary. On this score, the 19th party conference adopted further and more concrete fundamental decisions which are to be realized in the autumn of 1988 and 1989.

THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS REAL DISARMAMENT

The results of perestroika in the international field, in foreign policy, are most visual and at least just as significant. One could say that the Soviet Union's purposeful and vigorous peace policy

under Mikhail Gorbachev has made a crucial contribution to pushing back the threat of war. That is, of course, also the outcome of the struggle by the peace forces throughout the world. The first real agreement in disarmament — on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles — has been achieved. New relations have been established between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the political climate has improved, something that facilitates the positive settlement of regional conflicts and removal of seats of crisis.

I should like to mention in this context, for instance, the agreement on a political settlement of the issue of Afghanistan; there must now be a struggle to have Pakistan and the United States live up to the agreement.

I want to mention especially the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China, something that has been crucially promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts and the new political thinking. There has been a practical settlement of differences over their borders, there is substantial progress in economic, political and cultural relations, and it is now a matter of restoring ties between the parties. The U.S. policy of playing the "China card" against the Soviet Union has failed. This is of great importance for the struggle for peace.

Question. Comrade Muhri, there is some public impression that the CP Austria tends to take a cautious attitude to perestroika.

Answer. I think that this is partially due to a lack of knowledge of our actual stand, and partially to a quite deliberate spread of such views by our adversaries. Let us look at the facts. At the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which took the perestroika decision, I voiced our support for and solidarity with its basic objectives: faster economic growth for the people's benefit on the basis of high technology, the attainment of a qualitatively new stage in the development of socialist democracy, and a vigorous peace policy in international relations in the spirit of the new political thinking. At the 26th Congress of the CP Austria in early 1987 and in the subsequent period we have repeatedly reaffirmed our principled solidarity. In the course of a wide-ranging conversation that Comrades Silbermayr, Steiner and I had with Mikhail Gorbachev in March 1988, we noted the identity of views on the basic questions raised by Gorbachev.

For us, solidarity with perestroika is not a tactical matter, but a matter of principle, since the attainment of the stated objective meets the interests both of the Soviet people and of the entire international working class and liberation movement, and accords with the ideals of communism.

A SCIENTIFICALLY-GROUNDED CONCEPTION

Question. But in our party as well one finds somewhat different views tinged with concern that perestroika may be leading away from socialism?

Answer. Perestroika is certainly not an easy way. And there are also speculations and hopes in the West that the development will lead away from socialism. But we must see that perestroika rests on a scientific conception and that it is an imperative. After all, had it not been started, a crisis could, indeed, have arisen, and jeopardized the very foundations of socialism. The most important guarantee of perestroika proceeding on the basis of socialism is the course of the party itself, the leading role of the party, which is not being weakened, but strengthened, and the party's urge to do its utmost to provide the broadest mass support for the goals of perestroika. And that not only in the form of approval, but above all in the sense of the majority of citizens becoming active fighters and supporters of efforts to attain these goals.

Question. Are not capitalist methods being introduced in the course of economic reform?

Answer. The aim of radical economic reform is not at all to move towards the Western market-economy system, but a socialist market economy radically differing from the capitalist economy: after all, public ownership in the basic means of production is preserved. The task is to overcome the various forms of alienation

from public ownership. The working people must have a sense of actually being full masters and owners of the means of production. The aim of production is not profits for a minority, but exclusively the well-being of citizens. The right to work and the preservation and extension of socialist gains is still being ensured in contrast to mass unemployment, dismantling social gains and trends towards a "two-thirds society", i.e., phenomena which most starkly show that the capitalist market economy does not work.

Question. It is often claimed that in recent decades the CP Austria has always approved everything that took place in the Soviet Union, that which happened under Brezhnev, and that which is now happening under Gorbachev. Haven't our concepts of socialism changed over these years and decades?

Answer. Of course, they have. We are sometimes asked whether our party is also in need of perestroika and the new political thinking. In this context, let me say, first of all, that a creative impulse comes from perestroika for the entire international working class and liberation movement, including the CP Austria, that we do not have a sense of self-complacency, and that we still take a critical and self-critical attitude in assessing our work and our policy, and strive not to lose our capacity for renewal.

A REALISTIC PICTURE OF SOCIALISM

We can say, at the same time, that over the past years we have effected considerable changes in the CP Austria which were started even before the Soviet perestroika, in the light of our specific conditions. This also applies to the new and more realistic concept of socialism. We have overcome the "varnishing" approach.

In early 1982, we wrote into our new party program the proposition that progress under socialism is possible only through the resolution of contradictions as the key form of development. At that time we already formulated the idea that socialism must also be connected with forms of direct democracy, that trade unions under socialism must play an important role of their own as representatives of the interests of the working class in the fight against bureaucracy, etc. Our new party program says: "Socialism is impossible without a further development of democracy. Democracy for the people and through the people means socialism". All these ideas are also a part of perestroika.

The first thing we did was to work out our view of Austria's way to socialism in accordance with our country's national conditions. There is nothing accidental in that our program is called "Socialism in Austria's Colors". It is a concept that springs from the assumption that there is no universal "model". At our 25th and 26th congresses we subjected to the most critical and self-critical analysis all our work and policy. We amended our old view that the political line is correct, and that only the efforts to implement it are inadequate. We have put an end to the detachment of policy from organization. We regard the politicization of organizations as the crucial prerequisite for the solution of organizational problems as well. Those are only a few examples.

GLASNOST AND THE PARTY

I should like, furthermore, to point to the new edition of the *History of the CP Austria* which appeared in early 1987. It reflects our critical and self-critical assessments, while the "blank spots" are filled with objective, truthful, open, honest and self-critical analysis. I also want to say that from congress to congress there has been a renewal of our cadres and a rejuvenation of the leadership: in the Central Committee and in the Political Bureau; this process of renewal also runs on the level of the leadership of the provincial and district party organizations. All these facts indicate that perestroika in the CP Austria is a task which we have been dealing with for a long time.

Question. Comrade Muhri, perestroika in the Soviet Union, in particular glasnost, that is, openness in the mass media, the newspapers, etc., tends to create a new situation for us, Communists. There is a very wide-ranging and often sharp and controversial discussion in the Soviet Union on all the questions in the development of socialism, on history, and on present-day political

issues. Is it not hard to find one's bearings in this multiplicity of opinions? In the past we used to hear mainly the party's opinion.

Answer. This wide-ranging, profound and impassioned discussion in the Soviet Union is something new and, of course, on the whole positive. This profound perestroika process in every sphere of the Soviet Union's social fabric also calls for a wide and in-depth discussion. That is the only way in which real changes can also occur in the minds of people, and this is itself a prerequisite of perestroika. Genuine discussion implies open statements of differing, including wrong, views. That is the essence of socialist pluralism of opinion which is now being canvassed. The party has no monopoly on the truth. The optimal way to the truth can be found only in the process of discussion, in the clash and controversy of opinions and in their discussion.

This development in the Soviet Union naturally means that we must draw a distinction between the party's line adopted after discussion, for instance, at the CC plenary meetings and the 19th Conference, and the personal views expressed in the discussion of questions on which no decision has yet been taken, which are still being debated, on which the party is just forming its view. And in a discussion one will find personal views that contradict the line already adopted by the party. Extreme standpoints, for instance, in the impassioned discussion of the past, are being expressed in the Soviet Union. Extremes like when some see nothing but mistakes in the past. Gorbachev has firmly come out against this kind of approach. There are also extremes on other issues, such as on the question of the balance between global and common human problems and the class struggle, when global problems are absolutized in such a way that they are opposed to class issues. Such an approach cuts across the line of perestroika as Gorbachev has repeatedly enunciated it. That tends to happen, and here we must draw a distinction between such personal views expressed in the course of discussions, and the actual stand of the party and state leadership.

And another thing: we must draw a clear distinction between the actual goals of perestroika and the false and distorted notions of it which are being daily spread about by most of the Austrian mass media.

EMBELLISHING NATIONAL ISSUES

Question. Comrade Muhri, over the past several weeks and months we have also learnt of large-scale manifestations of nationalism in Armenia, Azerbaijan and partly also in the Baltic. Many Communists were astounded that after 70 years of Soviet power (it is true that in some of these republics it has not been there that long) things could have come to such nationalistic excesses. How is that to be explained?

Answer. For a long time there was an embellishment of the reality in national questions. One has to say that, for all the differences in the situation in Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Baltic, there are serious manifestations of nationalism and even of national chauvinism, and that this nationalism and chauvinism have a mass base. For this there are two basic reasons: on the one hand, historically, the negative traditions of the past appear still to be alive; on the other, national equality was not consistently effected everywhere in the course of socialist construction, mistakes were also made and these became the sources of a new nationalism and national chauvinism.

I want to add in this context the following: for all the problems, difficulties and contradictions in this area, our point of departure must be that, first, socialism has brought about considerable

achievements in the economic, political and cultural development of the small and big nations, and nationalities, those which lagged in the first place. Equality was largely established in practice. Second, we can be sure that efforts are being made for a positive solution of national problems, and that the problems which arise here can be solved only on the basis of socialism. These problems will be examined, after thorough preparation, at a special plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

ASSESSING ACHIEVEMENTS CRITICALLY BUT WITH PRIDE

Question. In the discussion with Socialists we, Communists, are sometimes accused of neglecting democracy under socialism. The Soviet Union is now moving to a qualitatively new stage of democratization, to what is often called "democratic socialism". Does that not mean the Socialists are right in their arguments?

