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Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member States

The highest representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who met in Prague on January 4-5, 1983, for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, jointly reviewed the situation in Europe against the background of the emerging complex international situation and exchanged opinions on some other international issues.

Realizing the great responsibility for preserving and strengthening universal peace and security and for carrying on the process of détente, they deem it necessary to state the following.

I

In the Moscow and Warsaw Declarations adopted by the Political Consultative Committee in 1978 and 1980 respectively, the states represented at the meeting drew the attention of all countries and nations to the growing threat to peace and to the need to prevent the international situation from deteriorating. Now they note with concern that the course of world events is becoming even more dangerous as a result of the further activation of the aggressive forces.

The circles which would like to undermine the only reasonable basis for relations between states with different social systems — peaceful coexistence — are increasingly persistent in asserting themselves. The tangible progress in improving international relations, progress which began to influence the general development of world affairs in the 1970s, is now in jeopardy. Much harm is being done to the tendency toward détente, which has yielded positive results for the nations. Cooperation is being replaced by confrontation, attempts are being made to subvert the peaceful foundations of inter-state relations, and the development of political contacts and of mutually advantageous economic and cultural ties between states is being called into question.

The arms race is evolving into a qualitatively new and far more dangerous phase embracing all types of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, all types of military activity and virtually all parts of the world.

Old seats of tension have been flaring up and new conflicts and crisis situations breaking out. The efforts of the peace-loving states to find solutions to disputes — both global and regional — through fair negotiations between the parties concerned, are being blocked, and unresolved international problems are accumulating. The imperialist circles are pursuing a policy of strength, pressure, diktat, interference in internal affairs and infringement of the national independence and sovereignty of states, and seek to consolidate or recarve their "spheres of influence." They try to use to their benefit any frictions and complications arising in the relations

among states, any difficulties which may beset different peoples.

Obstacles are being raised in the way of the normal development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and economic "sanctions" and embargoes are used as a political tool, which makes it even more difficult to resolve the existing economic problems. The imperialist circles are trying to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the back of the peoples, including those in the developing countries. Huge military spending is becoming an ever heavier burden for the peoples, regardless of the level of economic development of different countries, and slows down economic and social progress.

At the end of the 20th century humankind is urgently confronted with global problems of a social, economic, demographic and ecological character. The present level of development of the world productive forces, science and technology provides adequate material and intellectual resources to begin practically to resolve these immense problems. However, the development of international cooperation for these purposes is hampered by the forces of reaction, which are trying to perpetuate the backwardness of whole continents, to divide states and to set some of them in opposition to others.

The situation as a whole is thus becoming increasingly complex, international tension is mounting and the threat of war, primarily of nuclear war, is growing.

As a counter to this dangerous development, there is an increasingly persevering and firm resolve of the peoples, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the policy of strength and confrontation, preserve peace, strengthen international security, and firmly to establish the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of borders, non-intervention in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and equality, the right of the peoples to be masters of their destinies, and other universally recognized principles in the relations between states.

The states represented at the meeting are therefore convinced that however complex the world situation may be, possibilities still exist to surmount the dangerous stage in international relations. The present course of events must and can be stopped and redirected in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples.

It is for the sake of this that the socialist countries, whose adherence to peace is intrinsic to the very nature of their social system, are putting all their international prestige and political and economic potential on the scale of peace.

The non-aligned movement is an important factor contributing to an improvement of the international situation. A number of other countries are also op-

posed to the deterioration of the international climate.

Political parties, organizations and movements of different ideological trends in the West and East, North and South are raising their voice against the arms race and the incitement of armed conflicts. Millions of ordinary people on all continents have been staging massive anti-war demonstrations to express their desire for peace.

The forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions.

Basing themselves on an analysis of the international situation, the states represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee offer an alternative to nuclear catastrophe and call for large-scale international cooperation to preserve civilization and life on Earth.

II

The task of curbing the arms race and moving to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is central to the struggle to avert war.

The U.S. programs for the development and production of nuclear weapons and also for the development of weapons based on the latest scientific achievements and discoveries, including systems and means for combat in and from outer space, programs approved in the recent period and already being carried out, are designed to multiply several times over the destructive power of the U.S. military arsenal, including in Europe. This policy of arms build-up, pursued by the United States and some of its allies to achieve military superiority, is leading to the disturbance of international stability.

Their new arms build-up programs are inseparable from the escalation of the strategic concepts and doctrines, such as those of the "first disarming nuclear strike," "limited nuclear war," "protracted nuclear conflict" and others. All these aggressive doctrines, which jeopardize peace, are based on the assumption that it is possible to win a nuclear war through the first use of nuclear weapons.

The states represented at the meeting stress emphatically that it is folly to hope to unleash and win a nuclear war. There can be no winners in a nuclear war once it breaks out. It is bound to lead to the annihilation of whole peoples, to colossal destruction and to catastrophic consequences for civilization and for life on Earth as a whole.

Military policy based on such hopes inevitably entails other extremely dangerous consequences.

First, the development and deployment of ever new systems of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will erode the stability of the military-strategic situation even further, increase international tension and complicate relations between states.

Second, the new escalation of the arms race contravenes the aim of maintaining the military-strategic parity at ever lower levels — the goal of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which are opposed to military rivalry. The implementation of the arms build-up programs will lead to higher levels of military confrontation. Peace will become even less sta-

ble and more fragile.

Third, another round of the arms race will make nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction even more sophisticated. In this way there will be greater difficulties involved in formulating international agreements to limit and reduce them.

For this reason the states represented at the meeting believe that it is necessary to act without delay, while there is still a possibility to curb the arms race and move to disarmament. They proceed from the assumption that all the states, if they care for the destinies of their peoples and humankind at large, should have an objective interest in preventing a slide toward war.

It is necessary first and foremost that the states, particularly the nuclear powers, should display political will and readiness for cooperation. It is necessary that their military policies should proceed exclusively from defensive purposes and take into account the legitimate security interests of all the states. They should not complicate the conclusion of agreements leading to effective reductions in armed forces and armaments with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

In this connection the participants in the meeting expect that after the Soviet Union unilaterally pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, all the nuclear powers which have not yet done so will do the same.

In the present complex international situation it is particularly necessary to break the deadlock over the real limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments. In this connection the participants in the meeting call for the resolute activation of the current talks and for the resumption of the interrupted talks on the entire range of questions of ending the arms race and for persevering and patient work to reach agreements on reduction and elimination of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons. They support and welcome the Soviet Union's proposals on ending the arms race and promoting disarmament.

The states represented at the meeting attach great importance to the success of the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms limitation and reduction.

The participants in the meeting believe that agreement between the major military powers on stopping the build-up of their armed forces and armaments, particularly of nuclear weapons, would be a major step toward ending the arms race. In this connection they note with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of states and ever broader sections of the world public now favor a freeze on nuclear arsenals. A mutual quantitative freeze on the strategic arms of the USSR and the USA and the maximum possible restrictions on their modernization could be one of the most tangible embodiments of this idea.

Furthermore, the states represented at the meeting resolutely advocate the drafting of a program of stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament and, within its framework, of agreements to end the development and production of new nuclear weapons systems, the production of fissionable materials to develop different types of these weapons, and the production of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons. All this

would create the prerequisites for progress toward the liquidation of nuclear weapons.

They also believe it necessary to speed up the reaching of agreements on a number of concrete questions, and in this connection call on all the states to give a fresh impetus to the talks, including those within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, with a view to:

- drafting a Treaty on the Complete and Universal Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests as soon as possible;

- speeding up the drafting of an International Convention on the Prohibition and Elimination of Chemical Weapons;

- proceeding to the drafting of a Convention to Ban Neutron Weapons;

- immediately beginning talks on prohibiting the deployment of weapons of any type in outer space;

- more quickly finalizing an International Convention on the Prohibition of Radiological Weapons;

- speeding up the solution of the question of strengthening security guarantees to non-nuclear states.

Continuing to attach great importance to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the participants in the meeting welcome the recent increase in the number of states which are parties to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and express the hope that the other countries which have not yet joined it will do so in the near future. They speak in favor of achieving an international agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in those countries which do not now have them and on the non-buildup of these weapons in those countries in which they have already been deployed.

In their opinion, the drafting of measures to ensure the safe development of nuclear power engineering and to prevent attacks on civilian nuclear projects with any means would help to strengthen universal security and at the same time to extend international cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear power.

In view of the continuous improvement and growing might of conventional weapons, it is necessary to make fresh efforts to lower substantially the present levels of conventional arms and armed forces both on a global scale and in individual regions and to conduct relevant talks for this purpose. It is also useful to resume talks on limiting the sale and delivery of conventional weapons.

In view of the growing role of navies, the participants in the meeting are in favor of beginning talks on limiting naval activities and limiting and reducing naval armaments, and also on extending confidence-building measures to cover the seas and oceans. They advocate the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of ships carrying nuclear weapons and the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of the non-nuclear Mediterranean countries.

The participants in the meeting also reiterate their invariable position in favor of fresh efforts on an international scale to dismantle the foreign military

bases and withdraw the troops from foreign territories.

The states represented at the meeting proceed from the assumption that any agreement on arms reduction and disarmament should provide for proper measures to verify their implementation, including, when necessary, international procedures.

Bearing in mind that the growing military spending is directly related to the escalation of the arms race, the participants in the meeting urge the NATO countries to reach practical agreement on the non-increase in military spending and on its subsequent reduction both in percentage and in absolute terms. Agreement on this problem should, of course, embrace all the states with major military potentials. The resources released as a result of cutbacks in military spending would be used to promote economic and social development, in particular, to assist the developing countries in this respect.

The participants in the meeting recall that their states' proposals on the non-escalation and substantial reduction of military spending, made jointly or individually, remain valid. They suggest that direct talks between the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO member states begin without delay.

In the light of the existing situation the highest representatives of the states which have adopted this Political Declaration state: there is no task more important for the peoples today than that of preserving peace and ending the arms race. It is the duty of all the governments, all the statesmen formulating the policies of their countries, to accomplish it.

III

The strengthening of security in Europe is a major component of the task of removing the threat of war and strengthening universal peace. This is so first and foremost because vast quantities of arms, both nuclear and conventional, are concentrated on the European continent and because the armed forces of the two military alliances are in direct contact there.

At the same time, the joint efforts of states have created a foundation in Europe for the consistent development of relations of neighborliness and cooperation between them, and of mutual respect and trust. All the European states have learned from their own experience the benefits offered by *détente*. There are no states among them whose interests would not be promoted by the preservation and advancement of the achievements of *détente*.

In this context the participants in the meeting recall the significance attached to the strict observance of the treaties and agreements determining the territorial-political realities of present-day Europe. They particularly stress the importance of the jointly formulated and carefully coordinated principles and clauses of the Helsinki Final Act, which should be strictly respected and consistently translated into reality.

Analyzing the situation taking shape in Europe at present, the participants in the meeting drew attention to the very serious threat posed to the European peoples by the intention of the NATO bloc to

implement its decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in a number of West European countries, a decision reiterated in December 1982. The implementation of this decision is bound to diminish trust and worsen the situation on the European continent.

For their part the states represented at the meeting consider it a key task to prevent the emergence of another round of the nuclear arms race in Europe and to achieve arms reduction and limitation. This is important to strengthen European security, ensure the positive development of inter-state relations on the continent and improve the whole international situation.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries believe that the best solution would be to rid Europe of nuclear weapons completely, both medium-range and tactical. They proceed from the assumption that if this truly "zero" decision cannot be reached at the moment, it would serve a purpose to take the way of radical reduction of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. In this respect the Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe are of very great importance. The meeting noted the contribution made by the Soviet Union in its proposals announced in Moscow on December 21, 1982.

However, these talks are taking place at a time when the NATO countries state their intention to begin to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe as early as the end of 1983 if agreement is not reached at the talks by that time. Advocates of this approach, which is equivalent to fixing an artificial deadline for the talks, will only have to continue to drag out the talks so as to use the absence of an agreement as a pretext to begin the actual deployment of the U.S. missiles.

The participants in this meeting believe it is vital for the talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe to be conducted in a constructive spirit and for utmost efforts to be made to achieve concrete agreements at them as soon as possible. For the talks to be successful it is necessary that no action should be taken that could complicate them but that, conversely, steps should be taken to contribute to the creation of a favorable atmosphere for their progress.

In view of the vital importance for all the European peoples of the reduction and limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, the participants in the meeting express the hope that all the European states will contribute to progress at the Soviet-U.S. talks on this matter and to their successful completion.

The participants in the meeting favor clearing Europe of such type of mass destruction weapons as chemical weapons. Their states are prepared to examine, together with other interested states, all the possible ways and means leading to a solution of this problem, and to begin appropriate negotiations.

Resolutely advocating radical reductions in the nuclear arsenals in Europe and the elimination of chemical weapons from Europe, the states represented at the meeting also note the danger created

for European peace by the concentration of vast quantities of conventional weapons on the continent. This danger will grow considerably if the plans for the build-up of the latest types of such weapons in Western Europe are carried out, thus further whipping up the arms race.

They speak again in favor of a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and believe it particularly necessary to advance the Vienna talks, which have been going on for many years. In the opinion of the participants in the meeting, there is every condition for the working out of an agreement at the Vienna talks as soon as possible, in not more than one or two years, and it is important that this should be done. For their part, they will facilitate this in every way.

In this context the participants in the meeting favor a practical step by the Soviet Union and the United States to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe on the basis of reciprocity. Representatives of both sides could supervise the implementation of this step. Upon its completion, the levels of the armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the Vienna talks would be frozen on both sides until agreement is reached at the talks. The participants in the meeting proceed from the assumption that after the initial mutual reductions of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe the talks should be continued and progress made as soon as possible to further, larger reductions.

The states represented at the meeting support the proposals to establish nuclear-free zones in the North of Europe, in the Balkans and in other parts of the continent, and to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. They advocate appropriate talks on these questions.

The situation in Europe demands more than ever before, the pooling of the efforts of the states to pursue consistently a policy of détente, peace and disarmament. That is why the continuation and extension of the multilateral process initiated by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation is acquiring special significance.

Proceeding from all this, the states represented at the meeting are for the productive completion of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states participating in the European Conference with the adoption of a meaningful and well-balanced final document.

They attach particular importance to the Madrid meeting reaching an agreement to convene a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe, a conference which must make a major contribution to lessening military confrontation, diminishing mistrust and resolving the problems of reducing the armed forces and armament in that part of the world.

They consider it very important that the Madrid meeting should reaffirm the determination of the participating states to respect and apply the principles of inter-state relations approved in Helsinki, determine, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Final Act, measures to promote cooperation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other

fields, and ensure the continuity of the general European process and its organizational framework, including the setting of the date and venue of the next meeting of the representatives of the participant states in the European Conference. They reiterate their position in favor of holding this meeting in Bucharest.

The success of the Madrid meeting would, from the point of view of the present and the future, meet in equal measure the interests of all the states participating in the European Conference. That is why the decisions which the meeting should adopt can only be based on this reality and be acceptable to all.

The participants in the meeting declare that their states will continue, as before, to contribute in every way to the earliest possible conclusion of the final document of the Madrid meeting. They expect a similarly constructive approach from the other participants in the meeting.

The states represented at the meeting are prepared to develop mutually advantageous contacts with all European states. Accordingly, they advocate:

- the continuation and deepening of political dialogue and consultations at all levels and the broadest possible political intercourse. This also means developing contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis between parliaments, political parties, trade unions, and youth, women's and other organizations to promote peace and security in Europe;

- the all-round extension of business cooperation in the trade, industrial, agricultural, scientific and technological fields without any discrimination, and the establishment of confidence-building measures in economic relations. Truly boundless scope is opening up here for cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage;

- the extension of the mutual spiritual enrichment of the European peoples, exchanges of artistic values, propagation of truthful and honest information, and cultivation of sentiments of mutual friendliness and respect.

The states represented at the meeting share the position of the Polish People's Republic that any attempt at outside interference in questions lying solely within its competence runs counter to the universally recognized norms of international relations and will continue to meet with a firm rebuff. They denounce the "sanctions" introduced by the United States and some other Western countries against Poland. Polish internal affairs will continue, as before, to be decided solely by Poland. Socialist Poland can always count on the moral, political and economic support of the fraternal socialist countries.

Only a policy of peaceful coexistence can be viable in Europe, where states with different social systems have been coexisting for many decades.

IV

In exchanging opinions on other international issues, the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the

Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics noted that an improvement of the world situation depended to a considerable extent on the elimination of the existing seats of armed conflicts and the prevention of the emergence of new ones in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions.

There are no problems, worldwide or regional, which could not be resolved fairly by peaceful means. The main thing is that everyone should recognize in practice the legitimate right of the people of every country to decide their internal affairs without outside interference and to participate on the basis of equality in international affairs. Everyone should respect the independence and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders and respect the principle of renunciation of force or the threat to use it. No power should try to pursue a policy of hegemony and establish "spheres of interests" or "spheres of influence."

It is the belief of the participants in the meeting that to remove the causes of many conflicts it is necessary to ultimately eliminate all the vestiges of colonialism and racism, renounce the policy of neo-colonialism, oppression and exploitation of other peoples. This is clearly confirmed by the dangerous situation in southern Africa, where Namibia, illegally occupied by the South African racists, serves as a base for aggression against neighboring African countries. Fresh proof was provided by the armed conflict in the South Atlantic in the spring of 1982.

The danger of local conflicts erupting into armed confrontation on a worldwide scale is connected to a large extent with the attempts to involve directly or indirectly the states in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania in military-political alliances and with the extension of the sphere of activity of the blocs to those countries. Reiterating that the Warsaw Treaty member states have no intention to extend the sphere of activity of their alliance, the participants in the meeting call upon the NATO member states to renounce the extension of the zone of action of their bloc to any part of the world, in particular, to the Persian Gulf.

The non-aligned movement has been making a growing contribution to eliminating and preventing crisis situations; its practical steps toward these goals deserve recognition and support from all the states. Such regional associations of states as the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League are also called upon to play a positive role in this respect.

In the opinion of the participants in the meeting, the initiatives of states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America aimed to establish and develop relations of neighborliness and create zones of peace and cooperation open a promising way to the removal of tension in various parts of those regions. The proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is particularly meaningful. The resumption and successful completion of the Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean would also play an important role. It is necessary to use political means to achieve solutions to the problems existing in the

Caribbean and Southeast Asia, and to contribute to strengthening peace in Asia and the Pacific.

The participants in the meeting attach special importance to the task of resolving the most protracted and dangerous conflict — that in the Middle East. They strongly denounce the invasion of Lebanon by Israel, the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and the barbarous massacre of the civilian population of West Beirut. Israel was encouraged to carry out its aggressive actions by those who gave it outside assistance and support.

The participants in the meeting demand an immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and the ensuring of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

They view positively the principles for a solution to the problem of a Middle East settlement put forward by the conference of the Arab heads of state and government in Fez and express their conviction that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East should provide: for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Eastern part of Jerusalem; for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own independent state; for the ensuring of the right of all the states in the region to independent existence and development; for termination of the state of war and establishment of peace between the Arab states and Israel; for the drafting and adoption of international guarantees for a peaceful settlement.

