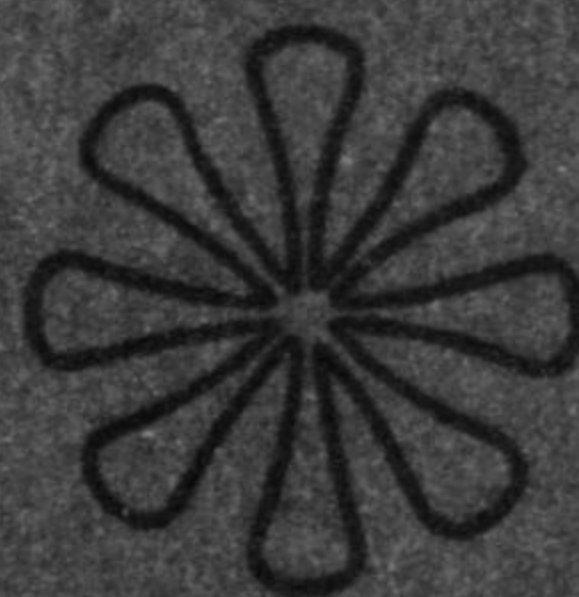


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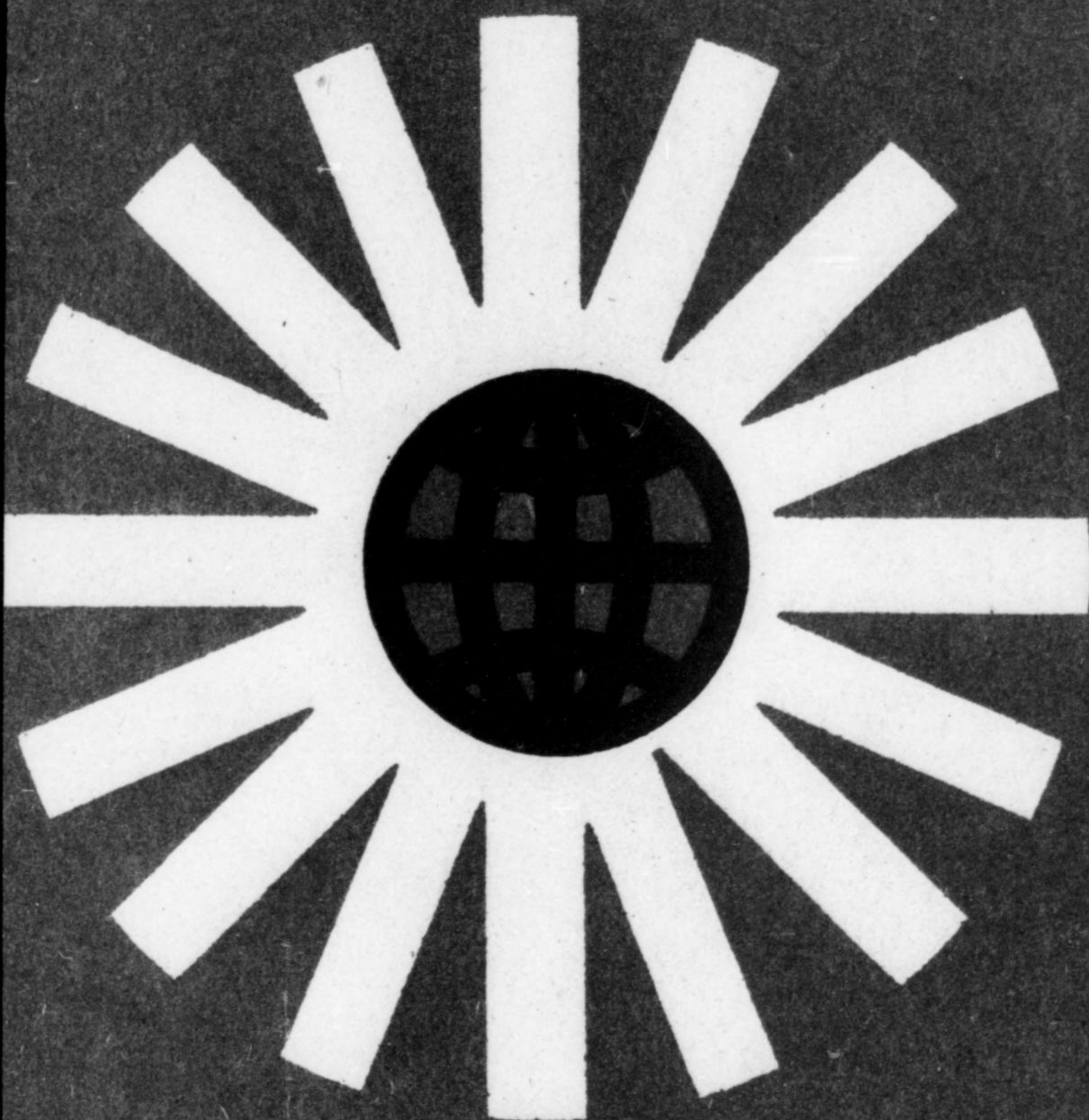