Answer. Let me say, first of all, that in its assessment of the Soviet Union over the past decades, the Socialist Party of Austria proceeded from two basic theses which were not right even then. The first was to equate imperialism and the socialist Soviet Union. For decades, the U.S. elite had a hand in spreading about the myth of a Soviet threat. In actual fact, the Soviet Union has always been a positive factor for peace — even with the weaknesses in its foreign policy, say, in the Brezhnev period.

Its second basic thesis with respect to the Soviet Union was that it allegedly had no democracy and freedom. But there again, as Gorbachev says, for all the critical assessment of past development which involved grave errors, breaches of democracy and bitter moments, the Soviet people can take pride in their achievements: considerable democratic and social gains, assurance of such human rights as the right to work, the right to education, etc.

The gist of perestroika is not only open recognition and correction of the mistakes, not only efforts to overcome bureaucratic methods of administration, etc., which did, of course, also narrow down democracy. The gist of perestroika also includes a qualitatively new stage in the development of socialism whose attainment was made possible by the prerequisites created over the 70 years of socialist construction. That is one aspect of the matter. The other — and it is undoubtedly even more essential and important for the future — is that Gorbachev, the line he represents, the line which is that of the CPSU CC, is causing positive responses throughout the world, including Austria, and also among our socialist class comrades. This can only be welcomed. As never before in the past, the reality itself now refutes the myth of a Soviet threat, like the claim that the Soviet Union has no freedoms, even the freedom of criticism, and that the Communists are allegedly "enemies of democracy".

THE EISENSTADT STATEMENT: AN ANACHRONISM

This period of perestroika and new political thinking sheds a strong light on the anachronism of identifying fascism and communism, which lies at the basis of the Eisenstadt Statement by the Socialist Party of Austria. In the present situation all the prerequisites are there for overcoming the anti-communist prejudices, and for the SPA working out a new approach to relations between Communists and Social Democrats nationally and internationally, for taking positive steps here, especially in the interests of averting humankind's annihilation in a nuclear disaster.

Volksstimme, October 8, 1988

Iran: Stop the Executions, Save the Political Prisoners

Press Release of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran

We are receiving horrifying news of a large-scale massacre of leaders and members of the Tudeh Party of Iran in Iranian prisons. According to reliable sources, families of more than 200 Tudeh prisoners have been informed about the execution of their relatives. This confirmed our recent frequent warnings about the imminent danger threatening the life of the Tudeh prisoners.

This press release includes an incomplete list of members of our party who have fallen victim to the Iranian regime's "clearing-up operation" in the prisons. The bloodbath was apparently carried out during more than two months of suspension of visits in the course of which the regime did all in its power to stop the leakage of any news from the prisons. As earlier revealed by the Tudeh Party of Iran, the bodies of those executed were buried in mass graves, some of which are so shallow that stray dogs could reach the bodies and tear them apart. A photograph taken by our party members in Teheran and published in *Nameh Mardom*, central organ of the Tudeh Party of Iran, is indisputable evidence of the regime's savagery.

The executed were among the nearly 10,000 leaders, cadres and members of the TPI who were arbitrarily arrested in 1983, went

through unprecedented mental and physical torture in Khomeini's dungeons and were all along deprived of even the most elementary juridical and human rights.

Fearing national and international protests against their criminal act, the Iranian authorities have not issued any official information concerning the latest wave of executions. They tried to hide behind a smokescreen of silence. Only in a few cases have they disclaimed responsibility for the deaths in prisons, inventing lies about fatal clashes between members of different political organizations, cases of suicide, heart attack, illness and the like.

The Tudeh Party of Iran calls on all individuals, institutions, organizations, political parties, etc. to:

— unreservedly condemn the execution of hundreds of Iranian political prisoners including members of the TPI;

— call for an immediate and unconditional release of all Iranian political prisoners;

— launch a mass campaign in protest against the Iranian authorities' crude violation of human rights.

Central Committee
Tudeh Party of Iran

Preliminary List of Tudeh Party Of Iran Members Executed During the "Clearing-Up Operation" in Iranian Prisons

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Ghalambor Hossein (alternate member of the TPI CC) | Bureau and secretary of the TPI CC) |
| 2. Salehi Fariborz (alternate member of the TPI CC) | 18. Navy Commander Bidgoli Mohsen |
| 3. Dadgar Farzad | 19. Dr. Med. Baghaei Fariborz (member of the TPI CC) |
| 4. Hassani Pack Mehdi | 20. Ghandi Sasan |
| 5. Dr. Med. Gordjani | 21. Radjaeimand Mohammad |
| 6. Dr. Behzadi Manoochehr (member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the TPI CC) | 22. Zare Ezzatollah (member of the TPI CC) |
| 7. Mohammadzadeh Rafaat (alternate member of the TPI CC) | 23. Police Colonel Afraei Abolghasem |
| 8. Dr. Med. Danesh Ahmad (member of the TPI CC) | 24. Retired Army Captain Shamsi Rahim |
| 9. Colonel Dr. Ghiasvand Seifollah | 25. Sarafpoor Hasan |
| 10. Zolghadre Esmacil (member of the Political Bureau of the TPI CC) | 26. Hosseinzadeh |
| 11. Djodat Hossein (member of the TPI CC) | 27. Ghanbari Bahman |
| 12. Hatami Hedayatollah (member of the TPI CC) | 28. Derikvandi Asadollah (Lieutenant) |
| 13. Fardjad Azad Mehrdad | 29. Ravandi Timoor |
| 14. Mohammadzadeh Saber (member of the TPI CC) | 30. Air Force Major Zafar Hidari Saber |
| 15. Razmdideh Asef (member of the TPI CC) | 31. Hosseinpoor Shafie |
| 16. Atic Gholali | 32. Ghoreishi Davood |
| 17. Mizani Fardjollah (Djavanshir), (member of the Political | 33. Khatibi |
| | 34. Dr. Gjavidfar Djaafar |
| | 35. Djalali Hasan |

Poland: Experience Taught Us Realism

Interview given by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the PPR State Council to the British newspaper *Guardian*.

Question. Poland has a new Prime Minister and a new government. Round table discussions involving Lech Walesa, representatives of the church, and the government are on the agenda. What are the options open to you, as you consider political reforms, and seek to achieve credibility. How far are you willing to advance political pluralism in Poland?

Answer. If you asked Oliver Cromwell about his vision of the

limits of constitutional reform then probably his answer would not have much relevance to the present situation in your country.

I would prefer to refrain from definitions designed to have a long period of validity. However, I can easily define rational limits within which sociopolitical and economic reforms in Poland can take place.

I am emphasizing the word "rational". Poles are frequently

blamed for day-dreaming or inclinations to fantasize. I believe that today we are far from it. Bitter experiences taught us realism. We have abandoned many illusions. The limits are set by the objective interests of the sovereign, socialist Polish state within its safe frontiers, or what the French call the *raison d'etat*. Every society grows, matures and acquires experiences. What seemed unacceptable yesterday, becomes obvious today. The sources of change are therefore essentially rooted in history. But it sometimes happens that a nation finds itself thrown back a whole epoch, just as it happened in the Germany of Hitler's times. That is why we advocate a broad view in perspective of the "limits" in question. However, I want to emphasize that we will not permit, under any circumstances, any encroachment on the limit of security of the state and nation.

Question. The West has always taken considerable interest in the fate of Mr. Walesa and the Polish leadership's attitude towards Solidarity. Rightly or wrongly, there is a tendency to judge the Polish Government's actions in terms of your willingness to find a modus vivendi with Solidarity. Can you explain what prompted you to reverse your long-held position, and initiate a dialogue with Mr. Walesa? Do you now accept a role for an independent trade union in Poland, and are there any circumstances under which you would be prepared to reinstate Solidarity legally?

Answer. We are, of course, well aware of the interest taken by the West in certain persons and groups in Poland. If you will excuse my sarcastic comment, it sometimes seems surrealistic when politicians, who could hardly be called friendly towards trade unions in their own countries, are demanding that Poland grant to trade unions rights which they fought against in their country. Well, funny things do happen in politics.

Moreover, I want to explain that the "sociopolitical map" of contemporary Poland is far more complicated than the one which is frequently described in Western media. We are striving to shape a new coalition model of government — together with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party — each of them being a genuine political force. We are heading for a further expansion of the coalition to include the opposition forces.

As regards the former "Solidarity" I know nothing of the change in the position taken by the Polish authorities in this respect. We recognized the movement as one of the important manifestations of the justified dissatisfaction of the working class. We wanted to cooperate loyally with it. We did not hide our concern when it started to transform itself — due to a group of professional anti-communists — into an anti-state organization.

If you look at my speeches from those days, published by the British Pergamon Press, you will see that they have not lost their topicality throughout these years. After the introduction of martial law, we have frequently emphasized that fundamental provisions of the Solidarity movement are close to us. However, we consistently rejected, and we continue to reject, everything which was implanted into the movement in order to use it as a "Trojan horse".