The accomplishment of these tasks calls for the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The United Nations can and must play an important role here.

The states represented at the meeting advocate the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of their disputes through negotiations, the peaceful solution of the conflict between the countries in the Horn of Africa and of the other disputes in Africa on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity, and the solution of the conflicts in Central and South America by political means.

The policy of continuous threats and provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua must be stopped, as also the attempts at outside interference in their internal affairs.

The participants in the meeting positively assess the initiation of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through a personal envoy of the UN Secretary-General.

The eradication of underdevelopment, the gradual narrowing of the gap between economic development levels and the creation of conditions for the harmonious growth of international contacts in the economic, scientific and technological fields constitute one of the basic factors of economic stability and the improvement of the international political climate. In this context the participants in the meet-

ing reaffirm their position in favor of restructuring international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order, and ensuring the complete sovereignty of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania over their natural resources. They speak in favor of the earliest possible opening of global talks on the major economic problems in accordance with UN resolutions.

The states participating in the meeting advocate a greater role for the United Nations in international affairs as an important forum for pooling the efforts of states to promote peace and international security and to contribute to the solution of urgent world problems.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe it necessary to reiterate their conviction that the preservation of universal peace is today inseparable from the recognition of the equal rights of all the peoples and states. Peace can be stable only if it is just, with every state recognizing and respecting the legitimate rights and interests of all the others.

V

The lessening of the threat of war is impossible without the creation of a climate of trust in relations between states. This requires, in addition to the development of political dialogue and the adoption of appropriate measures in the economic and military fields, the dissemination of truthful information, and renunciation of great-power ambitions, of the propagation of racism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, of attempts to teach other peoples how to arrange their lives, and of the preaching of violence and incitement of war psychosis.

The states participating in the meeting believe it is fundamentally important to observe consistently the principles and clauses of the Helsinki Final Act relating to cooperation in the field of information so as to strengthen peace and mutual understanding among the peoples, and note the meaningfulness of the 1978 UNESCO declaration on these matters. They strongly denounce the use of such media as the press, radio and television which are a powerful tool for influencing human minds and shaping public opinion, to propagate biased and downright slanderous news misrepresenting the situation in certain countries and their policies, and fostering hostility and enmity. No state should allow such subversive activities to be conducted from its territory.

The reactionary, imperialist forces are using the human rights issue to try to conceal their disregard for the working people's basic rights and the vital interests of the peoples. They recently launched an extensive campaign against the socialist countries and the national liberation and other progressive movements with the aim of justifying the policy of confrontation and the arms race, of trampling on the independence of different states, of interference in their internal affairs, of making the conditions for their economic development more difficult and of opposition to the policy of détente. This policy runs counter to the legitimate and universally recognized

rights of all the peoples and nations, primarily their right to life.

The lessons of history are a reminder that anti-communism has always been part of the attack on the democratic freedoms and the rights of the peoples, and of the policy of aggression and war. The attempts to organize another anti-communist crusade are leading to an escalation of international tension, threatening the interests of all the countries.

No one will succeed in undermining the socialist system with misinformation and slander. Socialism has achieved outstanding successes in the economy and culture, in consolidating the equal rights and friendship of nations, and in providing favorable conditions for the development of the individual, and it ensures the involvement of the broad popular masses in governing their countries and the constant development of democracy.

One of the major achievements of socialism was the formation of international relations of a new type based on voluntary and equal cooperation and internationalist solidarity of the sovereign socialist states. The participants in the meeting, expressing the will of their communist parties and peoples, reaffirm their resolve to continue to strengthen the cohesion of the socialist countries, develop and extend political, economic and cultural cooperation and pool their efforts in the struggle for peace and progress.

They stressed the importance of extending economic, scientific and technical cooperation and collaboration between the socialist countries on a long-term basis within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance so as to promote the economic and social development of each country, and to assist in solving the economic problems that arise, in carrying out the programs for building socialism and communism, and in raising the material, intellectual and cultural standard of living of their peoples. This will be a major contribution to the cooperation among the socialist countries in the economic field.

The states participating in the meeting stress that every people has the sovereign right to decide freely, without any outside interference, how to live and what social system to establish, just as it has the legitimate right to defend its choice.

Realizing their responsibility for the cause of peace and international security, in their policy the socialist countries strictly separate ideological issues from the problems of inter-state relations, build their relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, and consistently advocate broad cooperation with the developing countries. Cooperation among states regardless of their social systems meets the interests of all the peoples and the vital need to strengthen universal peace.

VI

Given the entire multifaceted character of present-day international problems, the prospects for the development of the situation in Europe and in the world at large depend to a very great extent on whether the distrust is removed and the level of confrontation lowered between the two largest mili-

tary and political alliances — the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, which possess huge potentials, particularly in the field of nuclear weaponry. An armed conflict between them would have disastrous consequences for all the peoples.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have long been advocating the dissolution of both alliances, and, as the first step, the dismantling of their military organizations. This proposal remains in force, and they reiterate their readiness to enter into negotiations with the NATO member countries with a view to achieving an appropriate agreement, beginning with the question of scaling down military activities on a reciprocal basis.

However, the present tense situation makes it impossible to wait any longer. There is a need for urgent effective measures which can today lessen the distrust between the Warsaw Treaty member states and the NATO member states and diminish fears of possible aggression.

The Warsaw Treaty member states do not seek military superiority over the NATO member states nor do they have any intention of attacking them or any other country, in Europe or elsewhere. The NATO member states also declare that they have no aggressive intentions. In this situation there should be no reason preventing the states comprising the two alliances from making appropriate mutual commitments of an international legal character. In the context of the present situation this would have a particularly beneficial effect on all the subsequent development of international events.

Proceeding from these considerations, the Warsaw Treaty member states, in the person of their highest representatives, address the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with a proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace.

Mutual commitment of the member states of both alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and therefore not to be the first to use any military force at all against each other could be the core of the treaty. This commitment could apply to the territories of all the states participating in the treaty, and also to their military and civilian personnel, sea-going, air and space craft and other objects belonging to them, wherever these objects may be.

It is appropriate that the treaty should stipulate a similar commitment on the non-use of force by the member states of both alliances against third countries, whether they are countries with which they have bilateral relations of alliance, or non-aligned or neutral countries.

Another substantial component of the treaty could be the commitment of the member states of both alliances not to jeopardize the safety of international sea, air and space communications passing through areas outside any national jurisdiction.

It is desirable that the commitment on the renunciation of the use of military force should be complemented in the treaty by the commitment to conduct talks, in the spirit of goodwill, on effective measures to end the arms race, limit and reduce

armaments and promote disarmament, or to contribute by other available means to the success of such talks with a view to achieving practical results at them.

The same purpose could be served by the commitment to examine jointly practical measures to avert the threat of a surprise attack and also to contribute to the development of mutual exchanges of military delegations and visits of naval ships and air force units.

It is also important in the treaty to combine the commitment not to use military force with provisions on strengthening the United Nations as a universal instrument of collective security. In this context it is useful to express readiness in the treaty to cooperate in enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in performing, in accordance with its Charter, the tasks relating to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and conflicts, the suppression of acts of aggression and the removal of the threat to international peace and security.

The treaty between the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace would not, of course, limit the legitimate right of the participants in it to individual and collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. At the same time

it would free the members of both alliances of the fears that the commitments of alliance within each of them could be used for aggressive purposes against the member states of the other alliance and that these commitments therefore pose a threat to their security.

Although it is proposed that the Treaty on the Mutual Non-use of Military Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace be concluded between the member states of the two military and political alliances, other interested European countries would have the right to participate in drafting it and to sign it.

The treaty would also be open from the outset for other states of the world wishing to join as equal parties.

The participants in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are convinced that the conclusion of this treaty would help to overcome the division of Europe into opposed military groupings and would meet the desire of the peoples to live in peace and security. They call upon the member states of the North Atlantic Alliance to consider very carefully this new initiative and to give a constructive response to it.

* * *

Having stated in this political declaration their ideas on the ways and means to strengthen peace and preserve and extend international détente in present-day conditions, the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty declare their readiness for dialogue and cooperation with all those who seek to achieve this great goal.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic;

For the German Democratic Republic: Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic;

For the Hungarian People's Republic: Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party;

For the Polish People's Republic: Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic;

For the Socialist Republic of Romania: Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania;

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Prague, January 5, 1983
Pravda, January 7, 1983

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Yuri Andropov's Replies to the Questions of American Columnist Joseph Kingsbury-Smith

Q. What would you like to wish the American people for the new year?

A. First of all, I would like to congratulate every American family on the coming new year and sincerely to wish them well-being and happiness. This means, first and foremost, wishing all Americans peace, lasting peace and prosperity based on peaceful work and fruitful cooperation with other peoples. Today the Soviet people and the Americans have one common enemy — the threat of war and everything that intensifies it. The Soviet Union wants to safeguard and strengthen peace and is doing everything within its power for this, well aware that today there is no task in international politics more important than that of staving off the growing threat of nuclear war and controlling and ending the nuclear arms race. I would like to wish that America, too, should make its contribution, one worthy of such a great country, a contribution not to the spurring on of the arms race and the whipping up of belligerent passions but to the strengthening of peace and friendship between nations.

Q. What major cooperation measures do you think could be taken between the USSR and the United States in 1983 in the interests of world peace and of an improvement in Soviet-American relations?

A. I believe that our two countries could take part in many joint enterprises which could be useful to both of them, and to other countries and peoples. For instance, the mutual reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe; cooperation in the removal of the most dangerous hotbeds of military conflict, such as in the Middle East, etc.

The most important thing of all, of course, is the achievement of just and mutually acceptable agreements in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security at the talks on limiting and reducing strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, these agreements being supplemented by the adoption of practical steps to implement them.

Q. Do you think that through continuing negotiations the differences dividing the approach of the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States to nuclear armaments can be sufficiently reduced so as to create conditions favorable for arriving at a compromise agreement?

A. I certainly do. Objectively, there is every possibility for this, since there are solutions to the problems which are being negotiated, solutions which would not damage the interests of either party, but lead to radical reductions in armaments by both sides, to the greater benefit of universal peace and security.

That is exactly the purpose behind the Soviet proposals, including those we put forward recently. I will remind you of the gist of these proposals, which is very simple and logical. We propose to put an end to the further buildup of strategic weapons by

both sides, i.e., to freeze them at their present levels, and then to reduce the arsenals at the disposal of both sides by 25 per cent, bringing them down to equal levels, and then to proceed further and carry out new reductions.

In nuclear weapons, we propose different measures for the zone of Europe. Either to have no such weapons there — either medium-range or tactical, belonging either to the Soviet Union or to NATO countries. This could be a "zero option," so to speak, for both sides. Or else, both sides could reduce their medium-range weapons (missiles, nuclear-capable aircraft), by more than two-thirds. In addition, the opposing Soviet and American medium-range missiles should not be there at all, while the USSR should retain as many medium-range missiles as are at the disposal of Britain and France.

In aircraft, too, we are for a complete parity, at a considerably lower level than at present. This means that in the zone of Europe, we do not want to have a single missile or aircraft more than those possessed by NATO countries.

It is to be hoped that the United States will reciprocate this fair and constructive position with a manifestation of goodwill on its part. This could help to ensure the success of the talks. Such a success, I am sure, would make 1983 a good year for the whole of humankind.

Q. Former President Richard Nixon has called for a summit meeting between you and the American President. What is your reaction to this?

A. The Soviet leaders have always regarded summit contacts as one of the most efficient methods of developing relations between states. We are of the same opinion now. But, of course, thorough preparations are necessary for such meetings to be a success. In any case we are for improved Soviet-American relations and for the implementation of the mutually beneficial treaties and agreements concluded between our two countries, and we shall welcome everything that leads to this goal.

Pravda, December 31, 1982

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With Further Politico-Organizational Consolidation of the Party We Will Accomplish the Tasks Facing the Country

**Speech by Babrak Karmal,
General Secretary of the PDPA CC**

The 10th regular plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, held on December 12, 1982 in Kabul, discussed the problem of further developing and consolidating the organizational structure of the PDPA. Below is an abridgement of the report delivered at the meeting by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary, PDPA CC, Chairman, Revolutionary Council.

In the period which has elapsed since the national party conference, definite positive changes have occurred in the party, the society and the state. The influence and prestige of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is constantly increasing. On the basis of the program of action and the decisions of the ninth plenum of the PDPA CC, the political and organizational work among the masses is widening and the process of normalization of the situation in the country continues.

Ever more crushing blows are being dealt to the counter-revolutionary forces and the inevitability of their decisive defeat is becoming ever more obvious. The industrial, transport and construction enterprises are functioning in a more stable manner and it is expected that the current year will end in success as far as the state of agriculture is concerned. The international positions of our country are also getting consolidated. In spite of the attempts and conspiracies of the reactionary forces to thwart it, the process of political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan has begun. All this proves in all explicitness the correctness of our political course. We look forward to the future with confidence and optimism.

Our successes and gains and likewise our failures are inseparably linked with the development of our party structure, that is, with the degree of the organization, discipline, unity and homogeneity, attained by the party. For this reason, too, the problem of further perfection and consolidation of the PDPA is being brought up before the present plenum.

The general level of political-organizational work in our party does not correspond to the demands of the time and conditions and the responsibilities and the seriousness of the tasks which the party faces. The Central Committee is fully aware of the state of affairs in the regions. During my recent visits to different parts of the country, I became once again convinced that the conditions are not so bad that the necessary and declared changes in the interests of the people could not be effected and that the work in enterprises which have suffered no damage should not be continued. Of course, the activity of the armed counter-revolution and open interference

from outside obstructs the complete fulfillment of plans. Yet, even in those places where normal peaceful life has been ensured and where the sporadic efforts of the enemies are being successfully repulsed by the local residents and the brave defenders, the party and state organs are not always fulfilling their tasks adequately.

One of the basic problems of the theory and practice of party structure is that of membership in the party, of the principles and methods of replenishing the party ranks. We can point out with satisfaction that, especially in the new evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution, the policy of the PDPA and all its activities, which reflect the basic interests of the workers, peasants and all the working people, made it possible to draw broad masses of the people toward the party. This process is gaining momentum.

Now there are more than 80,000 members and probationary members in our party. In the first half of the current year alone, over 15,000 people have been accepted as probationary party members.

These have been good results, and indicate clearly that the working people of Afghanistan believe in our party, back its ideas and policies actively and, for this very reason, join it.

At the same time, for us, the major task must always be the improvement of the qualitative composition of the party.

Another very important problem related to the work for improving the qualitative composition of the PDPA is the problem of admission of the youth to party membership. The principled policy of the party is clear and unswerving in this regard. We treat the admission of youth to the party as the expression of the continuity and succession of generations, the revolutionary spirit of the party and its militant traditions and the confidence in the future of the party. The youth must continue the revolutionary work of the present generation.

The party committees and organizations must also intensify the work for admitting women to the party.

The work for admitting the advanced representatives of different nationalities and tribes of our country to the party also requires further improvement and attention.

Expansion of the party's ranks not only a class but also an internationalist basis in a multinational country like Afghanistan is also one of the most important principles of building up the party.

Giving the party an international character is the reliable means for consolidating relations with the masses of people and a concrete manifestation of the policy of the party based on the equality, friendship and fraternity of the peoples of our beloved country, Afghanistan. Making the party international adds to its prestige and strengthens its leading role in society and the state.

Also related to the quantitative expansion of the party and increase in the number of its new members is the problem of the growth of the network of party organizations, establishment of new organizations and improvement of their leadership. The further promotion of the efficacy of party work and strengthening its influence among the masses is inseparably linked with the improvement and perfection of the organizational structure.

Today our party is a big organism having a wide network of organizations. Included in it are 30 provincial committees, 2 divisional committees, 70 city and precinct committees, 4 district committees and subdistrict committees, and subdistrict committees and over 2,000 primary organizations. In our opinion, such a structure fully corresponds to the content and characteristics of the current phase of revolutionary development and the concrete conditions and prerequisites of party activity.

But the practice of the fulfillment of the tasks set forth by the National Conference of the party testifies to the need of further improvement and perfection of this structure and also points to its possibilities. This problem is related, above all, to the district and subdistrict party committees as also the primary party organizations.

We have repeatedly pointed out at the national conference of the party and at the plenums of the Central Committee, the extraordinary importance of the work of primary party organizations. Yet, still their effectiveness and activity are not up to the mark.

The PDDPA CC and the local party organs are duty-bound to adopt necessary measures for consolidating the primary organizations organizationally and politically and for raising the level of their militancy as also for perfecting and improving their network and structure. The primary party organizations must be helped in organizing inner-party work and expanding mass political activity amidst the wide strata of the working people.

Organizational work must be conducted among the activists and especially the secretaries of the primary party organizations. It would be better if the party committees take into account more fully the opinion of the heads of primary organizations when assigning one or another party member to some definite post.

Our party can implement its policies through reliable persons who possess the real strength for performing difficult tasks. We are guided by the famous dictum that, for the realization of policy, such people are needed who could realize the need

of such policy and could successfully implement it in practice. No policy can be carried forward without that being reflected in the posting and selection of cadre. For this reason, too, the correct selection, appointment, promotion, and transfer of the leading cadre are of a vital matter for the party and constitute a most important and extraordinary task. For this reason, too, the realization of the cadre policy is one of the major issues being tackled by the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee and other party organs.

Cadre are the main aggregate of the personnel possessing the training necessary for leading work in the party, state and economic organs, who have the duty to organize the implementation of the policy course charted by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. On the basis of this definition, we must understand the "cadre policy" as being the materialization in practice of the principles, forms and methods of the selection, posting and training of leading cadre in the concrete historical conditions of the activity of the party.

Today, the national and tribal limitations which in the past prevented the access of the representatives of all nationalities and tribes of our country to leading positions are no longer there. Our policy in this regard is very clear and is based on a consistent solution of problems of cadre from the point of view of equality of all nationalities and tribes. The party treats this policy as the reliable basis for gradually uniting the working people of the different nationalities of the country.

Ability to correctly select and train new personnel is the most important aspect and a prerequisite of effective leadership. While adopting a precise approach marked with care and concern toward cadre, we must also increase the level of our demands on them as regards the fulfillment of the assignments and carrying out of the decisions.

A distinguishing feature of the activity at all levels from the Central Committee of the PDDPA to the primary organization should be order and discipline in work, understanding of related affairs, a creative and at the same time realistic approach toward the solution of the problems of socio-economic life, constant promotion of the level of demands on cadre and all party members and the constant development of organizational, ideological and educational work among the masses.

The problem of unity must be especially pointed out. This problem is the basis of all ideological, political and organizational work of the party. The Central Committee and the party as a whole attach the utmost importance to this problem and it can be said that all of us are engaged in its solution. This is no exaggeration. The state of the unity of our ranks is the indicator of the soundness of the entire party and its combat capability.