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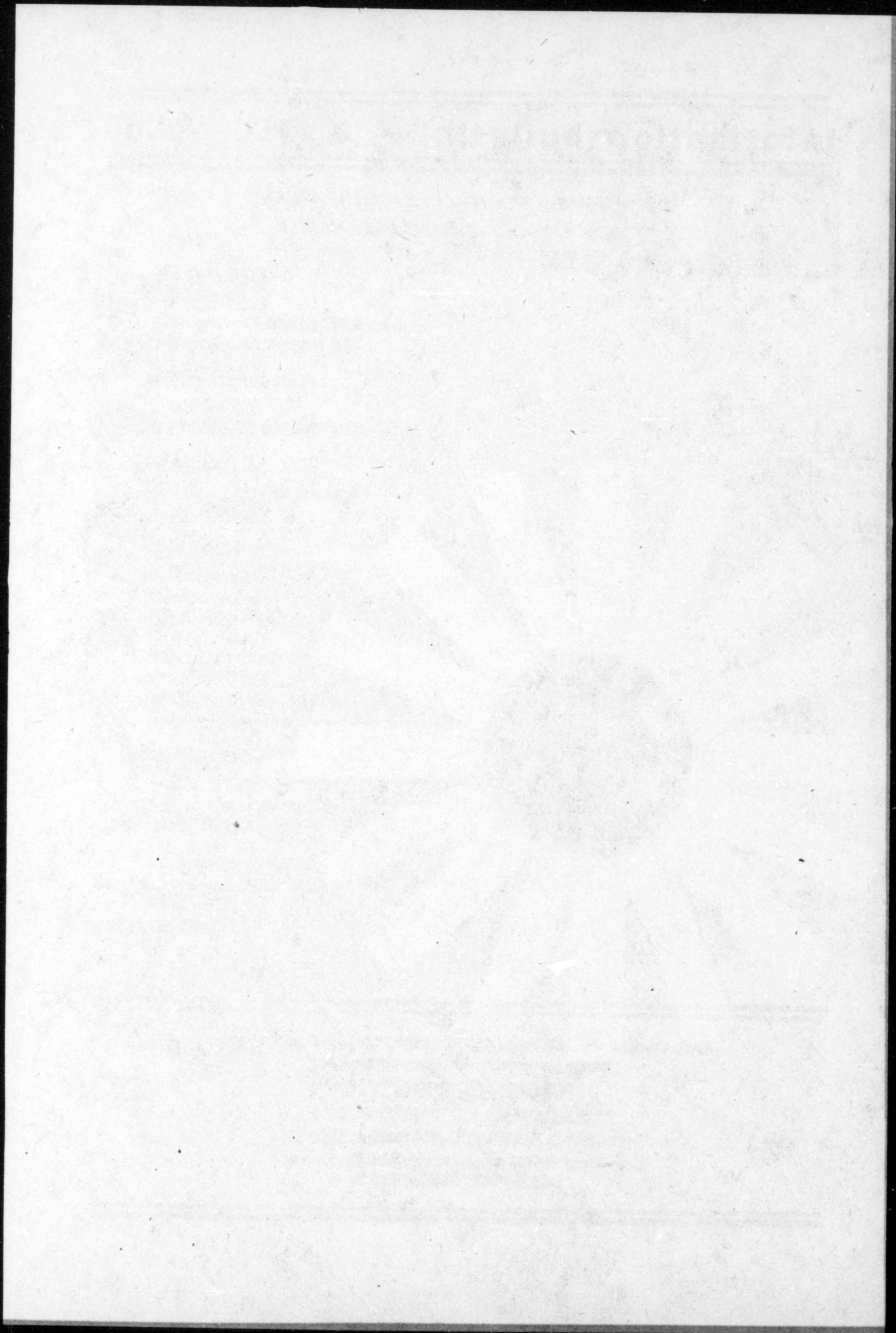
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**SOUTHERN
AFRICA**