This is not a groundless statement. Let me recall once more that most of the members of the current trade unions, including their leader Alfred Miodowicz, were once members of Solidarity. Former Solidarity members are to be found in the ranks of political parties, in many other organizations and are part of the leadership, of the bodies of state authority. In particular, ex-chairman of rural Solidarity Jan Kulaj is a member of the Consultative Council under the Chairman of the Council of State of the PPR. I do not know whether your readers know these facts.

I cannot agree that we have reversed the essence of our proposals for reform or else substantially modified our views. I want to remind you that on October 30, 1981, I launched exactly the same proposal which we are putting forth now: to set up the Council of National Conciliation.

Four days ago I met with primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland J. Glemp, and also with Lech Walesa. It was not through the authorities' fault that this meeting did not bring the expected results.

It is difficult, therefore, to speak about an "incurable" conflict

between the authorities and the former Solidarity. But there was and remains a conflict between the state authorities and those groups which set themselves the aim of dismantling the state. I see nothing sensational in this. The Government of Her Royal Majesty would certainly not be prepared to negotiate with the persons who are bent on destabilizing the legal and constitutional order. Why should it be different in Poland?

We are patiently looking for ways and means to overcome the present deadlock in Poland's life. Recently I said that not desperation, but determination led us to the decision to set up a round table. I want to assure you that we do not see our offer as a gesture of magnanimity or as a life belt. It is simply one of many possible actions.

To define "an independent trade union" you are also alluding to an issue that must be a delicate matter in my talk with a correspondent of a widely-read British newspaper. Defeats and humiliations of trade unions in your country would prompt me to ask many questions.

As for Polish trade unions, existing ones proved their independence to the extent that they played a leading role in provoking the fall of the previous government.

From what I know Mr. (Arthur) Scargill did not succeed in doing that. So, where does the line of "independence" run?

We in Poland also have no ground to trust those activists of the former Solidarity who boast of their independence, and yet take \$3 million from the U.S. federal budget each year. The problem in Poland is not so much about legalization but about fundamental guarantees of the partner's trustworthiness. And it is the round table that offers the opportunity to reach agreement, and to find an optimum model of trade unions in Poland.

Question. Since 1981, there have been several attempts at economic reform in Poland: but none have succeeded in resolving its economic crisis. What radical measures need to be taken now, if Poland is to experience the rise in its standard of living which the population craves?

Answer. The reforms, so far, were limited to a more or less successful modification of the existing, centralized economic model. As time passed, the limits of this "extensive" growth model were exhausted. This, above all, accounts for the slow-down in the growth rate, followed by stagnation and crisis.

Since July 1981, we have been determined to apply deep-going reform down to the very foundations of our public and economic life. It can hardly be expected that one could change overnight the structures, habits and mechanisms shaped in the course of four decades.

However, I believe that we are on the right path. The new government, starting its work in exceptionally difficult conditions, can and must speed up drastically the "technical" implementation of the process of reforms. Take it as a sign of our resolve that a private — and talented from the scientific angle — entrepreneur has become the minister for industry in the new government. He represents the forces which can jocularly be called the Polish Silicon Valley.

British readers must be aware that restructuring industry, introduction of new criteria of profitability, yield and effectiveness, struggle against inflation — are not goals that can be reached without social costs. In our system such costs can be lower than in the capitalist system. But this does not mean they can be totally avoided. We are prepared for that.

Question. Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Poland is intended to mark both her interest in forging closer relations with your country, and also to demonstrate Britain's recognition that the countries of Eastern Europe have to play their own, independent, role in building closer links across the East-West divide. What are your expectations of Mrs. Thatcher's visit? What steps can the Western countries take towards resolving Poland's problems?

Answer. I am glad that these intentions guide your Prime Minister's visit. They coincide with ours.

In Poland, we attach great importance to this first-ever visit by

a British Prime Minister. I am also happy at the possibility to make the personal acquaintance of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, and at the opportunity for talks with her. I appreciate Mrs. Thatcher's qualities as an outstanding politician who has accumulated experience in developing the British economy and in consolidating British prestige. During this visit we shall show due respect and sympathies for Mrs. Thatcher.

Few are the Western nations who would arouse among the Poles as many warm feelings as accumulated complaints. We remember Premier Lloyd George, who at the Versailles Conference wanted to take away even ancestral Polish Upper Silesia from us, and Winston Churchill, who at the most critical wartime period for Poland became for us a symbol of the struggle against Hitler's tyranny. Official visits are not an obvious occasion for historical essays, but people of the older generation will attentively follow each word uttered in this context.

The role of the medium-sized and small European countries in the formation of political and economic ties on our continent should be decisively greater, and I share your opinion that both our countries — with due account for their different potentials — have an important role to play in the building of bridges between the East and the West.

I express the hope that Great Britain will participate more actively in the furtherance of understanding between the two parts of Europe. We well remember the bold proposals of Premier Macmillan in the early 1960s, and also the initiatives of such British politicians as Hugh Gaitskell and Harold Wilson.

Regarding our hopes about the Western countries, their first point is very brief: above all, not to interfere. Not to interfere with Poland's efforts to bring orderliness in its own house, and more specifically not to put up obstacles through discriminatory financial-credit practice. I think that these are hardly excessive hopes.

I also feel that we have the right to expect not so much charity aid — the domain of church and religious organizations in this

country — as a concrete invitation to conscientious and mutually beneficial partnership — a partnership by deeds, not by words.

I would not want your readers to misunderstand my statement. Poland is a country for which words without deeds is only better or worse poetry. However, acts without appropriate words may also go unnoticed.

The British are famed for their pragmatism. We would be happy if London turned out to be capable of thinking about a 21st-century Europe in a proper, realistic perspective. I would not want these problems to be solved outside our continent.

Question. Mr. Gorbachev has often spoken of forging a common home of Europe. How do you envisage closer ties in Europe, and given Poland's geography and historical ties, what role would you want to map out for your country?

Answer. I cannot speak for Mr. Gorbachev. However, our close relations make it possible for me to see the new thinking and Soviet perestroika from a very close perspective.

The common European home is not a term from a textbook of geography for primary school but a concept of historical dimension which must be developed jointly.

The broadly understood economic integration of the socialist countries is progressing at this moment. This process, as, by the way, in the EEC, does not go smoothly. One should, however, remember that a qualitatively new situation arises on our continent's map during this process, devoid of antagonism in relation to the Western economic community.

I fully agree that Poland can and should become an important bridge because of her age-old links with Western culture and civilization.

Moreover, the geographic position of Poland, and its human potential fully match this role. Our foreign policy also bears this out.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*,
November 2, 1988

Congo: Give Strong Support to the Ideals of Unity

Interview with Denis Sassou Nguesso,
CC Chairman, Congolese Party of Labor,
President of the People's Republic of the Congo

Question: What advantages have the Congolese people had from the political and ideological changes resulting from the events in August 1963?

Answer. The Congolese people have derived numerous advantages from this historic event. For one thing, since that day it has felt itself to be truly free, having taken its destiny into its own hands and become aware of its responsibility in the face of history.

Question. Between the overthrow of Abbot Youlou in 1963 and your accession to power in 1979 there was a succession of at least four heads of state in your country. How do you explain the chronic instability which long characterized the political scene in the Congo?

Answer. The political instability which characterized the first 20 years of our independence was not peculiar to the Congo alone. I do not think that the Congolese people differ from other African peoples. The Congolese are as peace-loving as the other Africans.

Question. Do you not find that your compatriots have a certain propensity to be more easily stirred than other Africans?

Answer. Undoubtedly. That is above all a reflection of their consciousness. They certainly refuse to accept exploitation, ill-treatment or humiliation, especially the authorities. That is a perfectly healthy reaction and a sign of political maturity.

Question. Do you think that the Congo has attained the age of

maturity, a point at which it need have no apprehension of the violent changes which marked its history over the past 25 years?

Answer. Let me say that 25 years is no joke even for a country. In these 25 years our people have had many trials, they have suffered reverses and scored some successes; they have become more mature. We also have, thanks to the activity of our revolutionary Congolese Party of Labor, a clear-cut political line, an ideology that is an excellent base for education and reflection. All of this enables us to be what we are today and to enjoy a certain political stability.

Question. Do you think that the 25 years of the revolution have cemented national unity to such an extent that the Congo need no longer fear the banes from which other African states suffer, such as tribalism and regionalism?

Answer. It would be a mistake to say that 25 years is enough to put an end to the banes of which you speak. But at the stage of national democracy, through which we are now going, the foundations of national unity are being consolidated from day to day. But we have no illusions: it is a long and difficult process.

Question. Do you believe that such banes are passing away?

Answer. Of course. That is incontestable, although some of our detractors claim the reverse. Tribalism is no longer as pronounced as it used to be a few years ago. As you are aware, in the past it

was unthinkable for anyone in the Congo to marry outside his or her region or even ethnic group. Inter-marriages of people from different regions and ethnic groups are quite common now. There is now a considerable intermixing of the population. Thanks to the development of communications between the regions, to the political and ideological education, and to the activity of the mass media, such as radio and television, which cover the entire national territory, the Congolese daily get to know more about themselves, understand each other and live together. National unity is a long process, but it is under way, and nothing can stop it.

Question. Still, you have been accused of political and economic favoritism for those who come from your own region.