The unity of party ranks is consolidated first of all through the joint revolutionary work of the party members. For this reason, too, the PDDPA CC in all earnest and necessary firmness, will call to account all those who do not work well and display lack of discipline and lack of responsibility in carrying out party decisions. The unconditional and prompt ful-

fillment of adopted decisions must become an inviolable law for the entire party and an intrinsic requirement for each party member.

We must expand work for further improving the ideological level of party members, pay more attention to the study and learning of the classics of scientific revolutionary theory and the pressing problems of revolutionary theory, and ensure the implementation of the decisions of the ninth plenum of the Central Committee.

We once again come to the point that the struggle for the ideological and organizational unity of the party on the basis of the principles of revolutionary theory has been and will remain the most important law-governed process in the perfection of the party.

Today we need unity, homogeneity and firmness more than ever before. We are in need of the firm, effective and durable unity of party ranks, united and agreed actions by all components of the state apparatus and unshakable national, patriotic unity on the basis of the principle of the development of national democracy.

Permit me to express my firm belief that the work and decisions of the tenth plenum of the Central Committee of the PDPA will contribute seriously and practically to the consolidation of the unity of party ranks and the national, patriotic unity of our people as a whole. I express my firm belief that, with further politico-organizational consolidation of the

party, we will accomplish our tasks and our historical mission most effectively and completely.

We proclaim once again, with revolutionary decisiveness, that we belong to the great front of peace, freedom, democracy and social progress, we proclaim our internationalist solidarity with the countries of the socialist community, working-class movement and the social and national liberation movements in the struggle against reaction, colonialism and international imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and that we will remain loyal to proletarian internationalism and scientific revolutionary theory.

At the end permit me to express on behalf of the Central Committee of the PDPA and our party as a whole, the deepest and most sincere gratitude and indebtedness to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government for providing unprecedented and all-sided internationalist assistance and support, which gives us inspiration and strength in our struggle for national and social progress.

We, in future, too, will remain loyal to the unshakable traditions of Afghan-Soviet friendship and will endeavor to safeguard and further develop these traditions as a unique and most precious treasure.

Abridged from *Kabul New Times*,
December 15-20, 1982

11th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece

The 11th congress of the Communist Party of Greece — the second legal congress of Greek Communists in the post-war period — was held in Athens from December 14 to 19. It was attended by almost 1,000 delegates, party veterans, representatives of the country's young communists, and guests of the congress from more than 50 foreign communist and workers' parties and national liberation movements.

The CPG CC report to the congress was delivered by the CPG CC General Secretary Harilaos Florakis (extracts are published below).

The delegates discussed the report and unanimously approved the resolution of the 11th congress.

The congress elected a new Central Committee and a Central Auditing Commission of the CPG. Florakis was re-elected General Secretary of the CPG CC.

The New Situation in the Country and the Party's Policy

THE MEANING OF THE CHANGES

In the seven years since the fall of the junta, our country has been ruled by a government of the New Democracy Party, the main spokesman for the interests of the monopoly oligarchy.

In the first period of their activity, under pressure from the people's anti-dictatorship attitudes, the New Democracy governments re-established the basic bourgeois democratic institutions and made some attempts to modernize the regime of monopoly domination. They also put up some resistance to the U.S. policy which, however, did not go beyond the framework of the policy of Atlanticism. These governments subsequently took a turn to the "right" toward greater submission to the Atlanticism policy. This naturally sharpened the national,

economic and social problems and the problems of democracy.

In the existing conditions, the necessity for change became the dominant theme not only of political life in the country but also of the mood of the bulk of our people. "Change" is a word that has become a part of the Greek people's political and everyday lexicon.

The working people and the rest of the popular masses have stepped up their action for the sake of change. All these years, despite their differences on other issues, the CPG and also PASOK have fought against the anti-popular, authoritarian and pro-Atlantic policy of New Democracy.

For the sake of change, a broad and diverse popular trend has taken shape which, while involving

people with different levels of political consciousness and organization, is marked by an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly tenor.

This popular trend has exerted an influence on the results of the 1981 parliamentary elections in which New Democracy lost its parliamentary majority and was removed from the government. It helped to strengthen the CPG and assured PASOK of an independent parliamentary majority which formed the new government.

Various social and political forces tend to give so many interpretations of the meaning of "changes" that it always requires an explanation of the kind of changes involved.

Monopoly capital also wants "changes" which would help to modernize Greek capitalism and rid it of parasitic and bureaucratic structures. New Democracy, especially from 1974 to 1977, also effected some "changes" in various forms designed to modernize the system of monopoly domination. The reforms within the framework of the existing system are also "changes" but these do not run counter to the regime of monopoly domination and dependence on the United States and NATO.

Changes, real changes, which the country needs and the demand for which imbued the programs and struggles of the progressive forces have meant and continue to mean a radical solution of the problems of national independence. This involves a policy of eliminating the power of the monopolies, a new and planned anti-monopoly development of the economy for the benefit of the people, a policy of genuine democratization. They have meant and continue to mean a new and democratic way of running the country with actual involvement of the people, with mass activity and cooperation of all the progressive forces.

NEW SITUATION

Following the October 1981 elections, a complicated and contradictory situation has taken shape in our country.

We must realize this not only to have a clear understanding of the difference between our present policy with respect to PASOK and the old policy with respect to New Democracy, but also in order to work out a correct policy for the future.

The new situation is characterized by a certain democratic development and fresh potentialities in the struggle for genuine changes, which have appeared mainly in connection with the growing influence and gains of the mass popular movement. However, together with this there are also some difficulties and problems: both those created by the ruling class, the authoritarian constitution, etc., and new ones. The latter spring from the policy of PASOK which, despite the fact that it had earlier declared changes in the anti-imperialist line, now confines itself to some reforms within the framework of the existing system. Such a policy on the part of the ruling party cannot lead the country to real change. Moreover, it could lead it to reformist regress.

Many left-wing democrats ask us even today: "Why do you criticize the government, is it not

better for us today than in the past?" First of all, the point is not whether it is better for us than it was in the past. The main question is as follows: "Are we moving toward real changes or not?" The fact that the government has taken some measures of a democratic character is, certainly, a positive step forward. That is precisely what is meant by "better than before," but that step has not involved other steps toward real change and it has done nothing to hamper the policy conducted for the benefit of the monopolies and foreign capital. This "better than before" is, in effect, the whole content of the changes.

We emphasize this point in order to overcome the unconscious, superficial, evolutionist logic concerning the way toward change.

This opportunist logic was expressed by some leaders of groups of left-wing forces in our country which are unable to exert an active influence on developments. According to their logic, the "liberalism" of Papadopoulos and Markezinis is better than the military junta. The New Democracy government is better than the junta. Let us generally approve the ND policy and collaborate with that party. The PASOK government is better than the ND government. Let us, therefore, fully submit to it and follow its policy.

We are not inclined to gloss over the peculiarities of different situations. But such logic or any other version of it, would convert us into a party always following in the wake of any more liberal or reformist bourgeois regime administration. This would eliminate any independent political role for the CPG and erode our tactical and strategic goals.

Consequently, we judge the present situation not only in comparison with the past, with the period of the right-wing governments. We judge it with an eye to the future, and real change is above all the criterion of our judgments.

In the present complicated situation, unless all of its aspects are taken into account, difficulties of another kind in understanding and pursuing the party's policy could arise. That is, if we have in mind only the new opportunities and positive aspects of the existing situation, this could result in reformist illusions. On the other hand, if the existence of difficulties and negative features alone is recognized, this could result in sectarian practice, in a failure to use the potentialities of our party and the mass popular movement in terms of exerting a positive influence on this situation.

When we say that the situation is complicated and contradictory, this means that it could change either in one direction or the other. Which direction it is depends on the strength of the popular movement, of which our party's vanguard role, influence and strength is an important factor.

We do not ignore the numerous and considerable difficulties of the new situation. But we believe in the importance of the class struggle of the working class, the struggle of all working people, we believe in the potential of a united anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly popular movement, in the CPG's political maturity and capacity to act.

These forces could successfully solve the problems of the new situation and pave the way ahead.

RULING CLASS STRATEGY

Following the 1977 elections, the efforts of the right were aimed to convert PASOK into an alternative party within the framework of a two-party system and to assign a peripheral role for the CPG. This strategy was more concretely expressed following PASOK's assumption of power.

The ruling class is trying to involve PASOK in effecting our country's delayed bourgeois modernization. It is seeking to make the government shift all the burdens of the economic crisis on the shoulders of the working people and to prevent any political cooperation with the most organized forces which stand for change — the forces of the CPG — in order to limit its role and influence, and to encourage in every way the anti-communist trends within the PASOK ranks.

An electoral law is being used to entrench the two-party system in our country. However, one should not assume that the two-party system is the only goal of the ruling class. Other plans are also being framed for other contingencies. The ruling class fears that it could lose control of the political "game," that at some point other tendencies could gain the upper hand or a re-grouping of forces could occur in the vast PASOK camp, and that the masses could suddenly reject the control established over them, while the CPG could assume a crucial role in the country's political life.

In any case, our party must be in a state of constant readiness in order to rebuff, with the help of popular unity, any plans of the ruling class and reaction, including any deviations from democratic norms, thereby promoting the country's democratic development toward real changes.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

In analyzing government policy there should be two closely interconnected approaches: from the standpoint of *its content, and methods of realization.*

More than a year has passed since the elections. But the government's policy has not affected the power of the monopolies and the regime of dependence on imperialism. Certain measures taken by the government have not affected the anti-democratic structures of the state apparatus, have failed to ensure popular participation and are, as a rule, not connected with the necessary anti-monopoly changes.

The fundamental goals of the changes are being put off indefinitely, because any overt repudiation of these goals would result in direct resistance from the masses, which want changes, and from radical forces within PASOK itself.

What is characteristic of the methods being used in implementing this policy? First of all, there are the efforts to establish hegemony in the mass movement. The arrogance of the "authorities" tends to make PASOK turn its back on the active popular forces, and it also determines the emergence of authoritarian trends. The latter are expressed in the

diverse use of state mechanisms for narrow party interests, and also in a special frame of mind according to which any criticism by us of government policy is groundlessly declared to be "erosion of the cause of change" and "collaboration with the right." Besides, this policy is characterized by attempts to cause a rift between the grassroots of the CPG and PASOK to the detriment of popular unity, and also by persistent efforts aimed to split the broadest democratic forces. The most characteristic example here was the recent decision of PASOK's political leadership to abandon cooperation between the progressive forces in the municipal elections despite the fact that our party made the maximum efforts and considerable concessions to make such cooperation possible.

The systematic efforts of the PASOK leadership to isolate the CPG and to limit its role and influence are becoming the most negative aspect of PASOK's tactics.

Such tactics tend to weaken the front of the progressive forces and objectively serve the overall plans of the ruling class and harm the cause of changes and ultimately PASOK itself.

Those who regard the CPG as an adversary seek to abandon the goals of change and to attain a compromise with the regime of U.S. tutelage and monopoly domination. Conversely, those who want to advance along the way of real change, those who want to resist the plans of imperialism and the ruling class must seek solidarity with all the forces standing for change, the communists in the first place.

IMPASSE

There is no doubt that the government's policy cannot indicate a way out of the existing situation to meet the people's interests. On the contrary, it will be subjected to fresh trials and will increasingly run counter to the people's needs and aspirations. Its policy gives hope to the reactionary and conservative forces and whets their appetite for all manner of anti-popular plans. Far from helping other popular forces escape from the influence of New Democracy, it facilitates the counter-offensive by the conservative and reactionary forces, whose potentialities should not be underestimated.

Consequently the ruling class seeks to channel the dissatisfaction caused by the economic crisis against the government, to use to its detriment the concessions to the Americans on the question of bases, NATO, etc., so as to discredit the idea of change, to put the movement into reverse gear and ultimately to ensure a more "reliable" conservative solution. The CPG is doing its utmost to prevent such a course of developments, so as to enable the people to maintain and extend their gains, to help find a way out of the crisis for the benefit of the people, and to have the country's administration advance toward real change.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT

Our party emphasized, both in its last year's statement in Parliament, when it assessed the government's programmatic declarations, and in the CC theses for the 11th congress, that its attitude to

the government's policy does not amount to an addition or a subtraction of its negative and positive aspects, but is determined by whether it meets the need for real change.

That does not mean, however, that we have confined ourselves to general criticism of the government's policy as a whole or to opposition for the sake of opposition. Up to now we have supported any positive measure on the part of the government, we have made our own concrete proposals and have tried to exert a positive influence on government policy so as to extend the people's gains. Our intervention in this sense should increasingly rest on a formulation of concrete solutions for the existing problems. We must display greater initiative in formulating concrete problems requiring solution and in going forward from the level of general policy to concrete democratic, economic and social problems facing the people. Even if the most difficult and intense periods our criticism must propose correct solutions and suggest concrete ways out, that is, it must be constructive.

FOR AN ALTERNATIVE WAY TO GENUINE CHANGE

Our party believes that the mass popular movement could extend its gains, promote some democratic transformations and changes, curb the most negative manifestations of government policy and exert a positive influence on it.

But if the popular movement is confined to exerting pressure on the government for the sake of attaining partial goals, it would be disoriented and would fail to have a clear-cut political perspective for genuine change.

There should be no illusions. Pressure on the government, which adheres to a "philosophy" of independence and claims to be the sole vehicle of change as a result of concrete government policy, would not in itself pave the way for genuine change. In its CC theses, our party has declared the kind of government the country needs in order to effect a real swing toward genuine change. Such a democratic government must have the following basic characteristic features.

First, its program should above all go beyond the framework of the most necessary and minimum changes in every sphere in an anti-imperialist *cum* anti-monopoly and democratic direction so as to enable the country to move along the way of real change.

Second, it should represent all the forces which are, in one way or another, moving toward real change and should rely on them in implementing the above-mentioned program.

Third, it should have relations with the mass popular movement differing from those being practised today by the PASOK government.

Consequently, we want a government that would have new relations with the mass organizations, that would rely on their independence, on a sincere dialogue and joint responsibility in effecting jointly elaborated measures. None of this has anything to do with any kind of government or state syndicalism.

Under such conditions, the working people, regardless of whether they voted for the government parties or not, would see that the government's measures realize their own demands, the demands of their trade unions, their associations, and so on, and would in one way or another accept the government's policy as their own. Through such a democratic exercise of its power, the government could rely on the broadest popular unity and support even of a sizeable section of the working people which did not vote for the government parties, and as a result be stable.

Such relations between the government and the mass popular movement naturally depend not only on the government, but also on the level of development, on the responsibility and goals of the mass movement, and on its capacity to become an instrument of change.

The alternative we propose for the purpose of attaining real change, and in particular our considerations concerning our support of a democratic government or participation in it, have naturally caused broad political discussions and also misunderstandings or deliberate distortions.

Some have assumed that the CPG simply claims to participate in the present government with the policy which it is now putting into effect, that is, that the CPG simply wants to have its share. That is why they have seen our criticism of the government, and our efforts to enhance the party's influence or our participation in the mass struggle as being mainly an instrument of pressure, as our bargaining counter in negotiations for the purpose of joining the government.

This is a totally mistaken interpretation of our stand. We shall seek to participate in a democratic government only if the content and methods of government policy meet the task of attaining real change.

We do not regard government power as an end in itself but as a means for attaining national independence, improving and genuinely democratizing the life of our people and attaining real changes in the country.

THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE

Many ask: What is the point of your proposal for setting up such a government if the PASOK leadership keeps saying that it intends to effect its program on its own? Is not such a proposal pointless?

But we did not make our proposal specially or exclusively for a given leadership for it either to approve it or reject it.

First, our proposal was addressed to the whole people and we seek to have it positively accepted by all those who want to see real change, so that it should provide a concrete political perspective for the developing mass popular movement, and for the alliance being daily concluded within the popular masses of every front.

Second, we want this proposal to provide a basis for broader political movements and alliances standing for change, so that it should promote our joint activity with all the progressive forces, movements or leaders designed for attaining genuine change. In

short, we believe that this proposal could promote the development of a popular democratic movement that could ultimately bring about much change in our present-day political life.

This alternative approach is not some kind of invention on our part, for it springs from life itself, from the requirements of change, from the need to determine a way differing from the way of partial changes along which the government's present policy is effectively moving. It springs from the need to frustrate the implementation of right-wing and all other kinds of conservative alternative solutions being mooted by the ruling class. At the same time, our proposal does not mean waiting for some leadership to accept it or for some "lofty" initiatives at the top. What is more, this proposal does not mean waiting for the most favorable election returns or for a more favorable balance of forces in parliament, something that could allegedly enable us to join the government. What this means is that we should not wait until we have 40, 70 or more deputies instead of 12, and to assume that that would be the time for real change. The alternative approach we propose requires that we should always be in the vanguard on every front of the class struggle.

POLITICAL COOPERATION DOES NOT AMOUNT TO COOPERATION WITH THE PASOK LEADERSHIP ALONE

(a) Our party has displayed and continues to display a readiness for positively responding to any possibility of cooperation with all the progressive forces and, naturally, with PASOK, in the struggle for partial goals or at every level generally.

PASOK's character and prospects were broadly discussed in the course of the pre-congress discussions.

What are the conclusions that we should draw on the strength of the present facts?

First of all, that PASOK has limited its political framework to pseudo-changes and constitutes a peculiarly reformist party. It has a peculiar social basis, origins, structure, policy and several other features connected with Greek realities.

It is characterized by contradictions, and the existence of different and even opposite trends within its ranks, ranging from bourgeois-centrist, technocratic and reformist trends which are now predominant in determining PASOK's policy, to radical trends variously inclined to a break with the system of monopoly domination and foreign dependence.

We have also emphasized that the possibilities for a victory of the radical trends and for a complete swing in PASOK's policy toward real change have been dwindling. This is determined, in particular, by PASOK's structure.

From this, it does not, of course, automatically follow that we must resolutely rule out any possibility of such a swing under any circumstances.

We have never said that PASOK can independently lead to real changes even when it had a clearly expressed radical character. There is even less ground for saying so today, in view of the changes in its policy and character.

We have resolutely opposed such a conception of

independence. This was expressed in our slogan, "Change is impossible without the CPG," and also in our proposal for forming a democratic government that would rely on the forces seeking change.

We are aware that parties of this type operating on their own soon lose their potentialities and tend to integrate with the existing system.

Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out that the political forces with a potentially reformist tenor could, under certain conditions, in concrete cases, and mainly under pressure from a powerful popular movement, a strong Communist Party, existing alliances, etc., make a contribution to advancing changes containing even a partial break with the monopolies and imperialism.

That is why we could say that the touchstone for PASOK's final definition would be its stand on cooperation with the forces of change, its stand with respect to the CPG.

It would be misleading to concentrate our attention on cooperation at the top, or take a wait-and-see attitude toward changes in the PASOK leadership's policy or other changes of a broader nature.

Our efforts and initiatives for attaining unity are centered above all on the vibrant radical popular forces moving within PASOK's sphere with whom we have been connected for years through our common struggle, and through our common anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly slogans. These forces could overcome the obstacles that are being erected by the policy aimed against unity, and could, together with us, promote the attainment of our common goals in the trade unions, in the agricultural cooperatives, in the municipal movement, in the movement for the elimination of foreign bases, etc. Of tremendous importance is the ability to find common ground with them and not to treat them as if they were responsible for the government's policy. We must prevent any attempts to involve the militant forces of this camp in action aimed against the CPG and, in general, attempts to unite these people on positions hostile to the CPG.