6

(368) • 1978



information bulletin — 6 (358) Vol. 16

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST ST., THIRD FLOOR,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5V 2P6

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PRINTED IN CANADA
MARCH 30, 1978
PRICE: 10 CENTS



OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION BY ALI NASSER MUHAMMED, MEMBER OF CC UPONF POLITICAL BUREAU AND PRIME MINISTER OF THE PDRY

LEONID BREZHNEV MEETS WITH ALI NASSER MUHAMMED

On February 3, Leonid Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet received in the Kremlin Ali Nasser Muhammed, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, United Political Organization National Front (UPONF) and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who was on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

During the talk, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship, frankness and mutual understanding they discussed Soviet-South Yemeni relations and the prospects of promoting them, the situation in the Middle East, in the Horn of Africa and other important international issues. An exchange of opinions revealed concurring views on the questions discussed.

Leonid Brezhnev and Ali Nasser Muhammed expressed satisfaction with the successful development of friendly relations and all-round fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the PDRY. The resolve was reaffirmed of both countries to continue joint efforts to improve and deepen mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the PDRY.

Ali Nasser Muhammed expressed on behalf of the leadership of the PDRY, UPONF and the entire South Yemeni people cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet government and the Soviet people for the aid to and support of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. He noted that the PDRY attaches great importance to promoting and strengthening all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union.

While discussing international issues, attention was focused on the Middle East, where the situation has been complicated as a result of the separate negotiations between Egypt and Israel.

The Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen hold that these negotiations prejudice the Arab peoples' struggle for liquidation of the consequences of Israeli aggression and hamper a firm and just Middle East settlement.

Touching on the situation in the Horn of Africa, Leonid Brezhnev and Ali Nasser Muhammed noted that the military conflict in this region plays into the hands of the imperialist and reactionary forces who by provoking fratricidal wars on the African continent seek to liquidate the progressive regimes and to suppress the national-liberation movements of the African peoples. The Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen are convinced that a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Horn of Africa will help to promote good-neighborly relations between all states of the region on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states.

Leonid Brezhnev and Ali Nasser Muhammed expressed their mutual satisfaction with the fact that regular meetings between party and government leaders of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen help to strengthen confidence and promote mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

Pravda, February 4, 1978

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On the visit to the USSR by Ali Nasser Muhammed, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the United Political Organization National Front and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Ali Nasser Muhammed, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the United Political Organization National Front (UPONF) and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, made an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from February 1 to 4, 1978, at the invitation of the Soviet government.

Ali Nasser Muhammed was received by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Talks took place between Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and Ali Nasser Muhammed, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the UPONF and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

In the course of the talks, the sides discussed the state of relations between the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen and the prospects for their further development, and also exchanged views on present-day international questions of mutual interest.

The Soviet leaders spoke of the major achievements of the Soviet people in the implementation of the historic decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and about the political and labor upswing with which the Soviet people marked the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR — the Fundamental Law of developed socialist society — enshrining the Leninist principles of peace and international cooperation.