Answer. My detractors can say what they like, but it is the Congolese people that are the judge. There is an objective criterion for assessing the advantages accorded to this or that region, and of the harassments from which other regions allegedly suffer: it is the five-year development plan, which has just been completed. Look at the results, and tell me, in the light of them, whether or not from the standpoint of the results achieved my own region — the North — has been privileged with respect to the South. I do not think that there are any points of reference that are more objective in this area than these figures. They speak for themselves.

Question. Do you think that the Marxist-Leninist ideology truly accords with the economic and social realities of Africa today?

Answer. The Marxist-Leninist ideology is a universal science, and as such it is applicable to any society. Every people can adapt it to their own economic and social realities. Even religions adapt themselves to the countries where they strike root.

Question. How do you, as the leader of the Congolese Party of Labor whose activity is based on Marxism-Leninism, assess the perestroika now going on in the Soviet Union?

Answer. Life is movement, and I believe that the perestroika advocated by comrade Gorbachev is a good thing. I believe that his policy is right, sound, and in perfect accord with the scientific spirit of Marxism-Leninism. I myself do not regard Gorbachev as a heretic. On the contrary, he is a great revolutionary.

Question. What is your conclusion from this for the Congolese Party of Labor?

Answer. We are closely watching this experience. I am sure that it must have a great impact on all the other fraternal parties.

Question. Do you mean to say that all the other Marxist-Leninist type of parties, like yours, will eventually imitate what is happening in the Soviet Union?

Answer. No, not at all. There is no question of imitating what is going on in the Soviet Union. I merely say that the experiment now under way in the USSR is such an important phenomenon in the history of the 20th century that it cannot leave anyone indifferent, let alone such young parties as ours.

Question. Some have accused you of misusing the oil revenues in the favorable years.

Answer. In this favorable period, as you call it, we have worked to implement our program, a program worked out after long and in-depth national discussion in the course of which all the viable forces of our nation were able to express their views. Those are the conditions in which the 1982-1986 five-year plan was worked out. It is financed mainly from the oil revenues.

Question. You are sometimes reproached for having given within that five-year plan, preference to grandiose projects at the expense of the agricultural and social sphere.

Answer. We have given priority to the building of roads, railways, and hospitals... We have modernized the sugar, cement and oil refining plants and extended the hotel network. Are you quite honest in saying that these could be called grandiose projects?

Question. What about the imposing Palace of Congresses?

Answer. I agree. But a capital like Brazzaville, the venue of international meetings, is in need of such a building to give its guests a fitting welcome.

Question. You do not, therefore, regret anything of what has been done under the five-year plan?

Answer. Not a thing. And that goes chiefly for the high-tension transmission line between Brazzaville and Pointe Noire across the Inga Dam in Zaire. That is not a grandiose project. It goes to benefit the whole Congolese people. The same could be said of television, which promotes national unity.

Question. Isn't the policy of restructuring the economy a policy of doing away with the state sector? Doesn't it signify a definite intention to turn one's back on socialism and move closer to capitalism?

Answer. Not at all. It is true that we, like other countries, face enormous difficulties in our state sector. We have made — and are not ashamed to admit — many mistakes in trying to make the state do everything. Just imagine, we nearly set up a state enterprise to produce yoghurt. That would have been a mistake, and luckily it did not go that far.

Question. Henceforth you are realists in economic matters?

Answer. What is true is that we have given serious and profound analysis to our economic situation. We have understood that the state must not try to take over everything. That is just why we have decided that there must be a coexistence of three economic sectors: the state sector, the private sector, and the mixed economy sector.

Question. Is that your socialism?

Answer. We are not yet a socialist state. We are just building up the material foundations of socialism. The errors we have made have to be corrected at every level.

Question. While everyone admits that you personally have done much to improve Congo's image abroad, some still believe that your intensive diplomatic activity is designed mainly to mask some internal reverses.

Answer. You are well informed and must know that the Congo is a country that is open to the rest of the world. It is so open that we cannot mask anything, we do not hide anything from foreign visitors, to say nothing of journalists.

Question. What are the benefits for the Congo and yourself personally from your mandate as the head of the Organization of African States in 1986 and 1987?

Answer. We derived much moral satisfaction from the fact that in the course of these several months we strove to act in the interests of Africa. We took pride in fulfilling the mission in the interests of the whole of Africa. The numerous contacts, studies and observations in that period enabled us to reach the conclusion that Africans must rally more resolutely round the ideals of unity and pan-Africanism. Otherwise, we will be playing an ever more marginal role in the international arena.

Question. At any rate, the Asians and the Latin Americans, to take only the peoples of the Third World, are now moving in the right direction, that is, they are moving forward, while Africa is retreating.

Answer. We Africans must also advance. We need to unite and be better organized to meet the challenge. We must put an end to our disarray if we are to overcome our backwardness.

Question. Unless Africa is condemned to vegetate eternally to the point of being recolonized sooner or later, as the dictates of the International Monetary Fund indicate.

Answer. That is something we shall never accept. Never! If we have to, we shall start a new struggle for liberation, mobilizing our resources and energies to escape dependence. To those who say that there are no mobilizing factors for African young people today, let me say that there are any number of them: it is unity, organization and the fight against underdevelopment to build a united, strong and prosperous Africa. That is what we mean by modern pan-Africanism.

Abridged from *Jeune Afrique*,
No. 1441/42, 1988

Kampuchea: Our Aim is Peace

Interview given by Hun Sen, Political Bureau Member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Question. The Kampuchean people will soon mark the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. How would you characterize the republic's foreign policy over this period?

Answer. It was not easy for us to begin a decade ago, taking into account the specifics of those days which determined the difficulties of the revival. We lived simultaneously in an atmosphere of peace and war. We had to rehabilitate our country and to defend it against enemy attacks. Ten years is a sizeable period in the life of an individual but is a very short time, by historical standards, for a country which suffered from the most brutal genocide of the Pol Pot regime. Despite this, we have ample reason to say that the achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea over this period have surpassed expectations. The hardest times are over, and we have entered a new stage. The advances in internal development have served as a base for the implementation of our foreign policy and for the growth of Kampuchea's prestige in the international arena. But I want also to speak about some other factors which have determined these successes — above all, the support of the devoted friends of Kampuchea, the countries of the socialist community.

The process of dialogue on the issues relating to a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, which has begun of late, helps further the growth in the prestige of Kampuchea. As you know, even the possibility of having any dialogue with us was rejected for many years. It is no secret that some plans were hatched to do away with Kampuchea by force of arms. Why are the countries which ignored the republic now prepared to reckon with it and to take its interests into account?

In the current situation, any hopes for success through military intervention in overthrowing people's power in Kampuchea have vanished once and for all, and an alternative to it — a settlement through talks — has taken real shape. It is now a generally recognized view that any political settlement of outstanding issues without due account of Kampuchea's interests is out of the question. We ourselves also reject in principle attempts to ignore the interests of any side or exclude any side from the process of negotiations. It is from this position that we acted at the recent meeting in Jakarta which was attended by the opposition groups and Southeast Asian nations that are members of ASEAN. In my view, an important stage in settling the problem has started. From this standpoint, the 10th year of our existence can be viewed as successful.

Question. At the Jakarta meeting it was proposed that a quadripartite working group be set for studying the situation and for preparing recommendations for future talks. At what stage is this work now?

Answer. In August 1988 Indonesia suggested gathering the experts for the first meeting, but the conditions for this were unfavorable at that time. It has now been resolved that the experts will arrive in Jakarta on October 17, 1988. The task of working out the agenda and the procedure and principles of work at the first meeting is being set, although there is not much chance that all the members of the group will attend the meeting. The Southeast Asian countries that are members of ASEAN have agreed to participate. Son Sann and Norodom Sihanouk are also willing to send their representatives. But we have no information on this issue from Khieu Samphan who represents the Khmer Rouge. At the Jakarta meeting he also opposed the establishment of a group of experts.

Question. It has been generally recognized that guarantees against restoration of the Pol Pot regime must be created after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Is there a danger that the Khmer Rouge will try to return to Kampuchea by force of arms?

Answer. Yes, such a prospect is now worrying many people,

above all, those who supported the Khmer Rouge, armed them and gave financial assistance to them. If this happens and the mass annihilation of the population recommences, the whole responsibility for the new woes caused to Kampuchea will lie with the patrons of the Khmer Rouge. At my next meeting with Norodom Sihanouk to be held in Paris on November 5, 1988, I intend to discuss this question with him and to remind him of his personal responsibility for the further course of developments. There should be clarity in this field.

As for a concrete danger of a return of the Pol Potians into our country, they would never be able to carry out their schemes by force of arms if the military aid to them from outside stopped. Kampuchea has enough means to defend itself against the hostile actions of the Pol Potians, who are talking everywhere about their strategic plans for the year 1990.

What is the idea behind this? First, they want to maintain the semblance of lawfulness of their membership in the United Nations and to justify by their activity the assistance they get from outside. Secondly, they will do their best to prove that the Khmer Rouge as a political force is the decisive factor in a settlement. It is also possible that they will bank on trying to intimidate the Kampuchean people. In my opinion, the Pol Potians will continue their tactic of terror and petty acts of subversion against us. That will fail to unleash a "big war". I repeat however that the foreign powers must stop giving military aid to them. To prevent new bloodshed in Kampuchea, it is necessary to take specific measures to this end now. I have in mind Western countries and the ASEAN nations.