(b) In other democratic parties, apart from PASOK, and among the non-party democratic leaders, there are also positive views and some understanding of the need for joint action. Progressive movements are developing in political life which, despite their differences with us, seek cooperation with the CPG.

(c) There are scattered forces which are generally designated as "traditional left" and also newer left-radical forces. Although they are on the whole inspired by scientific socialism and the traditions of the left-wing movement, they do have ideological differences with us, ignore the CPG's real character or have a strong imprint and other negative consequences of the situation which has taken shape in the left-wing movement in the country mainly as a result of the splitting activity of the so-called "internal" party. In view of these specific features of these forces, we should facilitate their rapprochement with us, make efforts to help them overcome their prejudices and to unite with them in the mass movements and in the various concrete areas where these forces operate, as they do, for instance, in the

midst of the intelligentsia, the resistance fighters and in other organizations. On our part, our party should do its utmost to help these forces and individual leaders in this group to escape from their impasse and to make a contribution to the cause of the left-wing and communist movement in our country.

(d) There is a process of differentiation, of change, of overcoming the anti-communist prejudices not only among the 'left' but also elsewhere. We should not hamper but, on the contrary, encourage every step in this direction and show the forces within which this differentiation is under way a positive way out so as to facilitate their involvement in the common democratic struggle.

UNITY POLICY IS BROADER THAN ANY SCHEME

The solid basis of our unity policy is the policy of popular unity, unity at the grass-roots, without discrimination and exclusions, for struggle to attain common goals, for the goals of change in an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly direction. Any cooperation should proceed from such popular unity, rely on it and strengthen it.

Our policy of cooperation is not confined to any single goal, does not fit into the framework of any scheme and is not confined to any single front. It belongs not only to the 'left', not only to the "forces of change" or to the "democratic forces." Nor does our policy of cooperation mean a biding of time for some leadership to say "Yes" or for some definite forces to agree at the conference table.

For us cooperation amounts to an uninterrupted process of struggle for genuine change.

Joint action on specific issues along various fronts, for all their peculiarities, should ultimately merge in one anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly tide, thereby fortifying the central front of struggle for genuine change. By means of such multilateral alliances we seek to provide fresh impulses to popular unity so as to give it even broader scope, to carry our message to fresh public circles, seeking to overcome anti-communist prejudices, to strengthen our party's role and to raise the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic popular movement to an even higher level.

Abridged from *Rizospastis*,
December 15, 1982

statements & speeches

Extreme Aggressiveness of the Present U.S. Administration: A Threat to Peace in Latin America

Speech by Fidel Castro on the 26th Anniversary of the "Granma" Landing and Founding of the Revolutionary Armed Forces

The militia has a long and inspiring history in our country. They were set up in 1959, the first year of the Revolution. Our Rebel Army was still small. Threats and danger of aggression developed from the very first months. We quickly realized the need to incorporate the people into the defense of the country. We soon showed the imperialists that we were determined to struggle and that this was a people's revolution, for only a people's revolution can arm the people.

Little by little, the militia of the early years joined the regular troops of our Revolutionary Armed Forces and the reserves. In time military service was set up. This meant the incorporation of young people into the armed forces and the training of young people for the armed forces. That was the situation when new turmoil developed in 1980: the U.S. imperialists were no longer bogged down in Vietnam; the revolutionary movement was growing in Central America; the imperialists were again turning their aggressive eyes on our country and were mak-

ing threats of different kinds.

Thus, based on our own past experience and that of other revolutionary countries adjusted to the conditions in our country, the call to organize the Territorial Troop Militia was made in this square on May Day, 1980. But then it was just an idea; we didn't have the weapons. But the international situation kept getting worse. A new, very aggressive administration took office in the United States, an administration, as we've said on other occasions, with a fascist mentality. They have even said that socialism is something anachronistic which should disappear from the face of the earth. Such language, this talk of wiping socialism from the face of the earth, had not been heard since the time of Adolph Hitler.

This put our party in the position of taking exceptional measures to strengthen our defenses. Because of this we asked the Soviet Union for weapons for the Territorial Troop Militia. This was at the time of the second congress of the party, and

although this was a request for weapons for hundreds of thousands of men and women, we got a positive answer in less than 15 days.

Thus, ships filled with weapons started to arrive. The imperialists, who are ever alert and spying, always snooping where Cuba is concerned, started a big uproar over the arrival of ships loaded with weapons. They started a big uproar saying the Soviets were giving us those weapons and then we shipped them to Central America, to El Salvador. Well, if those arms actually went to El Salvador, the government wouldn't last five minutes.

Nobody asked the Soviet Union for weapons for Central America, and there are provisions in our agreements with the Soviet Union banning the shipment of weapons to third countries. There have been special circumstances over the past 20 years when we have had to aid certain countries: once it was Algeria, another time it was Angola. That is, there have been cases when Cuban personnel have gone somewhere with their weapons, but there has never been a case of shipment of Soviet weapons to third countries, nor has Cuba donated Soviet weapons to other countries, we have never given Soviet weapons to the revolutionary movement. We fulfil our agreements.

Imperialism, known for its aggressiveness the world over, is particularly aggressive in this hemisphere because it looks on Latin America as its exclusive property, as its own backyard. And in this backyard there has been and there still is a lot of poverty, a lot of hunger and a lot of injustice. And this gives rise to the struggle of the peoples, it gives rise to revolutions, especially when all other ways are cut off, when the people find no democratic channel through which to carry out their struggle, as has been happening in Central America for dozens upon dozens of years. But the imperialists don't understand that such a struggle is the result of exploitation, the consequence of a historical situation maintained by colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism; so they always look for somebody to blame for the existence of revolutions. The imperialists — above all, the present U.S. administration — consider every revolution as an action of Soviet expansionism, and if it happens in Latin America, they say it's a case of Soviet-Cuban expansionism.

Mr. Reagan has just finished making a tour of Latin America, or rather of some countries in Latin America. The purpose of the trip was to solve the crisis between the United States and Latin America as a result of the Malvinas war. At the outbreak of the Malvinas conflict Latin America, with few exceptions, united in support of Argentina. The U.S. government supported Great Britain.

The United States' relations with Latin America are affected not only by the Malvinas conflict but also by an infinite number of other factors. The plan was to extend a cordial invitation to the largest possible number of Latin American presidents to visit Washington, give them the royal treatment, smooth their feathers and follow up with a little visit to South America, to Brazil and Colombia, and also Central America with the evident purpose of boosting the plans to isolate Nicaragua, for destabilizing and

attacking Nicaragua and for the control and domination of the region.

Watching the results of this visit has been quite an interesting experience. Reagan found a lot of new things, things that no other U.S. president had ever found in Latin America, since in Brazil as well as in Colombia — we must say this in all fairness and honesty — he found statesmen who responded to his demands with authority and an air of independence. Never before had the U.S. imperialists been faced with such straightforward language in all their tours as in Brazil and Colombia when it came to economic and political matters and the Central American situation.

Reagan went to Central America to issue orders. It was the weirdest trip in the whole world, made inside a steel urn, and armored and surrounded by thousands of escorts and security guards. No contact with the people at all anywhere. A visit to Costa Rica and Honduras where Reagan met with various leaders. The emperor even denied them the crumbs they begged from him.

In Costa Rica, he hugged Magana. I'm not sure if you know who Magana is, but you must have read about him in the papers. He's a president foisted on the people through a rigged, unilateral election in El Salvador. Reagan said that he was really impressed by the improvement in the human rights situation in El Salvador, that there had been a remarkable improvement and that, therefore, there was justification for continuing the shipments of arms to that country, a country where massacres are perpetrated every day, where hundreds of persons are being murdered.

And in Honduras he embraced Rios Montt. This man is another extraordinary figure who has appeared on the Central American scene thanks to U.S. maneuvers. After the big hug he gave Mr. Rios Montt — who in a matter of months has been responsible for the murder of thousands of Guatemalan Indians — Reagan stated that he was impressed with Rios Montt's great personal integrity and that, for that reason U.S. military aid to Guatemala would undoubtedly soon be resumed. That is what imperialist morality and imperialist philosophy are like.

Imperialism is to blame for the bloody repression, for the tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of crimes that have been committed; for interventions in Central America, the support for genocidal governments. These are the causes, these are the roots of the struggles of these peoples, who got tired of putting up with it all and decided to fight.

One of the great lies that the imperialists use concerning Central America is their attempt to impute the revolutions in this area to the Soviet Union. This has to do with the imperialist idea of presenting the Central American conflicts as part of the East-West conflict. And some people around the world are silly and ignorant enough to play along with this imperialist propaganda.

The fact is that the East has had nothing whatsoever to do with Central America and the problems of Central America. The Soviets didn't know even one of the present leaders of Nicaragua. That is, during

the period of revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua, these leaders were unknown to the Soviet Union. The same thing holds true for El Salvador. There, the Communist Party is only one of the five left-wing organizations joined together in the Farabundo Marti Front. Communist parties have contacts among themselves, but with the exception of the Communist Party of El Salvador — militant and independent but small — the Soviet Union did not know the leaders of these revolutionary organizations and had no contact with them. The same goes for Guatemala.

We Cubans live in this hemisphere. We have relations with the revolutionary movements, we know the revolutionary leaders in the area. I'm not going to deny it; we know them. But what I'm trying to explain here is the enormous lie of those who try to implicate the Soviet Union, for the same cannot be said of the Soviet Union regarding the revolutionary leaders in Central America. It is a malicious lie with a clear aim: to justify imperialist intervention in Central America.

Now take the example of Cuba. When we were in our revolutionary struggle, how could anyone blame the Soviet Union for our revolutionary struggle, including the Moncada attack, the *Granma* expedition and the Sierra Maestra campaign? Nobody in the Soviet Union knew about us or had contact with any of our fighters. There were ideological influences from Europe and from the socialist countries, that is true, but then everybody has that. I repeat that the contacts between the Soviet Union and Cuba began after the Revolution came to power. Likewise, the relations between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua began after their Revolution came to power.

Since Reagan's visit the military actions against Nicaragua carried out by the counter-revolutionary groups based on the Honduran border have multiplied and now take place virtually every day.

There is no peace in El Salvador because the U.S. government doesn't want there to be peace in El Salvador. The revolutionaries have expressed their willingness to find political formulas and solutions and they are saying so now that they are stronger than ever. But the U.S. administration is unwilling; they want a military victory for the reactionary, fascist, repressive forces, they want the revolutionaries to be wiped out — despite the fact that the revolutionaries can never be wiped out by the genocidal government of El Salvador, no matter how much military assistance the United States gives.

There could be peace in El Salvador, but if there is no peace, it is a consequence of the imperialist plans, their plans for destabilization and aggression. There is no peace between Honduras and Nicaragua because the United States doesn't want it. There is no peace in Namibia because the United States doesn't want it. There is no peace in Angola because the United States doesn't want it. There is no peace in Mozambique because the United States doesn't want it and because it supports South Africa in its efforts to destabilize Mozambique and Angola. There is no peace in the Middle East because the United States doesn't want it and supports the demands, blackmail and aggression of the Zionist

government against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples.

The imperialists' selfishness is evidenced in every conceivable way; a selfishness that has worsened the economic crisis that now afflicts the world, mainly the capitalist countries. The selfishness of the United States has a lot to do with that crisis, what with their protectionist policy, their policy restricting trade, credits, world financing, which are leading humankind into an ever graver and more dangerous situation.

In recent days they levied a tax of 30 to 40 per cent on Peruvian textiles. Peru is a country with serious economic difficulties, a Third World country that was exporting 80 million dollars' worth of textiles to the United States. Such is the selfish policy they follow with all countries, particularly the Third World countries, which are facing an extraordinarily serious economic situation, with a debt of roughly 600 billion dollars.

That's what imperialism is all about: an aggressive policy, exploitive policy, selfish policy, shamelessness, lies, bloody responses to the peoples' struggle and economic strangulation of the underdeveloped countries. That's imperialism beyond its empty propaganda, beyond its falsehoods, beyond its lies, and these realities cannot be hidden from the world, and much less can they hide it from the Latin American peoples, and even less from our people.

I mentioned many countries where there was no peace on account of the imperialists. But in Europe there is also no tranquility or security on account of the imperialists, on account of their attempts to impose their military hegemony, their attempts to deploy hundreds of medium-range nuclear missiles near the border with the Soviet Union. Because of their policy of arms build-up, it can be said that there's no peace in the world; the least that can be said is that there's no tranquility, no security, that we stand at the threshold of an uncontrollable arms race and that the dangers of a world conflagration are growing.

But one can't back down one inch to imperialist blackmail, pressure, threats and aggression, because they grow bolder if you do.

We are not a world power, we are a small country and are willing to make our contribution to peace; but one thing we will never do is give up our principles, never give up our dignity, never give up our ideology, our independence. We love life, but more than life we love our principles, the honor of our country, the dignity of our country, the independence of our country; we love man's sacred values more than life itself. Without honor, without freedom, without justice, without independence, life is not worth living and this is why we've always said, we've repeated and we've proved that we're willing to die rather than give up our principles.

In recent days when the president of Colombia hinted that Cuba might be reinstated in the Latin American system, Reagan replied he would be in agreement if Cuba broke its ties with the Soviet Union. Has the honorable president of the United States' ability to reason grown weaker? We are prepared to live in peace, in mutual respect, but we will

never break our ties with the Soviet Union. Let the imperialists clearly understand that we are not the kind of people who break their ties with their friends to become the allies of their enemies. Let the imperialists bear in mind that we can't be hired, bought or intimidated. This country and this Revolu-

tion have followed a clean path, a straight path, a bright path, and it is along this path that we will march on regardless of the cost. This is our path and the path of the future generations of Cubans.

Abridged from *Granma Weekly Review*,
December 19, 1982

El Salvador: Seek a Political Way Out of the Crisis

Proposal of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front for Dialogue*

We proceed from the fact that the immense majority of our people are fighting to build a just society in which everyone would have a right to live in dignity and enjoy the material benefits created by the population as well as the achievements of world culture and science.

We recognize the historic struggle of the Salvadoran people, who are making tremendous efforts and using all the legal and peaceful forms of struggle at their disposal to achieve justice and their inalienable right to be masters of their destiny and to create on the basis of the right to self-determination a society which they consider most suitable for them. However, a privileged minority has always used force to prevent the people's aspirations from materializing. An inevitable consequence of this was the Salvadoran people's decision to resort to military means of political struggle, using a right universally recognized as legitimate.

The militant resolve of the Salvadoran people entitles us to affirm that their victory is inevitable. We realize, however, that the minority will exact a high price for it and that the struggle, as well as causing irreparable loss of life, results in destroying the nation's patrimony, a circumstance which will evidently make it still more difficult for the Salvadoran people to rehabilitate the country.

The persistence of the Salvadoran conflict is plainly and above all due to U.S. political and military interference, which prevents our people from freely shaping their social and political destiny. Furthermore, the present U.S. administration has increased its interference in the affairs of Central American nations, seriously undermining their sovereignty in this way and robbing them of the right to self-determination. This is why the present behavior of the U.S. government seriously endangers peace in the region and the world.

We consider that the peoples of the region, in particular the Salvadoran people, would benefit if they could find a road to the early establishment of peace, democracy and social justice. We have care-

fully studied the appeals of political leaders of the region and the world as well as those of religious figures and international organizations (the UN, the non-aligned movement, etc.), who, being concerned about the great suffering of our people and realizing the dimensions of the threat to peace in the region and the world, have set out to search for ways and means of bringing about peace and social justice.

Among the latest actions of this nature are the appeal directed by Pope John Paul II to the Episcopate and people of El Salvador on August 6, 1982, the statement of the then President of Mexico, José Lopez Portillo, and President Luis Herrera Campins of Venezuela, and the appeal which the episcopal conference of El Salvador directed on July 15, 1982 "to all the parties involved in the conflict to abandon any uncompromising posture and open a sincere, clear and loyal dialogue in a spirit of goodwill and true patriotism, putting the unity of the Salvadoran family above private or group interests."

There is historical evidence of our willingness to negotiate, we still seek a direct dialogue, for we know that large political, trade union, religious and military groups favor talks as a means of searching for peace.

Now as in the past, we strive for maximum results in searching for a solution to the conflict. The parties involved in it should begin a direct dialogue. We consider that this dialogue should include other political, religious, labor and academic sectors, all who can make a valuable contribution.

Prompted by genuine patriotism, realizing our great political responsibility and expressing the will of the Salvadoran and other peoples of Central America for peace, we propose that:

1. The Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, on the one hand, and the government, National Constituent Assembly and Armed Forces of El Salvador, on the other, should begin at the earliest date a direct dialogue without any preconditions whatever in order to find ways leading to the establishment of peace and social justice in El Salvador and help ease tensions in the Central American region.

2. To this end both sides should appoint delegations vested with full powers.

3. A good offices group be set up to concern itself

*The document was conveyed to the Salvadoran authorities through the Catholic church of that country. — Ed.

with organizational preparations for the dialogue and maintain contact between the two delegations in order that they may jointly specify and agree on questions relating to the procedure of inaugurating and conducting the dialogue.

4. Both sides and the good offices group should jointly examine forms of participation in the dialogue by other national sectors, including political parties, labor organizations (workers and peasants), associations of private entrepreneurs, church sectors, universities, vocational schools and other sectors interested in contributing their share to the settlement of the Salvadoran conflict.

5. The dialogue be carried on in the presence of authoritative observers as a token of the good will and serious intentions of both sides and with a view to achieving positive results; the role of observers

could be assigned by agreement between the sides to nationals or foreigners.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front announce in order to facilitate the realization of the dialogue and show their sincere willingness for it that they have appointed plenipotentiary delegates whose names will be made known in due course.

El Salvador, October 5, 1982

For the Revolutionary Democratic Front: Guillermo Manuel Ungo, Eduardo Calles, Ruben Zamora,

For the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front: Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Joaquin Villalobos, Shafik Jorge Handal, Ferman Cienfuegos, Roberto Roca.

Nuevo Diario, October 29, 1982

Iran: For Unity of All Revolutionary Forces in the Struggle for Independence, Freedom and Social Justice

Statement by the People's Party of Iran CC on its 41st Anniversary

It is 41 years since the historic days in September 1941 when the People's Party of Iran was founded as a result of the overthrow of the Reza Khan dictatorship, the release from prison of true fighters of the working class, and the emergence of new prospects in the patriotic people's liberation struggle.

The PPI was very soon recognized as the vanguard of the Iranian working class and the consistent representative of the interests of all Iranian working people. It became the Iranian working class' "party of a new type" guided by the teaching and aims of scientific socialism. The PPI brought together consistent patriots and humanists and united them into a conscious and staunch contingent of the international working-class movement.

The party's 41 years of work cannot be separated from our country's most recent history. During all this time the PPI members waged a tireless struggle for the party's anti-imperialist objectives and for the country's independence, an anti-dictatorial struggle to liberate the people, a struggle against the big capitalists and landowners, against exploitation, corruption and discrimination, and for social justice and liberation from the colonial yoke and national and class oppression.