Ali Nasser Muhammed described the achievements of the working people of Democratic Yemen over the last 10 years and explained the steps being taken by the United Political Organization National Front in conformity with the Unity Congress of the UPONF in creating a vanguard party and strengthening the democratic principles in the political life of the country, as well as in the fields of economic, social and cultural development.

The South Yemeni side told the Soviet side about the efforts to achieve the unity of the Yemeni people.

Ali Nasser Muhammed expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its assistance and support given to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen with the purpose of consolidating its independence and developing its national economy.

The Soviet leaders highly assessed the achievements made by the working people of Democratic Yemen and also the political and economic policy pursued by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in its relations with other countries, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and internationalist solidarity.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of

relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen in tackling the problems of social and economic development of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and strengthening its independence, sovereignty and defense capabilities. They pointed out that trade and economic cooperation was developing successfully, being gradually put on a stable and long-term basis and embracing all spheres of major importance for the national economy and for raising the people's standard of living in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The sides believe that the strengthening of ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the UPONF has a great role to play in promoting relations between the peoples of the two countries in the political, economic, commercial and other fields. They declare their determination to continue to extend fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in all fields.

Discussing current international affairs, the sides expressed their satisfaction with the full coincidence of views held by both countries on ways of ensuring peace and international security, promoting general disarmament and further lessening international tension, and reaffirmed their desire to develop cooperation with each other in the international arena in the interest of all nations in the world.

The sides paid special attention to the situation in the Middle East. They strongly denounced the separate negotiations between Egypt and Israel which greatly hinder the achievement of an overall settlement of the Middle East problem and subvert Arab solidarity and the just struggle for their rights waged by the Arab nations, including the Arab people of Palestine, whose legal representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The sides confirm that the achievement of a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East is possible provided all Israeli troops are withdrawn from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and provided the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to the creation of their own independent national state are ensured.

The sides noted the positive role of the meeting held in Tripoli in December 1977 for the consolidation of the unity of the progressive Arab forces and Arab solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and Zionism. The South Yemeni side pointed to the need for strengthening relations between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations which constantly give all-round

aid and support to the Arab states in their struggle against imperialism.

Having expressed serious anxiety over the continued conflict in the Horn of Africa, the sides condemned the intrigues of the imperialist forces to which the latter resort so as to interfere in the domestic affairs of independent states and set them at loggerheads, to undermine and overthrow progressive revolutionary regimes in that region of the world. The sides stand for a peaceful and democratic solution of the conflict in the Horn of Africa on the basis of good-neighborliness and anti-imperialist solidarity. They support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to settle the conflict in accordance with its Charter and decisions.

The Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen are convinced that the consolidation of peace in the Red Sea area will contribute to the development and strengthening of relations among all the states in that region on the basis of non-interference in one another's internal affairs. They are for converting the Red Sea, through which important international sea routes pass, into a zone of peace.

The sides stand for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free from foreign military bases.

The Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen stated their determination to work for the complete and final elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They emphatically condemned the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination conducted by the racist regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and expressed themselves in support of the demand for the transfer of full power to the majority of the population in Zimbabwe and for the granting of independence to Namibia.

Both sides proclaimed their resolution to continue active efforts for promoting international peace and security and averting the threat of war. They noted with satisfaction the positive results of détente which has become the dominant process in the development of international relations nowadays and stressed the necessity of spreading it to all the regions of the world. They pointed to the importance of the Declaration on the Deepening and Strengthening of Détente adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 19, 1977.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of the early conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, an end to the arms race, a general and complete ban on the tests of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of chemical weapons, of the

development and production of new types and systems of mass-destruction weapons, and general and complete disarmament. Both sides stand for the early calling of a world disarmament conference. The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen hails the new Soviet proposals for ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the gradual reduction of their stocks and the banning of all nuclear weapons tests.