Question. What is China's position?

Answer. There is no noticeable or dramatic change in the Chinese position, but in the present situation the choice of strategic alternatives has narrowed considerably. On the one hand, the situation requires condemnation of the Pol Pot group. China has declared that the Khmer Rouge presents a threat. But it also says that the present regime in Kampuchea is even more dangerous for the Kampucheans. We do not agree with Zhao Ziyang when he says that the present regime is as dangerous as that of Pol Pot. They are absolutely different. Our government came to power when the people rose against the Pol Pot regime which unleashed genocide against its people. China has admitted that Pol Pot and his followers did commit crimes and we can see some other minor changes in China's position. One of them is the participation of the Khmer Rouge in the Jakarta meeting. But these changes do not indicate a fundamental reassessment of policy. Non-participation in the Jakarta meeting would have further isolated China and the Khmer Rouge and created conditions for dialogue between only three Kampuchean parties without the participation of the Khmer Rouge. So, at the meeting, Khieu Samphan had the task of foiling any agreement. I am quite certain about what I am saying because I saw the man at work. There was a chance for some agreements in Jakarta, but who foiled them? — the Khmer Rouge.

Question. How does the so-called "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" fare after Sihanouk quit it? Is it still possible to speak about "unity of action" of the three opposition groups?

Answer. First of all, I would like to say a few words about the coalition itself. Judging by the declaration on the creation of the coalition, which was adopted in Kuala Lumpur in June 1982, there is reason to say that the coalition no longer exists. Sihanouk's son cannot replace his father as head of the coalition. Infighting continues. I think that now that Norodom Sihanouk has quit it the coalition won't be able to put forward any ideas or initiatives. The fact that representatives of the coalition continue to make statements only shows that they want to assure their patrons that they can live in agreement.

Question. The Khmer Rouge has reportedly launched a number of military operations against its allies. Is this true?

Answer. Yes, we know that after the meeting in Jakarta Pol Pot's men received instructions to destroy by force their opponents in the camps of Sihanouk and Son Sann. We have a great deal of evidence of how these instructions are being fulfilled. We receive it from Khmer Rouge men who come over to our side. More and more people are defecting from the Khmer Rouge, and the followers of Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann find it increasingly difficult to tolerate one another.

Question. What are the problems you are going to discuss with Norodom Sihanouk in Paris?

Answer. You can't achieve political settlement by solving a couple of problems. It is a more complex process. In Paris we are going to discuss the external aspects of the Kampuchean problem, especially the Vietnamese troop pullout and a timetable for the cessation of military aid to the warring sides. We have already offered a plan for Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, which must be linked with a timetable for the cessation of arms supplies to Pol Pot.

Before speaking about prospects for the creation of a new, multi-lateral government in Kampuchea, agreed measures must be worked out to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to power. We have reached an agreement on this issue with Sihanouk, but we must discuss the problem of ensuring effective guarantees.

Question. Is there a chance to create a tripartite government without the Khmer Rouge?

Answer. I think there is. If the Khmer Rouge persists and continues to demonstrate its unwillingness to participate in the settle-

ment, we shall manage without it. The situation is now developing in favor of such a solution. Sihanouk, for example, has repeatedly said that he might agree to a compromise with Phnompenh. This does not mean that pressure is not being put on him. We are for the participation of all parties, but we are also prepared to accept a tripartite solution. We can't wait until the Khmer Rouge accepts peaceful dialogue and cooperation, because, above all, this instability brings suffering to the Kampuchean people.

Question. What do you think about the present state of Soviet-Kampuchean relations? What is your opinion of the Soviet Union's Krasnoyarsk peace initiatives?

Answer. We have good relations with the Soviet Union in all fields. Lately they have reached the highest ever level. We know that everything Kampuchea has achieved is due to the vast and timely assistance we receive from the Soviet people. We are determined to broaden cooperation and strengthen friendship between our two countries. In the spirit of perestroika we are looking for new forms of economic cooperation to eliminate past shortcomings.

The Kampuchean government and people fully support the Soviet peace proposals announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. These proposals for strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region continue the Vladivostok initiatives which have already produced good results and have helped to improve the situation in Southeast Asia.

The conditions are being created for an early solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Izvestia, October 4, 1988;
Morning Star, October 18, 1988

Palestine: The Uprising and Democracy

Interview with Naim Ashhab, CC Political Bureau member,
Palestinian Communist Party

The Middle East continues to be a powder keg. Palestinians are being killed every day in the towns and villages of the West Bank and Gaza, which are occupied by the Israeli army. And that at a time when there are concrete proposals for stopping the chain reaction of violence and seeking ways of a peaceful settlement. The first is, of course, to recognize the Palestinians' right to establish a state of their own. Here evasions will do no good because the whole issue comes down to an unequivocal recognition of the reality of the existence of the Palestinian people and the PLO, the organization which represents it.

What then is the state of the PLO today, when, despite the brutal repression, the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories continues, and the Palestine National Council is about to convene its session? The answer was given in an interview with our journal by Naim Ashhab, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party (whose activists, together with other organizations, such as Fatah, have an essential role to play in the united leadership of the uprising).

Question. Three hundred people have been killed, thousands arrested and a curfew imposed, but the uprising continues in the territories occupied by Israel. How is one to explain this unbending resolve of the Palestinians?

Answer. The most important reason, I believe, lies in the profoundly democratic nature of the uprising, that is, in its peaceful methods and in its organization. Thus, 36 people's committees have been set up in a West Bank village with a population of 12,000 inhabitants. Each has its own specific tasks and consists of between 9 and 12 members. In this way the population solves the problems of education, public health, agriculture, propaganda, etc. This is a

new parallel administration being set up and substituted for the Israeli administration, which is engaged in the repression. Consequently, the uprising is democratic and brings together all the social classes and the various religious opinions. But we know that this is not enough to defeat the invaders and expel the Israeli army, the most powerful in the Middle East; it will take a miracle to do that.

Question. What then will make it possible to complete the process started by the Palestinians from the interior?

Answer. The uprising is the voice of the Palestinians. This should never be forgotten. The crucial developments started in the occupied territories have had a great influence on the view of us by international opinion. There is now a great campaign of solidarity with us throughout the world. It has never been so important. That is why this international struggle has to pass through a definite stage. The pressure must be increased to make Israel and the United States accept the idea of an international conference.

Question. What are your hopes for action by the United Nations?

Answer. This is a crucial point. The international atmosphere has undergone a radical change only in terms of the steps taken by the USSR and the United States in nuclear disarmament but also of progress in settling regional conflicts. In this context, the problems of the Middle East are not independent and should make no exception in the process. We maintain regular contacts with the United Nations and its Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. He has been trying to encourage the various partners to take part in an international conference for peace in the Middle East. Its success would enhance the prestige of the United Nations. The uprising has also had an influence on Israeli society. Reservists and young soldiers have refused to fight in the West Bank and Gaza.

For the first time in four years, we have seen members of official circles speaking in a new way and advocating a realistic approach. It is no longer the Israeli Communists alone who recognize our

* The session of the Palestine National Council which proclaimed the establishment of a Palestinian state met in Algiers in mid-November 1988.

rights. This new perspective offered to us by some Israelis is also the result of the uprising. General Arkavy, who once worked for Mossad (the Israeli secret service), said, for instance, that the best solution would be a withdrawal from the occupied territories and recognition of the Palestinian people's rights.

Question. But the forces of the extreme Right have also been more active... Isn't there a danger of Israel sliding towards an anti-democratic regime?

Answer. Indeed, the proposals coming from the ranks of the Right and the extreme Right are terrifying. For them the problem is what to do with the occupied territories. If these are annexed, in view of the demographic trends, Israel will shortly become an Arab country. And since they are not even thinking about recognizing our rights, the final solution they propose is to transfer the population of more than two million people from these territories. This plan should not be underestimated. The polls say that 40 per cent of Israelis back this idea. I think that if the PLO had a clear-cut political program it could help the proponents of a realistic solution, including those in Israel, to resist the racist ideas of Sharon and the extreme Right.

Question. Some have been trying to create the image of the PLO as an organization propounding the ideas of terrorism and identifying it with integrism.

Answer. Indeed, some have long been saying that the PLO is a synonym for terrorism. But terrorism concerns small groups, and we are an entire people. Who will believe that a stone can destroy a tank? The uprising has once again made nonsense of such arguments. As for the integrist forces in the West Bank and Gaza, their actions gave the Israeli army the pretext for invading the villages and mosques, and not for arresting the activists, but mainly Communists and other PLO members.

Question. What is the place of groups like Hamas in the uprising?

Answer. The role of the integrists is being exaggerated in order to bolster the idea that our uprising is of the same nature as the Iranian revolution, and that it will end in fanaticism. In actual fact, these groups joined in the uprising only in February 1988, under popular pressure. Their actions essentially coincided with the decision by King Hussein of Jordan to rupture administrative and economic links to the West Bank. On the one hand, the king seeks to disorganize the daily life of the Palestinians, and on the other, to put pressure on the organization of the uprising and to split it. One should not forget, after all, that the integrists in the West Bank depend on the Muslim Brothers whose leader Abdul Rahman Khalifa lives in Jordan. It means loyal support of King Hussein. Consequently, there is an identity of interests to the detriment of the Palestinian people.