After the victory of the revolution and the crushing of the repressive Savak secret police, it became possible to publish some material — statements, articles, books, documents, analytic surveys — on the party's history, and to acquaint the Iranian people with that history.

Today when our revolutionary homeland is facing numerous difficult and important problems and when the Islamic Republic of Iran is experiencing so responsible a period in its development, it is appropriate to explain the main problems of the past year and the lessons to be learned from them.

DECISIVE BATTLES AWAIT US

What has really happened this year since Bani-Sadr's removal is that the sharp struggle between the two political trends has broadened, a struggle waged in all spheres of our country's social life.

One trend has been seeking to distort the revolution, break it up from within and liquidate its real basic content as a revolution of anti-imperialism, social justice and freedom. This trend strives to misconstrue the constitution, make it void of all content and minimize its role.

The other trend has been working for progress in the implementation of the revolution's anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and popular aims, and of realistic steps in the area of home and foreign policy. This trend makes efforts to defend and implement the constitution, and to formulate laws to further the realization of the main provisions of the constitution.

The destiny of our revolution depends on the outcome of the struggle between these two trends — the line of Imam and the line of the right-wing opposition forces.

INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PLOTTERS IN THE COUNTRY STRENGTHENS THE REVOLUTION

Our party's 41st year was marked by the consequences of the dangerous plot of Bani-Sadr and his liberal-bourgeois and Maoist friends. Although the plot failed and its ringleaders have fled the country, its consequences can still be felt, especially in the economy, in ideology and even foreign policy.

The events of this turbulent year showed that the web of plots was not fully destroyed even though the pro-U.S. forces did not manage to seize governmental power and establish an aggressive and bloody dictatorship suitable to the U.S. The bitter class struggle for the future of the revolution continues. The right-wing elements inside and outside the power apparatus still hold influential and sometimes decisive, key positions, which they use to prevent the further development and deepening of the revolution.

This struggle has given new impetus to our people's movement against U.S. imperialism, has exposed the big capitalists and landowners as the secret instigators of the plots, has made more urgent the question of social justice and, finally, has shown up the pro-U.S. pseudo-left and the Maoist "converts to Islam." However, the struggle to wipe out the main sources of Bani-Sadr's plot, the struggle against the right-wing trend is still not being waged sufficiently broadly and is not backed up by concrete measures and plans. Despite the warnings by the leader of the revolution, the supporters of Imam's line and also our party, the big capitalists and landowners and their liberal and pseudo-Islamic followers remain at their posts. Their chief task for some time past has been sabotage, the whipping up of discontent and discord, and the spreading of false slogans and ideological and political views.

In February 1981 our party's special analysis of the situation in the country and the prospects for revolutionary development paid special attention to this whipping up of discontent, its roots, its methods and consequences. Our party warned that this was the main weapon in the hands of the counter-revolution. Recently the revolutionary Islamic forces and those who support Imam's line have recognized the significance of this discontent and the indifference which goes along with it, have recognized the threat to the revolution stemming from these sentiments and have heightened their vigilance. This is reassuring and could help to surmount the difficulties caused by the breaking of the laws on the fundamental socio-economic transformations, by the claims to a monopoly in all spheres of social life, disrespect for the constitution, dogmatism and the like, and could remove the dangers threatening the revolution and ensure its victory.

A RADICAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IS THE GUARANTEE OF THE REVOLUTION'S FINAL VICTORY

The question of social justice, which has been our

party's supreme goal for four decades, became particularly sharp throughout the society this year. Our party made an especially urgent demand for social justice, guided by the interests of a radical and definitive defeat of the imperialist and internal counter-revolutionary plots. Side by side with independence and freedom, social justice is one of the three most important goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran. These three goals cannot be reached without fundamental transformations of the economic system and without the implementation of consistent socio-economic measures to wipe out the resistance of the big capitalists and landowners. Millions of working people — the revolution's main support — are waiting for these transformations. In the broad and fierce struggle around this decisive question of the revolution between the supporters of the popular line of Imam Khomeini and the right-wing circles opposed to them inside and outside the power apparatus, the duty of all revolutionaries has been to oppose the sabotage and the delaying tactics used by the supporters of the capitalist system, and to support and defend the champions of Imam's popular line, the working people and the "shack dwellers."

Despite the fierce opposition from the right-wing forces, those who genuinely support Imam's line in the power apparatus could get the land reform bill and the law on nationalization of foreign trade passed, and could also secure the division, suggested by revolutionary leaders, of the expropriated lands among the peasants and thereby achieve some progress on the question of social justice, despite shortcomings in the bills. Our party has consistently championed the popular, anti-capitalist political trend aimed against big landownership. It has carried out untiring explanatory work showing that the revolution's final victory depends on the implementation of these socio-economic transformations.

STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS IS THE GUARANTEE OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

There has been a difficult struggle this year for democratic freedoms. The blind terrorism unleashed by the counter-revolutionary elements and the traitorous leadership of the Mojaheddin organization into which, unfortunately, many revolutionary but misled young people have been drawn, created an extremely unfavorable atmosphere for the laws to be obeyed and elementary democratic procedures observed, and a very favorable one for the dogmatists and the highly-placed circles claiming a monopoly on power and favoring vindictive, bloody and aggressive retaliatory measures in an effort to create a situation of oppression and tyranny.

This year, which was rich in events, was unfortunately marked by the dangerous restriction of civil rights and the freedom of action of political parties, especially those which consistently defend the revolution. Today all the non-government revolutionary parties or organizations and even some revolutionary Islamic political organizations have neither a regular newspaper or journal nor central or local

party premises and clubs. During that year a considerable number of members and supporters of the PPI and the Fedayeen (Majority) Organization were arrested without charge and are still behind bars.

Women, who have been playing such an important role in the revolution, are the object of reactionary attacks, and their civil and social freedoms — with the exception of some easings, for example as regards clothing — especially the right to work and study, and also their private life and family rights, are being seriously infringed upon.

To this day the authorities are not in a position to implement Imam Khomeini's historic statement of December 1979 concerning the Kurds and all the other peoples of Iran. The provisions in the constitution on the religious minorities are also not being observed, and all this is being used by the enemies of the revolution.

In this difficult situation, the PPI, guided by high aims, has been steadfastly and consistently championing freedom — the great requirement of the revolution. We are convinced of the need to create a healthy and normal atmosphere, an atmosphere in which lawfulness and freedom of revolutionary and constructive criticism would prevail, and in which our republic could show its true colors to the world. It is a vital necessity for our society, the condition for a victory over imperialism and its agents, for bringing out the shortcomings and seeking ways to correct them and for progress in building the country and overcoming the backwardness.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A FOREIGN POLICY MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

This year Iranian foreign policy, which used to be greatly influenced by the liberal bourgeoisie and pro-U.S. elements, to a certain extent more correctly distinguished the friends of the Iranian revolution from its enemies. Thanks to that Iran's relations strengthened with, for example, the countries of the "Front for Steadfastness and Resistance," with India, Cuba, the KPDR, the PDRY and others. Nevertheless, the odious legacy of Yazdi, Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr has yet to be fully overcome. Our country still does not have political, economic and cultural ties with a number of revolutionary countries in the world, while there are "excellent relations" with the former CENTO countries, which still have anti-popular regimes dependent on imperialism. Anti-communism, imperialism's main weapon throughout the world, the inability to distinguish enemies from friends, and the equation of the socialist states, which consistently support the Iranian revolution in the international arena, with imperialism, that implacable enemy of our revolution and of the oppressed throughout the world, have created great possibilities for the activity of the supporters-in-disguise of reconciliation with imperialism, who are seeking to increase the number of our country's enemies, to weaken it and change its course. Other

negative aspects in this sphere are egocentrism and arrogance, which do damage to the cause of strengthening the international anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front. A struggle is also being waged here between the two tendencies inside and outside the power apparatus. Our party supports an anti-imperialist and revolutionary foreign policy and comes out for realism in this area and for the acceptance of our friends' proposals to develop friendly relations.

FOR THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF UNITY WITH HISTORIC PROSPECTS

This year was characterized by the ever closer cooperation between the PPI and the Organization of People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority). The true supporters of scientific socialism and the loyal and consistent defenders of the anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial and popular Iranian revolution have taken important steps toward strengthening the unity of their forces and towards qualitatively raising the level of their practical cooperation. Major common successes, which we consider historically important, were secured in this area. History will show that this was one of the most important joint achievements of the PPI and the Organization of People's Fedayeen of Iran (Majority) for the future.

A POPULAR UNITY FRONT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GUARANTEE OF THE REVOLUTION'S FINAL VICTORY

As it enters its 42nd year, the PPI will continue the struggle in all the areas mentioned to defend the revolution from the encroachments of the plotters, to consolidate and deepen it, strengthen the party's ranks, unite all the supporters of scientific socialism and form a united front of all revolutionary forces irrespective of their ideology, political and religious views.

The unity of the revolutionary Islamic forces supporting Imam's line with all other revolutionaries, especially with the supporters of scientific socialism, is the main condition for mobilizing all forces in the decisive struggle for independence, freedom and social justice. Differentiation between enemies and friends, between revolution and counter-revolution is now a principal and vitally important question. The PPI is going to spare no effort to strengthen the ties with the masses of the working people, carry out explanatory work, organize them to defend the revolution and its historic goals, mobilize in order to rout the plotters of imperialism, headed by the U.S., and to achieve the necessary unity of all the popular forces.

We are sure that, despite all the complexities and difficulties, the working people of our revolutionary country will find a way to consolidate the revolution and secure its goals.

October 1982
(Abridged)

Communist Parties on the New Warsaw Treaty Peace Initiatives

There has been a broad international response to the proposals made by Yuri Andropov, CPSU CC General Secretary, and to the initiatives of the socialist community contained in the Prague Political Declaration. Below are statements of some of the many communist and workers' parties which have highly assessed the peace proposals as a new major contribution to the normalization of the international situation.

The Road to Arms Control

Communiqué of the CC Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium states with satisfaction that the controversy over the deployment of the eurostrategic missiles on our continent has moved out of the impasse. The dialogue between the parties concerned is beginning to take definite shape. The proposals made by the new General Secretary of the CPSU CC on the 60th anniversary of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty proposal to conclude a non-aggression treaty with NATO played an essential and constructive role in this regard. These proposals not only show that the "zero option" is not a basis for effective negotiations but also point the way to arms control and disarmament both in the area of nuclear arms and in the area of conventional arms systems.

Regarding the West's position of refusal or reservation, it is progressively giving way to a manifestation of real interest. State leaders not only from West Germany, Holland and Great Britain but also from the United States have been speaking in favor of a serious and thorough study of these proposals.

In general one can say that public opinion in Western Europe is categorically against seeing Europe become the ground for an uncontrolled arms

race and the testing of different strategic theories which could end in a nuclear holocaust. That is why there is a need for the broadest mobilization of the public to participate in the national anti-war demonstrations. This is all the more necessary because the Belgian government has shown little initiative after the moratorium which followed the NATO December 1979 decision. Moreover, our government is more and more definitely inclined to the U.S. point of view, notably in connection with the latest Soviet proposals. Such an attitude is even more deserving of criticism given the tendency toward the strengthened influence of the ultra-reactionary advocates of the continued arms race over the Reagan administration's policy.

That is why it is necessary to support all the initiatives impelling the Belgian government to make a positive contribution with its own proposals and positions to the realization of the favorable opportunities for peace opened up today by the new constructive proposals.

Abridged from *Le Drapeau Rouge*,
January 14, 1983

Plan for Comprehensive and Complete Disarmament

Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA

The proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries is the most significant proposal made to stop the arms race and the threat of nuclear world destruction and move the world onto the road of peaceful construction and national and individual economic rights and liberties.

The proposal aims directly to move the world back from the brink of nuclear annihilation, build mutual trust and guarantee a process of arms reduction. It calls for a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

The proposal lays the basis for cutting the wasteful military budget thereby freeing billions of dollars for jobs creation and rebuilding the infrastructure of our country.

The proposal opens the way for the most massive national program of assistance to developing countries to end the poverty, hunger, illness and pestilence now plaguing hundreds of millions of suffering peoples throughout the world. It is the basis for ending national oppression and chauvinism.

The proposal is the hope of billions. It is the embodiment of human aspiration for normal peaceful life. It is in the total interests of the people of the United States. It is welcomed and endorsed the world over.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal offers a plan for comprehensive and complete disarmament with steps toward its achievement. This is the real zero option. This belies the Reaganite-Pentagon

claims that the proposals are not real and meaningful and offer no basis for disarmament. The fact is that the ball is now in the Reagan court.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' peace plan calls for (among other things):

— mutual non-use of military force — a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries;

— a pledge of no first use of either conventional or nuclear weapons;

— ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical;

— an end to the escalating military spending and subsequent reduction in both percentages and absolute military spending;

— large portions of the money saved from the cuts in arms expenditures would be used to assist the economies and living standards in developing countries.

This peace proposal calls for the broadest support and lays the basis for mass action by all peace activists to compel its implementation.

This peace proposal exposes fully the false and fraudulent claims of the Reagan-Pentagon-monopoly corporations that the Warsaw Treaty countries

do not want peace and disarmament. The war danger comes from only one source: it comes from the monopoly drive for world domination and its threat to use nuclear first strike and other war measures to secure their drive for maximum profits.

It is NATO, not the Warsaw Treaty countries which threatens the use of nuclear weapons. It is NATO, not the Warsaw Treaty countries which uses arms and force to block the struggle for economic and political liberation by peoples all over the world. It is NATO that is planning the deployment of a new generation of nuclear weapons, the Pershing II and Cruise missiles.

The Soviet Union has proposed to meet face to face at the summit level to open the way for ending the war danger and toward developing a plan for world economic construction.

The people of the United States have the best opportunity at this time to raise their voices to let President Reagan know they want him to meet at the summit to negotiate in good faith to guarantee peace. This is the time for stopping the deployment of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles which would open up a new round of escalation. The time for peace is now.

Socialism and Peace are Inseparable

Statement by the Presidium of the Board of the German Communist Party

The new important peace proposals of the USSR and its allies prove that socialism and peace are inseparable, and that there is nothing more important for the communists than decisive action to free humankind from the threat of a world nuclear holocaust, ensure peace and security for the peoples and save them from the severe consequences of the imperialist arms race policy. Europe must not become a Hiroshima. Peace, security and détente for Europe and the whole world — such are the supreme principles of socialist policy as shown by the new proposals of the socialist states.

The Presidium of the GCP Board hails the new initiatives of Yuri Andropov, CPSU CC General Secretary, the Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU CC "To the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties and Peoples of the World" for peace, published on the 60th anniversary of the USSR on behalf of the Soviet Union's 270 million citizens, and also the new important peace proposals in the Political Declaration adopted at the Prague meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

The initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states are directed toward ensuring that there are no nuclear arms whatsoever in Europe — neither those of the Soviet Union nor of the NATO states — and they meet the desire of all the peoples for peace and especially the interests of the people of the FRG. The Soviet proposals aim at a truly zero option. Reiteration by the Soviet Union of its willingness to cut back its nuclear medium-range missiles to the number of that class presently held by Britain and France shows clearly that all the reasons

for the so-called NATO additional arming are false, and that there can be no justification for the planned deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles.

The Soviet Union acts according to the principles that it should have not one missile or aircraft more than the NATO states, while all the plans to deploy additional new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG and other West European countries boil down to a one-sided change of the rough military parity in favor of NATO and the West, and primarily to the transformation of the FRG into a launching pad for nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. This is an adventurist policy running counter to the striving for peace and the vital interests of our people. It must be foiled if our people want to live in peace and security.

All peace-loving citizens of the FRG are alarmed by the fact that the U.S. government, the right-wing Bonn government and also the leadership of the parties represented in the Bundestag still support the fatal NATO Brussels missile decision, and that preparation for the planned deployment of the new missiles is continuing. This course toward war preparation, confrontation and the arms race contradicts the basic vital interests of the citizens of the FRG, the working people's interests, and also our country's national interests.

The proposal to conclude an agreement between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO member states on the mutual non-use of military force is a new and important initiative of the socialist states aimed to ensure humankind's paramount right — the right to live in peace. If agreement could be reached on the non-use of military force it would serve as a real

barrier to the persistent threat of a nuclear catastrophe and would be an important achievement for the cause of peace and for the peoples' security.

The peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states are an expression of the responsible and constructive action of the Soviet Union and other socialist states aimed to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and ensure a stable peace in a period of the dangerous growth in international tension.

The GCP appeals to all peace-loving citizens, to the social democrats, the "Greens", liberals, Christians, alternativists, to all who do not want the FRG to become a launching pad for the U.S. nuclear missiles, to give a positive response to the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, increase the joint efforts to strengthen the peace movement and do everything to prevent 1983 from becoming the year of the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles, and to ensure that agreement is reached between the West and East on the non-use of force.

The GCP demands that the federal government react constructively to the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist states and end its adventurist collusion with the U.S. government, which is relying on confrontation and war preparation. It is time for the federal government to respect the demands of the peace movement of the majority of our country's citizens, who are being joined by more and more concerned Christians.

The GCP highly assesses the Soviet Union's decision not to be the first to use nuclear arms and also its readiness to conclude mutual agreements not to be the first to use conventional weapons. In this connection, we make an urgent appeal to the federal government at last to demand that the U.S. government make the very same pledge. We demand that,

in its turn, the federal government declare its readiness not to deliver the first blow, whether with nuclear or conventional weapons.

The GCP appeals to the federal government and to the parties represented in the Bundestag to study the Soviet Union's peace-loving proposals with an open mind and to give a constructive response to them.

We appeal to the deputies in the communities, towns and districts to be guided by their responsibility for the cause of peace and security of the citizens, and to help to remove the threat of war and realize the citizens' right to live in peace and security. Today this means, first and foremost, a struggle to prevent the deployment of any new medium-range missiles, and to make our country and our communities and towns free from nuclear arms.

The presidium of the GCP Board calls on all party members, sympathizers and supporters to help to acquaint primarily the working people, the young people, and the workers at enterprises and in institutions with the new Soviet peace initiatives and also the Prague proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member states on ensuring peace and security. The consistent, prudent and peace-loving policy of the socialist states is a great help to the struggle against the false anti-communist propaganda about a "threat from the East." The socialist world is extending a hand to our people, proposing the reaching of mutual understanding, peace and disarmament. Such is the truth; such are the facts.

In the year ahead we, the communists, are going to make every effort to promote the further strengthening of the peace movement and contribute to the struggle to prevent the planned deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of our country.