The sides reaffirmed their resolution to work for the further strengthening of the United Nations Organization and the enhancing of its effectiveness on the basis of the strict observance of the principles and aims of the UN Charter. They support the right of the peoples to use their national riches as they see fit and their struggle for establishing a new international economic order based on respect for national sovereignty and the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

The sides regard the non-alignment movement as a positive factor in international politics and support the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist direction of the struggle of its participants for peace, freedom, equality and socio-economic progress of all peoples.

Pravda, February 5, 1978

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

OUR PEOPLE CAN AVERT THE THREAT OF A COUP

*Statement of the Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia*

At the threshold of 1978, the Communist Party wishes the working people and all Colombians every success in the new year.

Last year was characterized by an upsurge of class struggles in Colombia. The general strike, formation of the National Trade Union Council, joint protest meetings, expansion of the process designed to achieve united trade union actions, efforts to strengthen the emergent popular unity attest to the maturing of forces in Colombian society, forces that are waging a struggle for deep-going democratic changes and are destined to win new successes.

WORSENING LIVING STANDARDS

In the past year the oligarchy stepped up the policy aimed at further tying up the national economy with U.S. imperialism, increasing the profits of foreign and national monopolies and shifting onto the working people the consequences of the economic, political and social crisis which is eroding the dependent capitalism.

The consequences of such a policy are clearly in evidence: further enrichment of the big capitalists, on the one hand, and rising prices, unemployment and lower real wages of the working people, on the other. Inflation is hitting hard at the working masses; even according to meagre official data it is running at more than 30 per cent a year, and has brought enormous profits to the employers and concessions to U.S. creditors by way of favorable tariffs in the service sphere.

United actions of the workers in the struggle against such a situation was the central event in 1977. The working class already plays a key role in the confrontation with the bourgeoisie and the policy it is pursuing in the government. And this is what the bourgeoisie is intent on disrupting with the aid of its despotic designs.

A SERIOUS THREAT

The recent statement by representatives of the military command demanding the introduction of press censorship and adoption of more energetic repressive measures against the popular movement was made in a situation of the oligarchy's struggle for the post of President of the Republic in 1978-1982. Such a public statement by the top military, who are openly hatching plans against civil liberties, represents a new and serious factor in the political situation.

We must alert the public to the grave danger threatening them. the putschist elements in the armed forces, headed by commander-in-chief General Camacho Leyva, have launched on a road that can only signify stepped-up repressions, impunity for the oligarchy's illegal deals and unhampered plunder of Colombia on the part of U.S. imperialism.

But at the same time we declare that a military coup is not fatally inevitable in Colombia. There are democratic forces in our country capable, given united actions, of leading the country along another road. The primary duty of all revolutionaries and democrats at present consists in organized efforts to thwart the plans of the ultra-right forces and reactionary military by advancing a democratic alternative to the existing situation.

THE SITUATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

The top military's statement shows that reactionary sentiments are spreading fast in the armed forces as a result of recent changes in its higher echelons.

In effect, the Lopez government has opened the door to key positions for the conservative elements, while at the same time dealing blows at the part of the military which disagreed with the conservatives who openly express their admiration for Pinochet and approve of the tragic situation in which the peoples of the southern cone of Latin America find themselves.

The military command is using the countrywide denunciation of the wave of kidnappings that has struck Colombia as a pretext for its recent démarche. The mafia kidnappings can hardly serve as the chief motive of the military's démarche, whose statement is aimed against the historic general strike organized by the trade union movement, against the popular forces and the democratic opposition, against the parliamentary institute and the Supreme Court. The agencies of the regime which are organizing provocations and seek to create a conflict situation in the country are hiding behind this wave of kidnap-

pings. *It is worth noting that the above-mentioned statement of the military says not a word about the mafia, while attacking the left forces.* The point is that the masterminds behind these statements pursue two major aims: to step up repressions and to open the way for a future coup.