Question. You are taking part in preparing the forthcoming session of the Palestine National Council. What do you think will be the strong points of this session?

Answer. Many new decisions have to be taken. But we shall have, first of all, to clarify our political position. I think that we should issue a declaration of independence based on international law, that is, on the UN Charter and the resolutions relating to the Palestinian and Israeli peoples.

We are prepared for mutual recognition of our two peoples. But it is not enough to recognize Israel's right to existence, and for Israel to recognize the PLO. We also want to have recognition of our rights to set up an independent state and to win self-determination. If an international conference is held and agreement is reached on these points, we shall thereby recognize the Jewish state, and the right to security for all in the region, including Israel.

Revolution, No. 449, 1988.

Spain: Upholding the Basic Values of Peace and Democracy

From a speech by Julio Anguita, General Secretary of the CP Spain, at a Party Festival.

We are Communists, and as such we are part of the ideological trend which has carried the beacon of liberation and emancipation throughout human history. It may be that in the past and in the present each of us and all of us together have not always been equal to the requirements of our program and mission, but we can say in the face of history: but for us, the development of society would have been different. Capital would not have had to give up its positions and make concessions to the working people which were inconceivable in the period of its origination.

Now that we are emerging from the crisis, from the period of internal polemics, we must determine the lines of our activity concretely and on the basis of a relevant program.

This straightforward conclusion follows from our party's statutes: we are a political organization. And this implies: (a) the sense of belonging to a collective and collective fulfilment of our tasks; (b) giving an ideological and political dimension to trade union demands; (c) self-discipline based on conviction and loyalty to the organization; (d) respect for statutory norms; and (e) an organizational structure based on democratic centralism.

The statutes define our invariable objective, which we must consistently explain in this period of disillusion, doubts and the ideological offensive by conservatism: we stand for socialism and communism. Our point of departure is the basic values of peace and democracy, which some would like to distort and emasculate.

Under the statutes we are bound to take a creative approach to party policy, and this implies rejection of the rigid schemes of the past. Acting creatively means daily and hourly implementing the

collectively elaborated policy in the light of the changing and contradictory reality.

Our statutes indicate, clearly and unequivocally, the need to keep in touch with the people, to whom we owe a debt, and without whom we are nothing. What is more, if we distance ourselves from the people, our existence as a political party becomes meaningless.

The historical question "What is to be Done?" arises with fresh force at this point in the development of Spanish society.

In the present situation we must get down without delay to a policy of construction, of preparing the ground for transformations, of building up alliances, and of working out alternatives. Our task is construction. But any policy of construction requires: a project; a plan of work; constant accumulation and assimilation of experience; will and consistency.

The policy of construction springs from society itself. The project reflects the urge for justice, freedom and equality which is deeply felt by a large majority of the population. This policy requires a plan of priorities depending on the economic project. The policy of construction requires constant efforts to consolidate the social base to participate collectively in implementing the project and the plan. This social base is immense. Some are already on our side, others who are more numerous take a different stand, but they are important for the project, and we must not only be able to address them openly and democratically, but also to invite them to take part with full rights in this collective effort.

On March 3, 1988, the Central Committee approved two main lines of our political action: mobilization and elaboration of alter-

natives, thereby inaugurating the policy of construction.

Construction today and transformation now must include the elements of negation of the existing state of things, and the party's constant mobilization. What is the meaning of mobilization? As we have repeatedly explained, it means:

- helping to shape and deepen a definite consciousness;
- analyzing, studying and debating the reality;
- acting as a party everywhere, in all the institutions, organizations and collectives, in every sphere of human activity;
- engaging in transformative practice, that is, in thinking and action applied to the real world;
- taking, after the necessary preparations, action in the streets and fighting against the injustice and forming the forces capable of playing a valid role in the political struggle;
- ultimately directing the energy of transformation to attaining the concrete objectives of the policy of construction.

Mobilization demands simultaneous action on five fronts: economic, social, political, ideological and cultural.

The working out of alternatives, as I have said, is another main line of the policy of construction, for this policy requires a project which, with the growth and development of the forces supporting it, will increasingly present a real alternative to the existing state of things. The working out of alternatives is a basic task for our party, and not only because we have to find solutions to the problems in the development of our society, but also because the policy of construction will enhance its appeal to the people to the extent to which the great programmatic and strategic objectives are embodied in the problems of our people's daily life. Being a Communist means not only being a fervent fighter for a society of full human realization, but also taking an active part in the real movement steadily surmounting the contradictions and problems, as Marx put it.

Our party is now putting in a great effort into elaborating the alternatives:

- the discussion of our conception of the development of the process of autonomization in the Spanish state is to be completed by the end of November;

- a debate is under way on the Program-Manifesto which is of unparalleled theoretical significance. This debate and the preparation of materials for it at the first stage will involve hundreds of comrades and theorists from all the communist parties of Europe and some African and Latin American countries, prominent Marxists from the socialist countries, representatives of left-wing Christian movements, and even some theorists who cast doubt on the very need for the existence of communist parties today. The CP Spain has no fear of debate.

Here we have three objectives:

1. To produce a theoretical and practical document, debated by the entire party, as the basis for its activity at the turn of the millennium.

2. To tackle the new problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution and the economic situation in the world, which is becoming ever more interdependent because of the spread of the communications media; the Third World debt, the New International Economic Order; the theoretical substantiation, elaboration and consistent practical pursuit of a broad policy of peace; involvement in theoretical debate and everyday political practice of a new value with a profound revolutionary content: the ecology.

3. Involvement of men and women of the Left in debating new problems in the search for their common solution. To strive in the course of this debate looking to the future so as to make a start on the building up of a common platform of the left, of a common platform of the Communists.

This debate is fundamental. The world has been shaken to its very foundations. The development of the productive forces and of science as their component part requires of all of us serious analysis of the new realities through the eyes and the thinking of Marx. That is the undercurrent of the discussions and even of convulsions in the socialist countries today. A definite historical stage is coming to an end, the contradictions are being sharpened

(because contradictions also exist under socialism), and the old solutions are no longer valid in societies and countries which have long since overcome the economic and cultural difficulties which occur at the initial stage of the revolutionary process.

The defenders of capitalism distort their character by giving a deliberately superficial interpretation to these processes and especially to perestroika, as the most resonant of these. Here is only one example: when Gorbachev says that democratization is the essence of socialism, the biased writings in the West lay accent on the political superstructure, on state institutions. But Gorbachev speaks of democratizing the economy with the participation of the trade unions and the working people, of democratizing society through open and free discussion, of democratizing above all the process of production, distribution and consumption. When Gorbachev speaks of democratization, he speaks of the very foundations of socialism. And this process also affects the political superstructure: the representativeness and plurality of those elected. This is now an example for all. I ask this question: are the Western countries and their governments prepared to extend the ambit of democracy, not only to the political sphere, but also to the economic sphere?

There is a debate in the socialist countries about the contradictions produced by history, by the changes in the world and by the mistakes made. This debate and search are being conducted for the sake of socialism and communism. Meanwhile, the capitalist camp has avoided any serious discussion and has engaged in self-praise. Its only concern is to preserve the existing state of things. The world which is engaged in debate, is roused and analyzes its own contradictions, is a living world which has a future. The world which, like Narcissus, keeps admiring itself, suffers from sclerosis.

The aim of our discussion, which is to be summed up by a party conference, is to work out our alternative for Europe. The government and other conservative forces keep daily playing up the word "Europe", saying "Euro-ism" and "modernization" mean the same thing in the statements by our ruling circles. But what kind of Europe do they mean?

The present European Economic Community is not to our liking.

In this community there are 20 million unemployed and marginalized.

Since its foundation in 1957, the EEC has had deep regional differences in economic development: a ratio of one to six at the initial stage, and a ratio of one to twelve with the entry of Portugal, Spain and Greece.

In the EEC there are destabilization of the economy and social conflicts caused by structural changes and the uncontrolled transfer of enterprises.

In the EEC there is a distortion of competition in consequence of "social dumping" (low production costs in view of different wage levels and social conditions in the member-countries).

In the EEC the Single Act proclaims a policy of free trade which, in the absence of solidarity between the countries, will merely lead to even greater inequality and imbalances. Examples like the regional inequalities between the Europe of the North and the Europe of the South speak for themselves.

The EEC Commission itself recommends "a policy of wage restraint already practiced for four years, over a long period".

In the EEC, with a few exceptions, the incumbent governments (mainly those of Britain, France, Germany and Spain) back the policy of nuclear deterrence and the maintenance of blocs. It is a fact, which is not being advertised, that the British and French governments met the Reagan-Gorbachev accords with reserve and some undertone of criticism.

In the EEC these influential countries ignore the disarmament proposals put forward by Gorbachev and the Warsaw Pact. They do so because these proposals envisage reductions not only in nuclear but also in conventional weapons and invalidate the idea of the defense of Europe, the excuse for continuing the development of the war economy.