Unsere Zeit, January 7, 1983

Intensify the Struggle for the Withdrawal of the Israeli Forces from Lebanon

Joint Declaration of the Palestinian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Israel

At the end of 1982 talks were held between delegations of the Communist Party of Israel and the Palestinian Communist Party, headed by the General Secretaries of the two parties, in an atmosphere of deep friendship and unity of opinions. Both parties agreed to issue the following joint statement:

I

The Communist Party of Israel and the Palestinian Communist Party evaluate highly the historical importance of the establishment of the Palestinian Communist Party. The establishment of the Palestinian Communist Party is an expression of the objective necessity which stems from the development of the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for the realization of their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

On the occasion of their first official meeting, the two parties express their high appreciation of their common revolutionary past, of the history of the Communist Party of Palestine and of its farsighted policy — based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the struggle against imperialism, against the ideology and practice of Zionism, against Arab reaction, for national independence and for defending the interests of the workers and real interests of both peoples.

II

The situation in the Middle East, the Palestinian problem, the struggle against the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, the struggle for just and comprehensive peace and the struggle against the Israeli-U.S. aggression in Lebanon — were the core of the talks which were held between the delegations of the two fraternal parties.

The two parties condemn the Israeli-U.S. barbaric aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon and its territorial integrity, against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. The two parties condemn the war crimes, the massacres, genocide and the destruction of towns, villages and refugee camps.

The two parties demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council. The two parties demand the cessation of U.S. military and political intervention in Lebanon and demand the punishment of the war criminals.

The Communist Party of Israel and the Palestinian Communist Party express their solidarity with the fraternal Lebanese Communist Party and with the Lebanese patriotic progressive movement in their struggle against Israeli occupation, for the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon, for ensuring its integrity and sovereignty, for guaranteeing democracy in it and for providing a decent and secure life to the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

The two parties assert that the Israeli-U.S. aggression in Lebanon is a result of the Camp David accords and the strategic agreement between Israel and the USA which is directed against the Arab peoples, against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The Israeli-U.S. aggressors have exploited to their benefit the collusion between the Arab reactionary regimes and imperialism, they have also exploited the split which befell the Arab world as a result of the Begin-Sadat deal and also the war between Iraq and Iran which only serves the interest of imperialism and its lackeys.

III

The two parties assess that the war in Lebanon has proved the failure of the attempts of the U.S. imperialists and the Zionist ruling circles in Israel to solve the Palestinian problem and the Israeli-Arab conflict by military means. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of the PLO, and the Lebanese patriotic progressive movement, specially in West Beirut, in the face of aggression, the crimes of genocide and the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps, the resistance of the masses of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories in the face of occupation, their foiling of attempts to impose "self-administration" and the conspiracy to impose an "alternative leadership," and their adherence to the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and to the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state — all these factors have obstructed

the calculations of the aggressors, placed the Palestinian problem at the center of international concern and gained the sympathy of the public opinion in the whole world.

The aggressive war with its crimes has shocked Israeli society and weakened the confidence of wide circles in the political-military ruling establishment. A mass protest movement against the war has developed in Israel.

The solidarity of world public opinion with the victims of aggression and the assistance of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the forces of peace and progress in the world to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples — all this has contributed decisively to the failure of the aggressors. The Israeli aggressors supported by the USA have failed to realize their predatory desire to liquidate the Palestinian problem and the PLO. On the contrary, they now enjoy sympathy and firm support in the whole world, more than ever before.

The Palestinian and the Israeli communists underline that the treacherous Israeli-U.S. aggression has not come to an end. The aggressors insist on realizing their basic objectives, and this carries in its wake the danger of the renewal of war and widening its dimensions against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and against Syria. Therefore, the task of the hour in the region and in the international arena is to intensify the struggle for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The two parties call for the intensification of the struggle for the release of all the Palestinian and Lebanese detainees, imprisoned by Israel and subject to all kinds of torture, and denied elementary human conditions.

IV

The last tragic events have proved the sound and just positions of the Palestinian and Israeli communists regarding the Palestinian problem. The two parties declare that it is impossible to solve the Middle East crisis and achieve comprehensive peace in the region without the realization of a just solution to the Palestinian problem, without the realization of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state.

The two parties uphold that the establishment of just and comprehensive peace should be based on the following:

(1) withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the evacuation of all Israeli colonial settlements in the occupied territories,

(2) respect of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state in the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip; the solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the UN resolutions,

(3) respect of the right of all states in the region, including the future independent Palestinian state and the state of Israel, to independent existence and peaceful life, within secured and recognized borders

to be secured by international guarantees.

The just Israeli-Palestinian peace, according to these principles, is the basis for the realization of the mutual recognition between the state of Israel and the Palestinian state and for the establishment of goodneighborly relations.

According to these principles, the two parties declare their support to the plan which was put forward by the Soviet Union and presented by comrade Brezhnev in September 1982. The two parties demand the convocation of an international conference for establishing peace in the Middle East, with the participation, on equal footing, of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, and with the participation of the Soviet Union, the USA and other interested countries.

The two parties reject the so-called Reagan Plan, that denies the Palestinian Arab people the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own state and which is intended to prevent just peace and to infringe the independence of the peoples of the Middle East. This plan is meant to transform the region into one big American military base directed against the national and social liberation movements, and against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The plan is intended, as well, to save the Camp David deal from ignominious defeat. It aims also to deepen Arab internal contradictions, split the Palestinian national movement, and disseminate new dangerous illusions amidst circles in Israel opposed to war.

The Palestinian and Israeli communists support the Fez conference resolutions related to the Palestine problem, emphasizing the necessity of upholding these resolutions, and the duty of all parties subscribing to them to fulfil their obligations for their realization.

The two parties uphold that the fulfillment of the national just rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and the establishment of the just Israeli-Palestinian peace are in the interest of all the peoples of the region, and in the interests of peace and security in the whole world.

The two parties strongly condemn the savage repressive measures carried out by the Israeli forces in the occupied Palestinian territories. These measures are intended to destroy the morale of the Palestinian masses and to force them to leave their homeland. The two parties also condemn the practices of Israeli occupation forces in denying the basic human rights such as their freedom of organization and expression; they condemn the molesting of Palestinian culture and relics, encroachment on universities and academic freedoms, on trade union, municipal, social and other institutions. The two parties condemn land expropriation; the establishment of colonies; military terror, collective punishments, arrests, torture in jails, and all the practices of the occupation army and the colonial settlers who carry out acts of terror, torture and murder against the Palestinians.

The Israeli Communist Party expresses its high esteem of the heroism of the Palestinian Communist Party and its great contribution in uniting all the patriotic forces in the struggle of the Palestinian masses in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip against

Israeli occupation and for a just peace. The Israeli communists express their solidarity with their brothers — the Palestinian communists, who are struggling under conditions of savage repression conducted by the occupation forces. They express their full support to the patriotic and internationalist policy of the Palestinian communists.

The Palestinian Communist Party expresses its high esteem of the brave and consistent struggle of the Communist Party of Israel against the occupation, against the acts of repression in the occupied territories. The Palestinian communists express their full support of the internationalist and patriotic policy of the Israeli communists. The Communist Party of Israel by its principled support to the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people contributes to the cause of peace and to the real interests of the people of Israel.

V

The two parties consider the policy of the American administration in the Middle East as part of its global policy directed against the freedom of peoples, against international détente and against communism. This policy endangers world peace.

The two parties underline the failure of the American strategy of aggression, as expressed in the growing popular peace movement in Europe and other parts of the world; in the mounting struggle against the disastrous arms race; the growing protest movement against the deployment of medium-range American missiles in Western Europe; the collapse of American pressure to annul agreements between the West European countries and the Soviet Union on the gas pipeline. The two parties point out the aggravating economic crisis in the capitalist world; the widespread unemployment in its countries; the soaring inflation and the economic depression. In contrast there are the great achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in all spheres — economic, scientific, technological, social and cultural.

The two parties highly praise the Leninist peace policy conducted by the Soviet Union, its many peace initiatives aiming at safeguarding humanity against atomic catastrophe, and at strengthening world peace.

The Communist Party of Israel and the Palestinian Communist Party extend fraternal hearty greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the peoples of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Union. The brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union, that stood all tests of history — the brotherhood based on equality among peoples, proves that only socialism is capable of fully solving the national problem, by uprooting the class and political roots of national oppression, which is the product of the class exploiting society.

The two parties express their satisfaction at the defeat of the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland and the strengthening of socialism in Poland.

The two parties express their solidarity with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, that successfully defends the achievements of the April

Revolution against the internal and external enemies.

The two parties express their solidarity with all peoples fighting against imperialism, against racial and fascist regimes for national freedom and social progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The two parties stress the great importance of consolidating the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in order to succeed in the noble struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism

and in strengthening the unity of the whole international workers' movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces.

The Palestinian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Israel consider that the deep friendly relations that exist between them are a great victory to the noble cause of peace, national liberation and communism. The fraternal relations between the two parties are symbolizing the future relations between the two peoples on the basis of mutual respect of rights and peace.

Al-Ittihad, December 28, 1982

For the Further Strengthening of the National Patriotic Movement in the Occupied Territories

Statement by the Lebanese Communist Party

The LCP CC Political Bureau held a meeting to discuss important political developments. It heard a report by party General Secretary Georges Haoui on the results of his recent trip to some Arab countries — the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Kuwait and Syria — during which important meetings and discussions were held with Ali Nasir Muhammad, General Secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council, Prime Minister of the PDRY; Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad, Yasser Arafat and other leaders of the Palestinian resistance, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, and other high-ranking officials of the three countries.

THE NEED TO ORGANIZE AN ARAB DEMARCHE

The aim of the trip was to help to mobilize the Arab public and to concentrate the Arab forces to assist Lebanon in its struggle for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops from its territory and to ensure that the country remains united, free and a part of the Arab world. Lebanon, which put all its resources at the service of the Arab cause and to support the Palestinian revolution, has a right to expect all-round Arab aid in its efforts to restore the country's independence and sovereignty. It has a right to expect that the fraternal Arab countries will use what possibilities they have to pressure the U.S. and force it to get the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops. In this connection, the Lebanese Communist Party emphasizes the need urgently to organize an official Arab demarche, whether in the form of a special meeting of the Arab heads of state and government, or by composing a joint top-level Arab delegation to visit the capitals of the great powers and put the Lebanese problem to them with the required urgency, and also to obtain

the greatest possible moral and material support for Lebanon.

During the trip the LCP CC General Secretary held frank and friendly meetings with Yasser Arafat and other leaders of the Palestinian resistance concerning the presence of armed Palestinian units in northern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley. The decision of the leadership of the Palestinian revolution to place these units at the service of Lebanon's national interests and of the Lebanese struggle to end the Israeli occupation was reaffirmed. Complete readiness was expressed to begin direct and friendly talks with the Lebanese authorities on this matter.

Of extremely great importance were the discussions in Damascus with Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad and other officials, discussions held in an atmosphere of friendship and frankness. They also touched on the question of the presence of Syrian units in the Bekaa Valley, northern Lebanon and the mountainous regions of the country. President al-Assad stressed that Syria has no special interests in Lebanon and that the Syrian troops' sole task is to help to obtain the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupationists from all Lebanese territory. He also stressed the complete willingness of Syria — its people, government and himself as president — to remove all obstacles which the opponent is seeking to use as a pretext to justify the refusal to withdraw the troops.

WITHOUT U.S. MEDIATION

The LCP CC Political Bureau believes that the Lebanese authorities should take the initiative to discuss, without the mediation of the U.S. or anyone else, the existing relations with Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization, including the question of the armed Palestinian units and Syrian military units in Lebanon. The LCP underlines that this initiative will be fully supported in the Arab world. A visit to Damascus by the President of the Lebanese

Republic and a meeting between himself and Yasser Arafat during the scheduled visit to Arab countries would be an important step along the road to taking Lebanon out of the present impasse. They would be of important propaganda significance for the Lebanese authorities for they will allow a broad political, diplomatic and mass campaign to be launched inside and outside the country to bring about the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops, and end the open U.S. blackmail aimed, in the long run, to push through the conditions imposed by Israel and divide the spheres of domination between Israel and the United States, which action is a two-fold infringement of Lebanon's national independence and sovereignty.

ESCALATION OF THE COURSE TOWARD ESTABLISHING COMMUNAL HEGEMONY

The LCP CC Political Bureau discussed the dangerous situation in the country resulting from the escalation of the course toward establishing communal hegemony. The latter is expressed in the statements of the "Lebanese forces"* and their practical activities under the Israeli occupation, especially in the mountainous regions where communal civil strife is being encouraged. There is also an activation there of the operations of the alien units, which attack the local residents, leading to the flight of thousands of families from peaceful villages (Christian villages in the first place), families which had lived there in peace and tranquility during all the previous years. These actions, like the attempts to spread the civil strife to other regions, the continuing abduction and arrests of thousands of people, and the attempt to assassinate Valid Joublatt reveal the true meaning of the speeches, articles and statements based on the "winner and loser" concept, i.e., on the support of the Israeli occupation and a striving to use it to strengthen their positions in order to establish communal hegemony, which is fraught with a most serious threat to the country's unity, and not only with a renewal but also an extension of the destructive civil war. The latter benefits only the Israeli occupationists, who have been nurturing plans to divide Lebanon and subject it to their domination for a long time to come.

The "Lebanese forces" continue to hold ports and many public enterprises under their control, refusing to hand them over to the lawful authorities, and they hinder the deployment of government forces in the East Beirut blocks controlled by them and in other regions. At the same time they try to manipulate the levers of power which they have in the state apparatus, and use the support of some government bodies to implement further the plans to establish communal hegemony over the entire country.

THE AUTHORITIES MUST FULFIL THEIR DUTY

In the face of such a threat to the country's future,

*The right-wing Christian Phalangists of the Kata'eb Party. — Ed.

the LCP once again appeals to the authorities to fulfil their duty and stop conniving at the course toward communal hegemony. The party warns against the transformation of this course into the authorities' official line. It calls on them instead to state their readiness to reject such a course and support the slogan of national reconciliation and national agreement on the basis of the demand to withdraw the Israeli occupation troops and establish the sovereignty of the state power over all Lebanese territory.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LEBANESE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT

The present state of the Lebanese national patriotic movement objectively favors the course toward communal hegemony. The hasty statement about the consolidation of that movement's organizational forms, which have taken shape by now, was interpreted as a kind of "freezing" of the historical conditions of struggle in which it has been developing against the background of the national battles waged by our people. As a common derivative of the struggle of the masses, the patriotic parties, forces and leaders for the country's independence, its unity and the preservation of it as a part of the Arab world, and for its people's right to democratic development, the Lebanese national patriotic movement has won the deepest respect of the patriots of Lebanon, the popular masses of the other Arab countries, and the friends and allies of our people throughout the world. This movement's national legacy is still intact. It is that movement which is the chief spokesman for our people's national aspirations, remaining the main buttress of the national struggle now being waged to restore the country's independence, expel the Israeli occupationists, preserve Lebanon's unity, confirm its being part of the Arab world and ensure its democratic development. The heroic battle waged by the national patriotic movement against the Israeli occupationists for over four months was a crown of a special kind on that legacy.

AN APPEAL TO RENEW THE FORMS OF NATIONAL ACTION

Taking the foregoing as the point of departure, we once again reaffirm the appeal to renew the forms of Lebanese national action, especially of the national patriotic movement, on the basis of a comprehensive program embodying the will of the overwhelming majority of Lebanese, who have been opposing the Israeli occupation, rejecting the conditions of the Israelis and their U.S. backers, and resisting the "Lebanese forces" course toward communal hegemony.

The LCP believes that the Lebanese national patriotic movement is the vanguard force, capable of elaborating a complex program of all-round national opposition to the Israeli occupation and to the course toward communal hegemony and of leading the masses in keeping with that program. The national patriotic movement must exercise initiative to unite all the democratic patriotic forces, all who are trying to end the occupation, secure the sovereignty

of the lawful authorities over all of Lebanon's territory, restore the country's unity, reaffirm its being part of the Arab world and ensure its democratic development.

Emphasizing its determination to continue the struggle under the banner of the Lebanese national patriotic movement and restating its full support for the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) headed by comrade Valid Joumlatt, a party which has been waging a fierce battle in the mountainous regions and in Lebanon as a whole, the Lebanese Communist

Party once again appeals to all patriotic forces — inside and outside the national patriotic movement — and primarily to the PSP and "Amal" movement to raise cooperation to a higher level through joint efforts. This will make it possible to create new organizational forms of the national patriotic movement, thanks to which the movement will be able to head the national struggle at the present stage.

Beirut, December 18, 1982

Abridged from *Al-Nida*, December 19, 1982

Unmask the Rotten Saudi Regime

Interview by the Spokesman of the CP of Saudi Arabia
with Al-Yassar al-Arabi Magazine

Q. There are continual reports about mass actions, notably in Saudi Arabia's eastern regions, accompanied by arrests and the brutal torture of members of the progressive and patriotic forces. Could you give us more details on what is happening in Saudi Arabia?

A. One cannot look at the campaign of arrests in Saudi Arabia in isolation from the events in the Arab world, from what is happening on Lebanese soil, from the attempts to erase the Palestinian problem or from the war in the Persian Gulf. All these events are an extremely important factor affecting the situation in our country.

The reactionary Saudi regime has tremendous financial means which it is seeking to place at the service of imperialism in the region and to use to push through the suspicious imperialist plans. At the same time it is obvious that the internal structure of the regime itself is largely not in keeping with the role it is trying to play.

Confirmation of this is the Saudi authorities' broad campaign of arrests in an atmosphere of hysteria, a campaign whose victims are the democrats and the patriots who demand even minimal democratic freedom.

Mass actions did take place in the country's eastern regions. The participants were protesting against the events in Lebanon — the Israeli seizure of Lebanese lands and the massacres in the Shatila and Sabra camps. What really lies behind the arrests is the attempts by the authorities to prevent the mass movement from developing at all.

The regime is in a state of uncertainty. It is afraid of the further growth of the already fairly broad patriotic opposition, which is a threat to its existence. Opposition religious and tribal movements, and also the strengthening opposition among the intelligentsia, servicemen, and even some bourgeois strata were drawn into the actions.

The reasons for the growth in the opposition forces are as follows.

First, the regime's anti-national policy, which fully supports world imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in the first place. This policy infringes upon the

interests of many Saudis, not to mention the damage it does to the homeland and the nation.

Second, the deepening disintegration of the upper strata and of the very ruling family of the Saudi dynasty.

Third, the logic and consequences of the development of the Saudi society. This development is proceeding rapidly but in a deformed manner and in forms oriented toward consumption. It is one-sided and is confined to the economy, where transformations which are essentially bourgeois are taking place. At the same time, backward feudal thinking dominates in the area of political leadership. Laws from the Middle Ages operate in the country and allow such punishment as the severance of hands, stoning for dissoluteness, and flogging. The most elementary democratic freedoms are non-existent.

Saudi society is torn by sharp and deepening contradictions, which are promoting the steady growth of opposition in all the social strata, as witness the Johayman al-Utaibi movement, which culminated in the armed seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in November 1979. The "Forefathers' Piety" group, which carried out that action, called for a return to Islam's original sources from which, they assert, the ruling Saudi family, wallowing in pleasure, has departed. This movement and the regime are one flesh; the majority of the movement's leaders are graduates of religious schools. Hence, it is clear that the absolute monarchy is in grave crisis. The blows it is dealing the opposition forces are not weakening their determination and cannot stop their growth, which will continue as long as there are deep antagonistic contradictions in the society.