CONFRONTATION OF FORCES

A differentiation of forces who come out for and against the military coup is under way. The big capitalists enthusiastically welcomed the statement of the high military command. The Alvarist conservative leadership and its candidate Belisario Betancur also manifested the same spirit. Important democratic forces, represented by various public circles, on the contrary, are beginning to denounce such aspirations. We must facilitate a broad popular opposition to the designs of the military since, as experience shows, it is not only the Communist Party that would be the object of repressions, but all democratic and popular forces. We can and must mobilize all political, trade union and popular forces, mass organizations, judges, lawyers, journalists and intellectuals to thwart the plans of the putschists.

A grave responsibility devolves on Lopez for what is happening in the country. During the tenure of the Lopez government plunder of state property, illegal deals, bribery and the use of official posts for these illegal deals has increased. Lopez' stance in connection with the militarization of the country is an example of open complicity. Such is the situation in which the election campaign is being launched: an emergency situation with extensive zones fully under military control, denial of basic civil guarantees in Cimitarra, Uraba, Yacopi and Magdalena Medio. At the same time the state apparatus has put itself fully at the service of oligarchy's presidential candidates. The key objective is to defend civil liberties, wage a struggle for working people's rights, provide an alternative for the country that is capable of extricating it from the crisis and achieving urgent democratic and revolutionary changes.

FOR A BROAD DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The program advanced by the National Opposition Alliance, the National Popular Alliance and the Independent Liberal Movement (NOA-NPA-ILM) which nominated Julio Cesar Pernia for presidency is designed to that end. The election campaign, despite the anti-democratic restrictions we have already mentioned, show that in Colombia all the necessary prerequisites exist for thwarting the reac-

tionary schemes. We appeal to all democrats interested in thwarting the plans of the putschists. We appeal to the officers and non-commissioned officers and servicemen who adhere to patriotic positions and who realize with bitterness that imperialism and the oligarchy are out to use them for their repressive aims. We call on all these people to build a broad front capable of leading the country out of the crisis along a progressive and revolutionary road.

At present it is essential to concentrate attention on the democratic election campaign, to more vigorously popularize the NOA-NPA-ILM coalition and the candidature of Julio Cesar Pernia; to explain to the people the real danger threatening the country, and win over to our side increasing numbers of new contingents, and to demonstrate in practice that real opportunities exist for organizing the forces that will defeat the plans of the ultra-rightists.

Bogota, December 27, 1977

Voz Proletaria, January 5, 1978

TO CARRY THE DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT TO A NEW STAGE

In January 1978 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia published in Jakarta two appeals in connection with the latest developments in the country — the upsurge of the opposition movement and the so-called "liberation of political prisoners."

The full texts of both appeals are printed below.

APPEAL TO THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE

The political atmosphere in our country becomes more heated with every passing day. The forces opposed to the present regime are acting with increasing openness and determination. The socio-political bloc on whose back the "new order" came to power in 1966 is in the throes of a deep-going crisis. The rule of the present regime has become a heavy and humiliating burden for all classes and sections of society except a tiny handful of anti-popular parasitic ele-

ments. The continuous price rise, the widening gap between the ruling elite wallowing in luxury and the starving poor, the utter contempt of the ruling circles for the needs of the people and public opinion, the shameless and crude demagoguery and the government's reign of terror — these are the causes of the profound and unappeasable discontent of the vast majority of the people — the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the young people — all those enduring all the hardships of life under the yoke of the "new order."

The regime which is committing unrestrained acts of violence and cruel repression with the support of imperialism, is finding itself in increasing isolation. The ruling élite is increasingly aware of its doom, which gives rise to a squabble among the generals. Simultaneously patriotic forces growing within the army are unwilling to put up with their role of watchdogs guarding the power of the anti-popular, incapable and corrupt leaders.

A qualitative distinction of the present stage of the movement against the regime is its expansion and radicalization. Earlier slogans were concerned with individual aspects of the government's policy and some of the regime leaders, whereas today the regime as a whole is under fire of criticism.