In the EEC, and I emphasize this, the tension between the highly developed and for that reason dominant states, and the less de-

veloped countries which are in a subordinate position is an expression of the dialectics of the class struggle. When speaking of the European Economic Community from the standpoint of the left, it is not right to be guided by vague references to Euro-ism — and this must be clear to one and all — but by the concrete economic, social and political realities, the gist of which is a conflict between the dominant and the dominated.

Meanwhile, the internationalization of the economy, the interpenetration of the markets, the development of trade and means of communication, together with the need of advancing towards politically homogeneous geographical regions, makes us convinced that the Communist Party of Spain must support the construction of Europe without reservations.

This must be a coherent, and for that reason, a perfectly clear and unequivocal policy, and that is why, in advance of the decisions of the party conference, let me explain the substance of our approach to European construction:

Although acting within the ambit of the EEC, we do not reduce Europe to the European Common Market, because we believe that European construction must go beyond the community ambit, especially now that there are economic relations with the CMEA countries.

We do not conceive of Europe in detachment from the Third World, which makes up three-quarters of humankind. Contrary to the theory of Eurocentrism, we believe that a Europe of solidarity, once it is independent, must display solidarity with them in every sphere not only on the external debt problem, but also in the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

The support for European construction does not at all imply any abandonment on our part of the defense of the interests of Spain, the Spanish working people in the first place.

With the adoption of the Single Act and its consequences, there is a need for deep structural reforms:

(a) homogenization of industrial relations, establishment of minimal levels and normalization of the regime of financing and credit in social insurance (an area in which Spain lags behind the other EEC countries). By way of example, one could propose a community unemployment insurance scheme;

(b) a radical reform of the status of the European enterprise, and the establishment of institutions and mechanisms for reinvestment of a large part of the profits in the most needy zones;

(c) a review of the Common Agricultural Policy to put an end to the privileged position of producers in the rich zones;

(d) a radical reform of the community budget. It is not right for it to come to less than 1.5 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product; with that kind of budget it is impossible to finance any serious program for economic and social integration; worse still, the infrastructural funds will make up only 0.3 per cent of the GDP in 1993; the budget reform must provide for the establishment of funds capable of financing genuine integration in technological research and development, environmental protection, transport, etc; it must ensure a new approach to regional development free from false paternalism and, ultimately, greater coordination of economic policy for consolidating the European monetary system for the benefit of all, and not only of the most developed countries of the community;

(e) reduction of the working week in the EEC to 35 hours; there could then be a study, together with non-community forces, of the prospects for introducing this measure within the framework of the New International Economic Order;

(f) a readiness to accept, discuss and even extend Gorbachev's proposals for eliminating the nuclear arsenals and reducing conventional armaments to a minimum;

(g) the disbandment, under negotiated agreements, of both military blocs; the CP Spain continues to take a firm stand against our country's integration in the military structures of NATO, especially after the PSOE government signed the accord with the United States in defiance of the people's will expressed in the referendum;

(h) support and accession to any bilateral and multilateral accords between the European states on disarmament, denucleariza-

tion and a policy of peace; the denuclearization of the Balkans, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe agreed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and so on.

Our proposals naturally reflect the class standpoint, the option of the left, and if these are to be implemented there is a need for definite social forces, for a multinational policy. It means the creation of a bloc of forces capable of giving a different content to the project for European construction. This bloc implies an alliance, under a common action program, of Communists, socialist forces accepting this policy, Greens, mass movements, and trade unions, including the National Confederation of Labor (we hope that the workers' commissions will soon join it), which recently declared that its efforts were aimed to establish a society of full employment.

Historical experience teaches us that it would be extremely difficult to create an alternative alliance without united and conscious efforts by the Communists. That is why we keep stressing the need for a programmatic agreement, however general, between the communist parties of Western Europe. We know that there are differences between communist organizations on the conception of Europe, but the Communists must bend every effort to develop their dialogue with patience so as to pool their efforts. The efforts to work out a programmatic line do not in any way hamper the attainment of mutual understanding with other left-wing forces. On the contrary, to the extent to which there is a communist coherence in Europe, the alliance will advance most rapidly.

The CP Spain has acted consistently along these lines. We maintain contacts with the Portuguese Communist Party, and we have reached an agreement on joint work on a program in the economic area and on the European perspective. Our working meetings with the Italian Communist Party have yielded similar results. Mutual understanding on these matters was also reached with the Greek comrades, and with the chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium. We have had working contacts with the French Communist Party preparatory to our meeting with Marchais.

We have made similar proposals to the communist parties of all the EEC countries. These efforts must not be relaxed. We want a Europe and a European project on the basis of the Left because European unity can be attained only on the basis of solidarity and cooperation based on the Left, or not at all.

The policy of construction is in need of an instrument bringing together all the political and social forces desirous of profound transformations. They need to work out a collective project as the alternative to the present state of things. The policy of construction is in need of an instrument enabling hundreds of thousands of non-party Spanish men and women to dedicate their energies, knowledge and efforts to the common cause, and to take a stand for the collectively elaborated project together with the other social and political forces.

This instrument has a name, and it is the United Left. The United Left has already gone beyond the framework of a purely electoral coalition and has been established as a political and social movement rallied round the joint elaboration of alternative programs on three levels: local, autonomous administrative units, and the state.

If the policy of construction has its own instrument, the United Left, the United Left needs the Communist Party of Spain, which is strong ideologically, solidly organized and modern.

We, members of the CP Spain, have the responsibility of making it possible to create the unity of the left leading to the formation of a social bloc of progress, capable of elaborating and implementing the alternative to the government program, the alternative to the state system, the alternative to the existing model of society.

We, Communists of the CP Spain, must be equal to the demands made on us by the working class and an important part of the European Left. I should like to take this opportunity to express frankly some considerations concerning the party.

We are emerging from the "culture of crisis", a period of internal polemics, as we turn to society and enter into public life. Today, we draw a line to a difficult stage which required a special steadfastness of the whole party.

We must bear in mind that there is a peculiar indicator of our growing strength. As soon as we began to advance, we were attacked and efforts were made to silence us. We are the true and real opposition, and that is why when we call a spade a spade and refuse to play the game of superficial living-room criticism, the anti-communist campaign is stepped up.

Away with the inferiority complex. We are the CP Spain, a party par excellence, a party which is great even in moments of weakness. We are committed to the cause of socialism and communism, to our people, and to no one else.

Just now, when information on our activity is being degraded, I draw your attention to this highly important aspect: it is necessary for the inner-party channels of information to act with agility and precision. Party members must know what is going on every day, at every moment. Each party governing body must demand information from higher-standing bodies and act accordingly with respect to lower-standing party organs and organizations.

The CP Spain has now long had a freedom of expression that will not be found within other political forces in Spain. Every Communist, and above all every leader, must express his or her stand and opinion within the corresponding organ. Open, clear and free debate is a specific activity of the Communist Party of Spain.

Party leaders are there to lead, and to lead collectively, which means personal involvement in discussions, collective work and application in practice of decisions taken by vote. Leading means assuming responsibility and bearing moral and statutory responsibility to the whole party. There must be no figureheads or mere spectators on our governing bodies.

We have a policy, the one which is embodied in the United Left. It is a policy which puts on us the duty of establishing contacts with other political forces and thousands of non-party citizens. We must build our relations with them on the basis of equality, irrespective of the influence of each. Communist practice has always consisted in organizing, rallying and multiplying the forces.

Our existence is meaningful when we are useful to the people. And we can serve the people only by being conscious of their problems and joining them in seeking solutions. No organization, committee or Communist can ignore the life of his or her neighborhood, village, their problems, their economy, the activity of the local organs of power, deputies or autonomous administrative units.

We have long-standing traditions of working for the revolutionary transformation of society. At the same time, we must be in touch with daily events, we must read, listen and think. We do not claim any infallibility. Being a Communist, says Lenin, means continuously enriching one's mind with the knowledge of the cultural and scientific wealth created by humankind.

New phenomena and new problems arise before our very eyes,

and they are such that they could not be anticipated either by Marx, Engels, Lenin, or Gramsci, Jose Diaz or Dolores. In seeking to transform the world, we must find solutions to the new problems by using the methods of analysis bequeathed to us.

We have our own political line which we pursue together with the other United Left forces, the working people, intellectuals and all those who accept the policy of construction. We can speak of alliances whenever the positions of other forces coincide with our own alternative, but not before. Our agreements are concluded on the basis of programs, but these are always the programs of the left. Any unprincipled agreement based on institutional or representational concessions is not a pact, but a deal, if not an abandonment of one's principles.

Comrades alcaldes and municipal councillors, our political activity consists not only in what is being done, but also in how it is being done. Civic participation, openness, participation in the exercise of government or opposition activity in the municipal councils, all these also imply efficient practice, conscientiousness and clarification. Institutions always seek to turn people into cogs of the machine. That is why, apart from constant self-control, personal and collective, constant dialogue with the population is the best guarantee that our participation in the activity of state institutions will be a means for transforming reality.

In conclusion, I want to declare publicly once again our solidarity and support for all the oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom: the Arab people of Palestine, the Sahraoui Arab Republic, the people of Nicaragua, and others. We reaffirm our whole-hearted solidarity with Nelson Mandela. The battle for humankind's freedom is under way everywhere and at every level. In a world which is becoming ever more interdependent, there is a need for a sense of militant solidarity with all those who are fighting for revolutionary transformations.