Q. For the first time the repression in Saudi Arabia is affecting women who, along with the intelligentsia — authors, journalists, writers — are being subjected to unprecedentedly brutal torture, but the media is almost completely silent on this. In your opinion, what should the world's freedom-loving progressive forces do in connection with the events in Saudi Arabia?

A. We are fighting a regime which has colossal

financial means. The Saudi authorities are in the habit of bribing journalists, writers and other media employees in Arab countries and in other states to hang a curtain of silence over the events in the country and create a distorted image of the kingdom as an island of stability and tranquility.

The true state of affairs has absolutely nothing in common with this picture created by mercenary hands. The majority of the people are discontented with the regime's economic, social and political course. It is therefore not surprising that the terror and repression are now being applied against women as well. Women have been arrested in the past but were never the victims of such brutal torture.

Women were worthy participants in the patriotic struggle, working side by side with the men, and have played a considerable role in the fighting. The events of 1969 and 1979 are an example of this. Women were among those arrested for taking part in the powerful November actions in the eastern regions of Saudi Arabia.

One important thing should be pointed out: as long as women are deprived of the right to work, and also of other cultural, political and social rights, their role

is going to grow in the national political movement to give them these rights, which are a very important integral part of the general democratic freedoms for which the Saudi democrats and patriots are fighting.

We emphasize that the majority of the people are discontented with the regime's policy and with the course it is pursuing in different spheres and areas. The campaign of repression against women is an important indication of the deepening crisis of the ruling circles.

The arrests of members of the intelligentsia, writers and journalists are now wider in scope. The degrading ruling family is trying to stifle the voices of those who have taken on the task of exposing its irresponsible actions in every area.

We appeal to the progressive democratic forces to declare their solidarity with us. They must unmask the rotten Saudi regime, which is playing a dirty conspiratorial role in the fight against all the national liberation movements wherever they are active. This is, of course, a fraternal call on our part.

Al-Yassar al-Arabi No. 49,
December 1982

Our Struggle for a New Argentina

Statement by the Communist Party of Argentina CC on the 65th Anniversary of the CPA

Founded on January 6, 1918, the Communist Party of Argentina is reporting to the country on its 65 years of consistent struggle for Argentina's final national liberation and social emancipation. While far from singing its own praises, the party is sure that it has made its contribution to defining the measures toward overcoming the crisis in Argentina and that its concrete actions helped to transform those measures into reality. The CPA's founders charted a course toward a socialist future and also showed the road which could lead to political changes in the country and to anti-imperialist democracy headed by the working class. Today, when the might of socialism is growing throughout the world, the very existence of that system exposing the irreversibility of the capitalist crisis, and when the people's decisive action is breaking up imperialism's apparatus of economic and political oppression, the entire course of events has confirmed the Communist Party's initial policy as correct. We pay tribute to our pioneers, who have brought glory to the Communist Party, and to our martyrs, to the thousands of persecuted who never bent under the torture and who, with head held high, demanded respect for their proletarian convictions.

In the 65 years of its existence, the Communist Party has overcome all adversity and become a great force in Argentinian society. As the "party for changes" it has won the broad support of the masses in its campaign for the right to participate in the elections. The entire Argentinian people, and the

working class in the first place, understand that the firm presence of the Communist Party is one of the conditions for preserving democracy in the country and ensuring the observation of the constitution, which undoubtedly needs to be renewed and improved but which the forces acting in the name of "law and order" to please the foreign monopolies have always sought to destroy.

In the difficult years of the aftermath of the people's defeat in 1976, the communists' word and the Communist Party's joint action with other democratic currents in the country sought the ways to isolate the real enemies of the Argentinian nation. In the face of the extremism of the political adventurers and also of the desperation of well-intentioned people, we have always been firm in the belief that the only possible road is that of organized action and unity of the masses, understanding that the division in Argentinian society is not between the civilians and the army but between those who support democracy and liberation, on the one hand, and those who support backwardness and dependence on imperialism, on the other. The Malvinas crisis dramatically exposed this contradiction, showing how the action of the people, who have never received anything for nothing, opened the road to the restoration of democracy, a road which we are travelling in the midst of difficulties and dangers. Only the united action of the people can overcome them once and for all. On its 65th anniversary the Communist Party once again calls for unity.

Aware of its responsibility as the spokesman for the proletariat's class consciousness, the Communist Party reiterates that the unification of all the democratic forces around a single program and candidate is indispensable to ensure the successful functioning of a democratic government elected by universal suffrage and to defend it from future coups. The Argentinian experience shows that imperialism and its local agents, though few, managed to gain the upper hand because they sowed division, hostility and distrust in the ranks of the popular forces, which are objectively destined to march together because of their common national interests. It is a maneuver which they will try to repeat; it is a maneuver which we must thwart.

This is the reason for our campaign for the right to participate in the elections; this is the reason for our decision to nominate our own candidates, who will also be candidates of the majority of the unitary forces since they will act on behalf of the Argentinian people's common democratic goals as the representatives of the historical consciousness of a class which, because of its own independence, is the only one capable of fully expressing and defending the national interests.

As a demonstration of its desire to unite with other forces, the Communist Party calls on the working class and the entire people to rally round it in order to intensify its support throughout the country. This call is directed especially to the young people, whose natural striving for knowledge and progress is always being discouraged.

We are "the party for changes," the party for the creation of a new society based on the dignity of labor and the genuine independence of our homeland. It is the young people who will have to create that society. The situation in the world favors changes: imperialism can no longer dictate and impose its inexorable will on other peoples because the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, has changed international relations in favor of peace and democracy, because the non-aligned movement has weakened imperialism's hegemonistic claims, and because, here in Latin America, yankee imperialism's systems of military and judicial domination has been seriously undermined. There are therefore the prerequisites for a victory of the Argentinian people, provided their organizations unite.

Sixty-five years ago the Communist Party set this task before the Argentinians and it continues to have meaning. In order to ensure the transition from dictatorial chaos to a government elected by the people and to implement the necessary steps toward a real and firm democracy, it is imperative that all democratically-minded Argentinians unite. In order to achieve this unity, its most dynamic weapon — the Communist Party — must be strengthened. Its ranks are open to all the country's citizens who want to end the disastrous series of reactionary coups which, since September 6, 1930, have been meeting imperialism's striving to maintain the backwardness and dependence of our homeland.

Buenos Aires, January 6, 1983

Venezuela: On the Structural Crisis in the Country

Statement by the CC Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela

Every day brings an intensification of the suffering of the working people and the country is retrogressing under the pressure of the internal difficulties connected with the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

The national crisis is structural and, moreover, is derived from Venezuela's dependent position, which drains its enormous resources, from the extraordinary public spending, which can no longer be covered by oil revenue, however high it may be, and from the policy of limited economic growth, unemployment and inflation, whose principal victims are the working people.

With the installation in the country of a mechanism for recycling petrodollars, a new function which the world financial system of imperialism has imposed on Venezuela, the deepening crisis has become especially acute.

The suggested "solutions" favoring the reactionaries and the entrepreneurs, show, on the one hand, that there is no wish to overcome the crisis and, on

the other, that the monopolies are prepared to defend their privileges at any price.

1. The reason for the actions by the public sector workers is the crisis, which has been worsened by the recycling of petrodollars, which has caused a chronic state budget deficit despite the fact that the revenue being received is the highest in Venezuela's history.

The Democratic Action and Copei parties, rivals in the elections, are doing everything to conceal the economic causes of the working people's actions and the aggravation of the crisis because they are unable to find solutions. It is not true that the closing down of the Cauchos General tire factory, sending more than 1,000 persons into the streets, or the 4,500 bankrupt small and medium traders and 4,000 industrial enterprises, or the government's refusal to discuss new collective agreements with the working people and give them their full Christmas bonus have anything to do with the measures to concentrate the foreign currency reserves in the Central

Bank of Venezuela (CBV) or with the interference in the Workers' Bank of Venezuela. The working people are claiming their rights and that is the reason for the threats against them from the presidential palace in Miraflores and from the ministries.

2. A plot is underway to devalue the bolivar against the dollar. The main protagonists are the private banks and the transnational financial corporations. Following the increase in foreign currency reserves as a result of the successive measures like the gold revaluation and the centralization of foreign currency funds in the CBV, the devaluation advocates believe that there is no other recourse but to devalue in order to bear the high level of external debt, pay for imports and permit the export of capital in accordance with the agreements with the U.S. monopoly banks.

If the present scale of foreign currency exchange is kept up, an important part of which is a net outflow of capital, in a few months the country's reserves will be exhausted because, in addition, the oil revenues are expected to go down and it will not be possible to compensate for them with other exports.

It is necessary to mobilize against the maneuvers to devalue the bolivar because it will further increase the scarcity of capital in the country, and because, among other consequences, the working people's incomes will be especially hard hit by the inflation because of a sharp increase in the prices of imported goods and a significant reduction in appropriations for social needs as a result of the apportionment of a large part of the budget to pay the external debt.

In addition to the lowering of the working people's

incomes as a result of the refusal to make a cost-of-living adjustment, a plan is now under way to decrease wages and salaries further: the devaluation of the bolivar.

3. At the same time that the country is greatly in need of liquid funds, those funds are in foreign banks. From January to September \$4,500 million were transferred to those banks for speculation and to force a devaluation of the bolivar. Although the level of liquidity increased five times over from 1974 to 1981, the volume of production of goods and services did not increase substantially.

The plotters are the intermediaries of the international banks and national monopolies, which prefer to export capital rather than invest it in the country. They are now seeking to use speculation against the bolivar and the devaluation to make up for their reduced profits resulting from the lower rate of interest on the capital held abroad, and from other business failures.

But the state itself, because of its class character and dependency, promotes the holding of capital abroad. At the same time it continues to squander the country's resources, allow those in league with it to make enormous profits and support the unrestricted foreign currency exchange, which facilitates the flow abroad of the profits so easily made.

4. As the crisis worsens, the government is more and more inclined to "solutions" favoring the entrepreneurs. Ex-Minister Ugueto and the present Minister of Finance Arturo Sosa are followers of this policy. The inclusion of Sosa, who belongs to the Vollmer group, which is connected with U.S. capital, indicates that the oligarchy is determined to take more direct charge of the situation, without any intermediaries. The placing of Sosa at the head of state finances means the consolidation of the alliance between the government and the private monopolies, an alliance including an electoral pact. All this indicates that the government is placing more confidence in the big bourgeoisie, giving it greater freedom to use the oil income for recycling, and also indicates an attempt to plug the hole in the obligations toward the U.S. banks, which the government is offering additional advantages to get them to refinance the state debt.

In a nutshell, the state finances have been "Vollmerized."

The fusion of the state with the monopolies associated with U.S. capital has reached such a level that the oligarchy can use the state machinery to reduce the working people's rights further, prevent conflicts and step up the plundering of the national wealth in its own interests.

5. This adverse situation for the working people is stimulating them to fight for their demands. The political struggle will develop because the most stubborn circles of big capital, which have been suffering one defeat after another, are trying to impose other "solutions," each one more reactionary than the other. This tendency can be confronted only by mobilizing the masses around precise objectives. The election campaign offers a good opportunity for doing this.

Caracas, December 15, 1982

Georgi Dimitrov

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Vietnam: Our People Will Spare No Effort in Building Socialism and Defending Their Homeland

Interview given by Pham Van Dong, Member of the Communist Party of Vietnam CC Political Bureau, Chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, to the Swiss weekly *Voix Ouvriere*.

Q. We speak a lot in Europe about normalization of relations between China and the USSR, which would lead to a unification of the socialist community. However, it would seem that China's aggressive attitude toward the three Indochinese countries has not changed at all. Do you think that one can expect an evolution of China's position? Do you believe in the goodwill of the Peking leaders in the area of détente?

A. We are happy that there is a normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China, as this benefits world peace and friendship between the peoples.

Our consistent position is one of support for normalization of our relations with China at the same time that we are always ready for the worst from that country.

Q. Your troops are presently stationed in People's Cambodia. You saved that country from the barbarous Khmer Rouge but there is a real misinformation campaign against you. Could you explain what is behind this hostility? How do you interpret the refusal of the UN General Assembly to recognize the PRK government?

A. It is the third time that Vietnamese troops are in Kampuchea at the request of the people of that country. And, as in the first two cases, they will be withdrawn as soon as they have completed their task.

History has shown that the solidarity between the three Indochinese peoples serves the interests of truth, right and justice. That is why the imperialist and reactionary forces have launched hysterical misinformation campaigns against the Indochinese peoples throughout their just struggle against colonialism and imperialism to achieve and defend national independence and develop their countries.

But just as how even the darkest cloud cannot hide the sun, their efforts are doomed to failure.

The recent UN resolutions on the so-called Kampuchean question run counter to common sense, international law and the true situation in that country. These erroneous decisions cannot change the situation in Kampuchea in any way. On the contrary, it is this situation which will force the UN to review its decisions. It is useful to recall here that while the country carrying out aggression against Vietnam remained a UN member, Vietnam itself was not admitted to the UN until 1977, i.e., after 33 years of struggle against foreign aggression.

Q. We often hear from the reactionary media in Europe that you have discriminated against the Hoa Chinese ethnic minority. What is the real state of affairs?

A. It is an absolutely false allegation like all the other slander invented by the imperialists, the expansionists and other reactionaries to camouflage their own criminal acts. It is well known that the majority of the Hoa are still living in Vietnam and have exactly the same rights as any other Vietnamese citizen.

Q. Your country is now experiencing certain economic difficulties, including a shortage of hard currency. In this connection, could you explain the SRV's trade relations with the socialist community? How much do you pay for your imports?

A. Our economic relations with the other socialist countries are relations of fraternal cooperation. The prices of goods imported by Vietnam from the socialist countries are relatively low in comparison with the prices on the world market.

Q. What are your relations with the ASEAN countries? Do you believe that they are seeking to destabilize Vietnam?

A. The relations between Vietnam and the ASEAN countries cannot be described as good at present, but they are significantly better than they were at the time of the U.S. war of aggression against the Indochinese countries in which the majority of those countries directly or indirectly participated. We hope that the ASEAN countries will adopt a more realistic policy and cooperate sincerely with the Indochinese countries to maintain peace and stability in Southeast Asia without foreign interference.

Q. In 1981 we witnessed two important political changes in Europe. Have you felt a change of attitude toward the SRV on the part of the new French and Greek governments?

A. We regard the changes in France and Greece favorably. Our relations with France are developing successfully. France is also making a contribution to the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We hope that our relations with Greece are going to develop satisfactorily.

Q. What type of relations do you maintain with the Swiss Confederation? What can you expect from that country?

A. Switzerland is an industrially developed country with a long tradition of peace. We hope that our relations with the Swiss Confederation will continue to develop because it is profitable for both our countries and useful for the cause of peace and harmony between the peoples.

Q. What is the food situation like in Vietnam?

A. Where food is concerned it is true that we are experiencing certain difficulties but the situation in

this area has now begun to improve and will continue to do so.

Q. Much is said about the damage done to the south of the country by U.S. neocolonialism. Could you explain the main difficulties that the Vietnamese people encounter in the struggle to build socialism in that region?

A. The difficulties common to our entire country derive from a backward economy whose development was held back by the colonial regime for more than a century, and then for over four decades by the

devastating wars, notably the U.S. war of aggression. One should also bear in mind the frequent natural disasters and our shortcomings in management.

Despite these enormous difficulties, our whole people have spared no effort in building socialism and defending their fatherland. We have already registered the first encouraging results.

Hanoi, December 7, 1982
Voix Ouvriere No. 1, 1983

from the press

The USSR and the USA: Two Approaches to the Strategic Arms Limitation and Reduction Talks

The effort to resolve the problem of strategic arms limitation and reduction (SALRT), especially in connection with the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on that issue, has been attracting the close attention of the world public. This is understandable as the question on the agenda of the talks is by no means confined to Soviet-U.S. relations alone; it is of global significance in its very essence.

The point at issue is whether it will be possible to put an end to the uncontrolled build-up of strategic arms and lower the level of nuclear confrontation, thus making a big step forward on the way to lessening the danger of a nuclear war, or, in the event that the talks do not bring about an agreement, to resign oneself to the fact that the nuclear arms race will continue, and, moreover, will be elevated to a new dangerous stage, with all the ensuing consequences for the security of the peoples.

The attitude to the SALRT problem is now the touchstone to test clearly a state's real stand on the central issue of present-day international life — that of war and peace. That is precisely why it is important to have a correct idea of what the past two rounds of SALRT talks between the USSR and the USA have shown and of what is the essence of the proposals which the sides tabled for consideration as a basis for agreement.

Attempts to distort the Soviet proposals were made by the U.S. President in his November 22 address and in the public statements by a number of American political figures. The Soviet Union believes that, when necessary, it must give a true appraisal of the state of affairs at the talks. The public has the right to know the truth.

Let us compare the positions of the parties on the most important directions being discussed in Geneva.

Take the principle of equality and equal security. An understanding on that principle was reached by the parties during the SALT-1 and SALT-2 talks, and it objectively reflects the obvious fact that

neither of the contracting parties will accept an agreement that would infringe upon its security. Therefore, from the very outset of the resumption of the strategic arms talks the Soviet side has favored channelling the SALRT discussion toward the preparation of a mutually acceptable agreement and seeking to have the above-mentioned principle strictly and fully embodied in any future agreement. The new agreement should accord with the task of strengthening the security of the parties and preserving and maintaining at a considerably lower level the rough parity of forces between the USSR and the USA which was placed on record during the conclusion of the SALT-2 treaty, a parity which is the most important factor of the maintenance of peace today.

The present U.S. administration views all these things in a completely different way. At first, after the 1980 presidential elections, Washington dragged its feet for a long time, saying it needed to prepare a new U.S. approach, but in fact trying to avoid our proposals on the resumption of the strategic arms talks. However, it is now very clear that during that period of almost a year and a half, the administration's efforts were not at all centered on a quest for the ways to an agreement — it was acting in the diametrically opposed direction. Against the background of a fierce slander campaign, obviously inspired by certain circles, against the SALT-2 treaty, there were feverish efforts in the USA to launch programs for a sharp build-up of U.S. strategic weapons.

All that has, in essence, predetermined the U.S. stand at the talks, a stand pompously announced by President Reagan on May 9 last year. The USA came to the talks with proposals openly aimed to destroy the strategic parity and ensure advantages for itself. This is precisely the answer to the question as to why the USA has been so stubbornly rejecting the principle of equality and equal security as a basis for the discussions. There is no denying that the ambition to

In pursuing the line toward a just agreement, the Soviet side put forward the specific proposal that all strategic arms, and not some individual and arbitrarily chosen ones, should be subject to limitations and reductions. The point is that the strategic nuclear forces of the USSR and the USA differ considerably from each other in their structure. For several decades they have been developing in different ways under the influence of such factors as the military-political situation at specific periods, the peculiarities of the geographical and strategic positions of the parties, the choice of technology, etc. As a result of these factors, the land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) account for 70 per cent of the USSR's strategic potential (in warhead count), while submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) and heavy bombers account for more than 80 per cent of the strategic potential of the USA. The search for a mutually acceptable agreement can be conducted only through a joint examination of all the types of strategic weapons, with due account of the factors determining the strategic situation.

What then is the essence of our proposals? The USSR proposes the stage-by-stage reduction by the year 1990 of the aggregate number of ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers and also of heavy bombers to 1,800 units on each side, that is, to lower by 25 per cent the initial ceiling for these weapons fixed under the SALT-2 treaty. The number of nuclear charges in these carriers would also be reduced to equal levels agreed on. There is no doubt that this is a major and radical step on the way to reducing nuclear confrontation and lessening the military threat. At every stage of the reduction the USSR and the USA would — and this is of fundamental importance — remain in an equal position from the viewpoint of ensuring their security, and the parity between them in the strategic field would remain.

In putting forward these proposals, the Soviet Union takes into account the fact that the USA has at its disposal forward-based nuclear weapons deployed in close proximity to the borders of the USSR and its allies. These arms are of a strategic character for the USSR. Since they are not counterbalanced by anything from its side (we do not have such weapons close to the territory of the USA), a reduction in the number of ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers would mean that the proportion of the U.S. forward-based nuclear weapons would steadily increase in the strategic balance of the parties. The Soviet proposals therefore presuppose that in a mutual reduction of strategic nuclear forces, the USA will, at least, not build up its other nuclear weapons, which are capable of reaching objectives on Soviet territory. Failing this the USA would obtain a channel for by-passing and, as a matter of fact, undermining the very bases of a future agreement.

The Soviet proposals do not boil down to a mere reduction in the number of strategic carriers and nuclear charges on them. They are aimed to go even farther on the way to limit the qualitative improvement of strategic arms. Accordingly, the Soviet Union favors the prohibition of some new types of strategic arms, in particular, of Cruise missiles of all types of basing with a range of more than 600 kilo-

meters, and favors the limitation of the modernization of existing arms to agreed parameters. It has also put forward a number of proposals aimed to strengthen strategic stability and increase confidence between the USSR and the USA.

The U.S. side stubbornly refuses to take such a comprehensive approach. It insists that it is first of all necessary to deal with a reduction of the ballistic missiles, while the rest — the bombers and Cruise missiles — will, as they say, be dealt with later. The U.S. proposal to reduce the ballistic missiles of the parties to 850 units might seem, at first sight, to provide both for significant cuts and the maintenance of equality. But this is only at first sight. It is being suggested that the Soviet Union should cut its ballistic missiles twice as much as the USA. But apart from ICBMs and SLBMs, the USA has more than 550 heavy bombers (which, according to the U.S. proposals, are not subject to a reduction at the first stage), while the Soviet Union has several times less. As a result, the U.S. strategic force would include roughly 1,400 strategic carriers, while the Soviet Union would have one and a half times less. The USA would obtain an almost three-fold superiority as regards the number of nuclear charges in such carriers.

The incompatibility of the selective U.S. approach with the principle of equality and equal security clearly manifests itself particularly in how the U.S. side would wish to dispose of the Soviet ICBMs. Analysis shows that if the whole package of the U.S. proposals were accepted, the Soviet side would have to dismantle more than 90 per cent of all its ICBMs, which are known to be the basis of the USSR's strategic defense might. So this is the aim of the U.S. plan — to secure a unilateral weakening of the USSR's defense potential by hook or by crook. At the same time, on the strength of the same unilaterally drawn up proposals, the USA would be able to increase considerably the number of warheads in its intercontinental ballistic missiles and to continue implementing its programs already drawn up for building up the strategic weapons.

Thus, the U.S. approach, and this can be seen in literally all its elements, is not a way of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement, but a plan for the USSR's unilateral disarmament disguised as a proposal on "reductions," and for thus giving the USA the superiority it once had in the strategic field.

The parties' approaches to so fundamental a question as the task of ending the strategic arms race also contrast sharply. While the Soviet Union envisages concrete joint steps aimed to reach agreement within the SALRT framework on the closing of all possible channels for the race — both quantitatively and qualitatively — the U.S. stand actually programs such a race for years to come and, in addition, in the areas where the USA hopes to gain special advantages for itself. Thus, in 1983 the USA is to spend almost \$23 billion on strategic weapons.

Another striking example is the U.S. rejection of the Soviet proposal on prohibition of the deployment of long-range Cruise missiles of all types of basing. What does this mean in practice? Only one thing — the clearly expressed U.S. intention to

make up for the reduction in the number of warheads in the ballistic missiles through a massive deployment of long-range Cruise missiles with nuclear charges. According to the published data, the USA intends to equip heavy bombers alone with almost 4,000 such missiles. The result would actually be not a reduction but a direct increase, and a considerable one at that, in the number of nuclear charges in the strategic carriers. This would clearly be in direct conflict with the aims and objectives of the talks currently under way.

In this connection it is also necessary to recall Washington's other practical steps toward starting a new spiral of the arms race. Everything shows that the U.S. administration uses talk about its supposed striving for "cuts" as a cover for a build-up of its strategic potential, in particular, the development and deployment of new MX inter-continental ballistic missiles and Trident-2 SLBMs, which have a large number of warheads, high yield and accuracy and which, as the Americans themselves admit, are first-strike weapons. That is apparently why Washington refuses to accept the Soviet proposal on limiting the deployment of the new *Ohio* class missile-carrying submarines in the USA and of similar ones in the USSR.

Needless to say, attempts to achieve superiority, including through the creation and deployment of new kinds and types of strategic arms, are obviously untenable. Equally futile are the attempts to justify the military efforts of the USA by some "lag" behind the USSR, a lag which is in fact simply non-existent. Altogether absurd are the claims that the new weapons systems such as, for example, the MX missiles, are designed to "facilitate success at the talks." Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke frankly and unambiguously about this at the ceremonial meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR: "No programs for a further arms build-up will ever force the Soviet Union to make unilateral concessions. We will be compelled to counter the challenge of the U.S. side by deploying corresponding weapons systems of our own — an analogous missile to counter the MX missile, and our own long-range Cruise missile, which we are now testing, to counter the U.S. long-range Cruise missile."

The proposal tabled by the U.S. delegation at the very end of the second round of talks concerning notification of the launchings of ballistic missiles by no means changes the general clearly unconstructive character of the U.S. approach. The point is not that it differs from the proposal of the Soviet side on that score, but that, in presenting the proposal, the U.S. side rejected, without any serious grounds, the Soviet proposals tabled earlier, that go much farther and are aimed to prevent the emergence of crisis situations and to build confidence. But our side wants, within the framework of a future treaty to agree on the following: to ban the flights of heavy bombers and the cruising of aircraft carriers of one party in agreed zones adjoining the territory of the other party; to notify one another in advance about any mass take-off of heavy bombers and forward-based aircraft; to establish missile-

carrying submarines zones in which any anti-submarine activities of the other party would be banned. In other words, to reach agreement on steps that would considerably and effectively exclude causes for the emergence of dangerous crisis situations. But, perhaps, the USA is seeking precisely to increase and not lessen tensions, thus making it easier to saber rattle and try to impose its will on others. This is an unconstructive and selfish stand.

The discussions, which continued in the course of the two past rounds of the SALRT talks, and also the actions of the U.S. administration, have shown that Washington is more interested in preserving the impasse at the talks, than in advancing them along constructive lines. This is apparently also connected with Washington's intention to "rearm" Western Europe with U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles at all costs.

The continuing attempts of the U.S. administration, notwithstanding the relevant factual data presented to it, to declare the Soviet aircraft TU-22M (Backfire), which is a medium bomber and has nothing to do with strategic arms, a heavy bomber, hardly attests to a U.S. striving to reach a mutually acceptable agreement.

It is also clear that the implementation of the plan for the "dense pack" deployment of MX inter-continental ballistic missiles recently announced by the Reagan administration could adversely affect the course of the talks, as that plan is in direct conflict with the commitments of the parties under the SALT-1 and SALT-2 agreements not to build additional stationary launchers (i.e. silos) for ICBMs.

In the course of the second round the U.S. delegation did not wish to examine the draft tabled by the Soviet delegation of the bases for an agreement between the USSR and the USA on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. The draft contains a summary of the provisions that can form the backbone of a future agreement. But the reaching of agreement on that document would substantially facilitate the work of the delegations on a final agreement. The U.S. side also says a steady "no" to the Soviet proposal to freeze strategic weapons and stop the process of their quantitative and qualitative build-up at this stage and thus ensure the most favorable conditions for reaching agreement and create the prerequisites for the implementation of measures for real disarmament.

* * *

It is clear from the above who is really leading things toward reaching a constructive agreement at the SALRT talks and who is hampering, virtually obstructing the talks. The U.S. administration, which persists in its completely one-sided approach, is totally responsible for the stalemate at the talks.

If anyone in Washington cherishes the hope that it will thus be possible to ensure unilateral military advantages for the USA, this is a futile hope. The Soviet Union will not permit such a turn of events.

Parity, equality and equal security is the unshakable foundation on which an agreement on questions pertaining to the limitation and reduction of strategic arms can and must be based. It is this approach

which is embodied in the specific proposals put forward at the talks by the Soviet side.

The question now is whether or not the U.S. side is prepared to embark on the road toward an agreement. "It is to be hoped," stressed Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

"that the United States will reciprocate this fair and constructive position with a manifestation of good will on its part. This could help to ensure the success of the talks."

Pravda, January 2, 1983

Washington Continues to Block a Solution

A White House press spokesman has asserted that the United States has been taking a "flexible stand" at the negotiations in Geneva and proposes the elimination of the entire class of land-based medium-range missiles. According to him, the Soviet Union, on the contrary, has been seeking to freeze the number of its missiles in order to derive advantages for itself and keep the monopoly on medium-range systems. A U.S. State Department spokesman also made a statement on this score, repeating word for word what the White House spokesman said. But both statements completely distort the state of affairs at the Geneva negotiations. The U.S. proposals on the so-called "zero option" do not envisage any elimination of a class of armaments, as the White House and State Department statements assert, for Washington does not propose the elimination in Europe of the ballistic missiles of Britain and France, i.e., NATO member states not participating in the Geneva negotiations. Besides, the very class of medium-range armaments is made up, as is well known, not only of missiles but also of aircraft. It means that by proposing that only the Soviet missiles be eliminated, Washington would like to keep all the aircraft and all the medium-range missiles on the NATO side intact.

What would be the result of such cutbacks? NATO's two-fold superiority over the USSR in number of carriers and its three-fold superiority in number of nuclear warheads. A continuation of the nuclear arms race on the seas and in the air, i.e., where the U.S. considers it more advantageous and promising for itself.

Is this a realistic solution to the problem? No, it is not. The U.S.'s so-called "zero option" means nothing more than a desire to disarm the Soviet Union unilaterally. As we have repeatedly stated, it does not bring a solution to the problem one step closer. The U.S. proposals are devoid of common sense, and this can be seen from the negotiations in Geneva. They epitomize a prejudiced approach to the matter and disregard for the interests of Europe. And they have been made in order to block a solution to the problem of reduction of nuclear armaments on the European continent.

During the negotiations in Geneva, the Soviet Union made a series of far-reaching proposals. The whole world knows about them. The USSR is prepared to have exactly the same number of missiles as Britain and France in the European zone, and to reduce all the others, including our most up-to-date missiles, in Europe. We agree to establish equal levels for corresponding aircraft as well. British and

French missiles are a real fact of the strategic situation, and we say that it is essential to take their presence into account when reckoning those armaments on the NATO side. But the question of reducing the missiles of Britain and France has not been raised during the current negotiations between us and the U.S.

Our proposals provide a real opportunity to solve the problem of limiting nuclear arms in Europe fairly and on a long-term basis. If the other party has a desire to reach agreement, this desire should be shown in practice. One should give a reply to the Soviet proposals on the substance of the matter. People will judge by that reply who strives to protect Europe from a threat of nuclear conflict.

Judging by what the White House and State Department spokesman state, the U.S. administration does not have any real program to resolve the question of limiting nuclear arms in Europe. Does not and never did. Washington, as one may suppose, has fully concentrated on preparing for the deployment of the hundreds of new U.S. missiles on the European continent. So, it now resorts to repetitions and juggling the facts, declaring that the U.S. "zero option" is supposedly better than the Soviet proposals.

Now about the White House statement that the USSR would like to "freeze" its missiles, securing advantage for itself. Every word of this is false. Once it reaches agreement with the U.S. on the reduction and limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, the Soviet Union is prepared to cut back hundreds of its missiles, and not to have a single medium-range missile more than Britain and France. The number of Soviet missiles will be reduced if the British and French ones are. No one can distort this honest stand of the USSR which is understandable to everyone.

There is a real possibility to stop the growth of the nuclear arsenals in Europe and to start reducing them. This possibility has been created by the Soviet Union's constructive proposals set out in the report delivered by Yuri Andropov on December 21, 1982. It has been created by the Soviet Union, since the U.S., on the contrary, has done everything to continue the nuclear arms race and to attempt to change the regional and global balance of forces in its favor.

The "zero option" which the White House has been importunately suggesting as a solution to the matter will not and cannot provide agreement in Geneva. The Soviet Union will not agree to unilateral disarmament nor to ensuring military ad-

vantages for the NATO countries, and it has repeatedly stated that.

There is a possibility of reaching agreement. It is up to the United States whether it wants to do so or not. The U.S. representatives have so far not given

an intelligible reply to this. The problem cannot be solved through the U.S. "zero option." Agreement is possible only on the basis of parity and equal security.

Pravda, January 19, 1983

Soviet Economy Finds New Bearings

With capitalism so obviously in crisis, it is perhaps not surprising that the media would like us to believe that the Soviet Union is also wrecked by crisis.

From what I saw in the Soviet Union nothing could be further from the truth. Of course, there are many economic problems in the Soviet Union but they are problems of growth. Growth rates have certainly dropped in the recent period. In 1981, industrial output increased by 3.4 per cent, agricultural output by 2 per cent, and real income per head by 3.3 per cent.

These lower growth rates indicate the existence of structural problems in the economy. But they are far from the story of crisis, stagnation and decay we see in capitalist Britain. And, let it be noted, there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union.

TURNING POINT

The Soviet economy has now reached a turning point in its development. To carry it forward requires a far-reaching change-over to more intensive methods of production. Soviet economic plans are therefore aimed at accelerating the introduction of the most modern scientific methods of production in order to achieve a radical increase in productivity.

"Historically, this re-gearing of our national economy along the lines of intensive production may be placed alongside such a profound change as the socialist industrialization which altered the entire face of our country." That is how Prime Minister Tikhonov has characterized the scope of what is being planned, and why he called it a major turning point in Soviet development.

A number of factors have made a change-over to intensive methods of production an urgent matter. One is a big drop in the number of young people now entering the labor force. Another is the fact that the country's resources are becoming less accessible.

Major new energy supplies are located in the Soviet Far East where conditions are more difficult. The construction of the new gas pipelines to bring natural gas from Siberia is an example of the size of the transportation problems involved in tapping those resources.

The greater inaccessibility of energy resources has also led to an emphasis on the development of atomic power stations. Furthermore, greater consciousness of the need to protect the environment and conserve resources has made it clear that scientific technology has to be used much more intensively.

The problems of raising agricultural production have also emphasized the need to use the most advanced technology.

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural experts I met were quite open about the difficulties involved in overcoming the problems facing Soviet agriculture.

Comparing the USSR with the USA, the amount of the arable land per head of the population is actually the same, standing at 0.85 hectare each. But climatic conditions are quite different. The whole of the arable land in the USA is in the more favorable continental latitudes to the south of the 48th parallel. Only one-third of Soviet arable land is located in this area. About 60 per cent of U.S. arable land has what is generally regarded as sufficient rainfall, compared with only 1 per cent of Soviet land.

WATERLOGGED

Paradoxically vast areas of Soviet arable land can become waterlogged because it is relatively flat, and while the rainfall is low, so are temperatures, with the result that there is also little evaporation. In the warmer areas, the situation is the opposite. Evaporation is very high.

Because of these factors, agricultural scientists estimate that the USA starts off with a two to one advantage over the Soviet Union as far as the suitability of its arable land for food production is concerned.

To narrow this gap, a big 10-year investment program has been launched with the emphasis on soil improvement and water management. This agricultural development program, or Food Program as it is called, is an example of a change being made in planning techniques. The usual five-year plans are now being combined with ten-year development programs for modernizing key branches of the economy. Examples include the energy industries, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, transport, microelectronics, robotics, food processing and so on.

As one leading academician put it to me: "That is why we need peace, peace, and yet more peace." For the arms drive represents a tremendous diversion of resources away from these projects of constructive development.

There is clearly a lively discussion going on about ways to improve planning techniques in order to create greater flexibility and radically increase the scope for initiative and democratic involvement.

Managing a socialist economy is a new science, and only fools think they have all the answers. That was the basic attitude among the economists I spoke to.

It was difficult to get the right balance, they said, between the centralization needed to underpin the

plan, and the decentralization required to release the creative initiative of the working people.

EXPERIMENT

Working that out amounted to carrying out a scientific experiment on a grand scale. No one had done it before. The 1965 economic reform was an attempt to do so, but it was not a perfect solution.

Ideally, the situation should be like a pyramid with Gosplan, the central planning authority, at the top. Gosplan ought to confine itself to laying down guidelines for no more than 500 to 1,000 basic products. These guidelines should then be further elaborated lower down at the level of the ministries, the republics, and the corporations.

At the base would be the individual plants and factories which, I was told, ought to have unlimited independence of operation within the general overall plan. But putting such a planning scheme into practice was easier said than done. The problem was that shortages and bottlenecks had led Gosplan to intervene all over the place like a fire brigade. The result was that there was a tendency for it to try to plan for too many products.

One of the reasons for this, apparently lay with the

way profit was calculated at the factory level. This is an important question because factories are allowed to use part of this profit for a fund which could be distributed to the workers as bonuses and in other forms, such as housing or other social and cultural services.

The profit calculation had frequently led to an enterprise concentrating on certain products to the detriment of others. This had produced some of the shortages and bottlenecks.

In 1979, changes had been made in the planning laws to correct this. I was told that this was gradually helping to overcome some of the problems, making it less and less necessary for Gosplan to intervene.

It is difficult to visit the Soviet Union and discuss developments there without coming away deeply impressed with the seriousness and determination with which the task of socialist construction is being tackled. Crisis there certainly is not; problems there are. But then the only place free of any problems is paradise — and everyone there is dead.

Tony Chater

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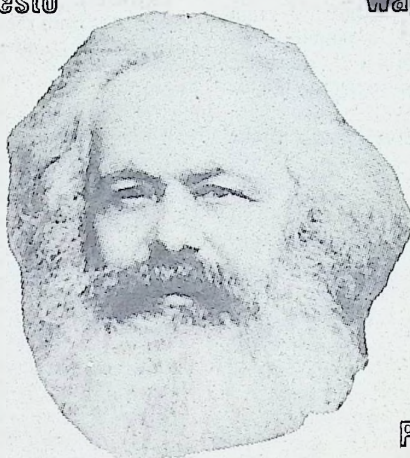
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