We understand the word "revolution" in its most profound sense, as "total and radical change". In coming out for the transformation of the world, for complete human liberation, which is, as Marx envisaged, the start of humankind's true history, we carry high the bright torch of revolution, of consistent revolutionary struggle.

To all those who have not yet decided how to give their life human dignity, we say: dedicate yourselves to the cause of the United Left, to the cause of the working people, to the cause of emancipation.

Do not remain on the sidelines at a time when the philosophy of injustice and egoism and ethical, moral and political degradation are on the spread once again. The CP Spain urges solidarity efforts for building a new Spain in a new world.

Abridged from *Mundo Obrero*,
October 19-25, 1988

Vietnam: The Renewal Has Begun

L'Humanite Interview with Nguen Van Linh,
CC General Secretary of
the Communist Party of Vietnam

Question. Your party's 6th Congress took a decision on important reforms. What are their main lines and the measures taken to implement them? How have they been met in the country? What are the obstacles you face? What kind of balance could you draw up?

Answer. The process of renewal is now at a very complex stage. There was much enthusiasm among party leaders and rank-and-file party members after the 6th Congress. They assumed that the unfavorable economic and social situation of the past few years could change rapidly. Still, it remains difficult because of the aftermath of the years of war, because of the state between war and peace in which we still find ourselves in view of the need to help Kampuchea, and also of the need to protect our country's northern border.

If we are to carry out an in-depth renewal of our society, notably the economic sphere, we have to liquidate the centralized and bureaucratic system of administration. We have also decided to give top priority to fulfilling three key programs: the production of food, of consumer goods, and of export goods. For this purpose we want to use the potentialities of all the economic forces of the country, including the private and individual sectors. This accords with the economic laws of the transition to socialism. We have also decided to democratize our society and consistently to practice the idea expressed at our congress that every initiative must spring from the people.

It is true that mistakes have been made in the past few years, but at that time people did not dare to protest. They are now openly expressing their views. We have already put through a number of

reforms. The people's committees in many provinces and districts have, for instance, already started on a fair repartition of lands, and this has helped to increase output. But one also has to say that very little has still been done in many other spheres.

In industry, we have given greater autonomy to enterprises. They have to become profitable. The system of generalized subsidies by the state must be ended. As I said recently at a congress of the Vietnamese trade unions, there is a need to economize on raw materials and apply scientific and technical achievements to production for the purpose of obtaining high-quality products at the lowest cost. That, too, will take time.

The renewal has begun, but one cannot as yet say that the situation has changed, especially in what concerns inflation and the circulation and distribution of goods. We must gradually seek to balance the budget, as the only basis for improving the condition of the working people. If production grows, supply will meet demand to a greater extent, prices will go up insignificantly, and will not affect the living standards of the population.

Question. Mention is sometimes made of the difficulties in the circulation of money and the shortage of capital. How is that to be combated?

Answer. Many well-functioning enterprises are short of capital or raw materials. Sometimes they are even short of liquidity to pay those they employ. The financial and banking system in our country is not functioning. We have taken steps to enable the enterprises to muster the funds held by the population. We have, for example, opened a bank in Ho Chi Minh City which accepts deposits from the population for investment in profitable enterprises. We are now setting up other similar banks on this model. Since our economy includes a private capitalist and an individual sector, those who are in these two sectors should be allowed to invest their money and develop production, thereby helping to raise living standards. We also intend to mobilize the money that could be made available to us by Vietnamese living abroad.

Apart from the assistance from socialist countries, we also intend to develop economic relations with other countries. In the past, we relied entirely on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet Union supplied us with raw materials free of charge or at a low price. That could not go on for ever. The economic relations between the USSR and Vietnam are now based on exchange and reciprocal advantage. In order to develop our country we must concentrate on the use of our own resources.

On the other hand, we want economic cooperation with capitalist companies. It is clear to us that there is no contradiction between our cooperation with socialist countries and our readiness to have ties with enterprises from capitalist countries, for our country is at the start of the period of transition to socialism.

Question. After the first meeting at Jakarta and on the eve of the conversations between the Prime Minister of Kampuchea Hun Sen, and Norodom Sihanouk, one had the impression of a real evolution in the political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. Could you confirm this impression? Will this evolution have a positive effect on relations between China and Vietnam?

Answer. The Western countries did not correctly understand the situation in assuming that Vietnamese troops had invaded Kampuchea. The reason for which Vietnam sent its troops to Kampuchea is a simple one. It is a historical tradition for our peoples to defend

themselves together. Under French colonialism, the countries of Indochina, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, were under the same authority. It was natural, therefore, that President Ho Chi Minh initially founded the Communist Party of Indochina. During the U.S. war, the Vietnamese army gave assistance to Kampuchea and Laos. After the 1975 victory the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, supported by China, started hostilities against Vietnam, systematically massacring civilians, women, old people and children. Pol Pot perpetrated genocide against his own people. And it was in the spirit of the traditional solidarity of our two peoples and as an act of defense that we went into Kampuchea.

The Kampuchean revolution is now strong enough to resist any moves by the Pol Pot people, especially if the forces of Hun Sen and those of Sihanouk enter into a solid coalition. Consequently, we shall be able to pull out our troops. The time has come for a political settlement of the problem. In the course of the Jakarta meeting, thanks to the proposals of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and those of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and also thanks to the efforts of the various Kampuchean parties, the participants reached an accord on two key issues. They closely tied in the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops with the exclusion of a return by the Pol Pot genocidal regime. This is to be done through the ending of all military aid to the opposition Kampuchean armies and through the cessation of all foreign intervention in the affairs of Kampuchea. This is an important result and the first step on the way leading to a political settlement in Kampuchea.

As for our relations with China, the latter says that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is the main stumbling block to their restoration. Vietnam seeks to re-establish friendly ties with the Chinese people. The conditions exist for a meeting between Vietnam and China for the purpose of normalizing relations.

Question. Vietnam's relations with many countries have been improving. What are the state and prospects for developing relations between France and Vietnam?

Answer. There is progress in relations between Vietnam and the ASEAN countries.

As for the Western countries, Italy and Spain have already begun to cooperate with us. An FRG Secretary of State recently visited our country for the purpose of developing economic cooperation. We are also expecting a visit from the Swedish foreign minister.

France is a special case. There is, first of all, the support which the French Communist Party has always given Vietnam under the colonial domination, the fact that Ho Chi Minh was a member of the FCP... I myself studied Marxism-Leninism from books brought to me by French seamen when I was detained at Poulo Condor. There is above all the profound influence which French culture has had here. I read Victor Hugo and Balzac when I was still very young, when I was still a schoolboy. The same is true of many other Vietnamese. This influence remains today, among the young people who study French.

I believe that the relations of economic cooperation will develop. There is a discussion, for instance, of the construction in our country of a petroleum enterprise by the Total company.

I think that the French government will seek ways to re-establish the prestige and influence of France in Vietnam, and also in Laos and Kampuchea.

l'Humanite, October 28, 1988

A No Ordinary and Timely Conference

Danny Spector

A conference on the history and consequences of anti-communism in the United States, taking place at Harvard University this weekend, has drawn participation by nearly 1,000 people from a broad spectrum of politics, the arts and academia.

The conference, "Anti-Communism and the U.S.: History and Consequences", is sponsored by the Institute for Media Analysis. It features international figures, including Ricardo Alarcon, deputy foreign minister of Cuba; Cheddi Jagan, former prime minister of Guyana; Pollo Jordan, minister of communications of the African National Congress; and Guillermo Ungo of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

Prominent U.S. participants include economist John Kenneth Galbraith; Gus Hall, national chairman of the Communist Party, USA; evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould; authors Arthur Miller and Howard Fast; former Georgia State Senator Julian Bond; and former CIA agent Philip Agee.

The conference opened Friday with a panel discussion on U.S. anti-communism and the Third World. A total of 37 panels will examine such issues as "Anti-Communism and American Intellectual Life," "The Cold War and Culture," "The Unions and Anti-Communism," "Anti-Communism and the Evolution of the Women's Movement," "The Growth of the National Security State" and "Afro-Americans and U.S. Foreign Policy."

Conference organizers had to close registration weeks ahead of time due to the large number of people seeking to attend.

In remarks prepared for a panel Saturday entitled "Are There New Opportunities for Independent Politics?" Communist Party leader Hall called the conference "most unusual and timely." He said the diversity of the gathering "testifies to the level of interest and concern this subject arouses in our country today."

"Anti-communism is a subject with many shades," Hall said, "a subject that has skeletons in millions of closets. However, we who are 'dues-paying, card-carrying members' of the Communist Party, USA, have to deal with anti-communism somewhat differently than most. For us, it is a more direct challenge. For us it has not only been a matter of thought, since many of us served rather long prison terms for thinking 'evil thoughts' about socialism and communism." Hall was jailed for eight years during the McCarthy period.

Calling anti-communism the "biggest hoax ever perpetrated against a whole people," Hall warned that "as long as the 'evil Communist' apparition is accepted as the real thing, anti-communism will continue to pollute our political air."

People's Daily World,
November 12, 1988

Dear readers,

We regret to inform you that
Information Bulletin will cease publication
with the March 1989 issue.

— **Progress Books**