The nation is demanding the abolition of anti-popular government which is trampling on democracy, plundering the national wealth, patronizing foreign monopolies and trailing in the wake of imperialist policy. The people increasingly realize that the departure of an individual from the scene, any decision of the present puppet People's Consultative Assembly will not solve any problems, because they will not bring about the changes needed by Indonesia and its people today.

The regime in power offers nothing but threats of violence itself in response to the resentment of the masses. The statement of the military clique on December 15, 1977 does not say a word about the urgent problems facing the country. It only reflects the generals' fear of the growing popular indignation. The generals are demanding the preservation of stability, which is their language for the preservation of power in their hands. They denounce "unconstitutional" actions but are silent about their own flagrant violation of the Constitution and leave the people no other chance to defend their interests. The generals are threatening to protect their rule by all available means. Have they not proved this more than once by dispersing demonstrations, firing at the people, sending troops to the University campuses in Jakarta, Jogyakarta, Surabaya and Bandung? Now it is clear to

everyone that the military regime will not surrender its power of its own free will and will not meet the needs and demands of the people.

It is perfectly clear at the same time that isolated student actions, which are in evidence now, cannot bring about a radical change in the political regime. All available historical experience bears this out.

Students! The workers and peasants are your natural and loyal allies in the struggle for sweeping democratic reforms in our society. This is why you must go among the people, explain the goals of the movement to them, involve the masses in the struggle. Active involvement of the masses in the democratic movement is indispensable for victory over the tyrannical regime. Only a mass movement can thwart the evil designs of the landlords, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the compradores, and other anti-national elements who are seeking along with foreign capitalists to exploit the patriotic movement to attain their selfish ends. Their purpose is to consolidate their own positions on the crest of this movement and then to reach an agreement with the military clique at the expense of the people.

Now the unity of all patriotic forces to galvanize their joint struggle against the Suharto regime is vital as never before. It is now equally vital to overcome sectarianism, prejudice and rivalry for the sake of unity in the struggle for liberation from tyranny.

The varied composition of the forces opposing the regime in power is responsible for a certain difference existing between the goals and views of the future development of our homeland. All of us, however, need a genuinely democratic government to achieve these goals. The Communist Party appeals to all patriots, regardless of their party affiliation and religious beliefs, to cooperate in the cause of democratic renovation of our society. This cooperation does not require anyone to renounce his convictions.

The disunity of the patriotic forces only plays into the hands of the reactionaries. Their method is fomenting in society hostility toward the ideas of democracy, anti-imperialism and social progress, gambling on the religious feelings of believers, slander and provocations against the patriotic forces coming out for radical democratic reforms. The patriots and democrats must counteract these evil designs and intrigues by their growing unity in the struggle against the regime, make up their minds to discard the burden of outdated concepts and prejudices for the sake of the national interests and the Indonesian people. For its part the Communist Party of Indonesia declares that it harbors no feelings of revenge against those who were misled by the

reactionary propaganda of our common enemy and drawn into the tragic events of 1965-1966.

The task facing us now is to advance the democratic and anti-imperialist movement to a higher level by joint efforts on the basis of national unity, to give it still greater scope, still more accurate political orientation, to equip it with slogans and demands meeting the interests of all the classes and strata of our people, to involve the broadest masses of the working people in the movement.

It must be clear to all that it is a matter of Indonesia's national salvation. The democratic forces must be capable of offering a real alternative to the present regime. Otherwise the imminent political crisis may end in incalculable, unprecedented disasters for our homeland.

The Communist Party of Indonesia again appeals to all honest Indonesians to set up a National Unity Front representing the interests of the whole people. Only a government formed on the basis of such a front will be able to implement the social reforms long overdue, provide the population with food, clothes, land, and jobs, restore the civil and political rights of the people, lead the country out of the crisis, and regain our country's good name and prestige on the world arena. The communists believe that these tasks are simultaneously the main political slogans at the present stage of the movement against the regime.

Down with the tyrannical Suharto regime!

Long live the National Unity Front!

Long live a free, democratic and prospering Indonesia!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Indonesia
Jakarta, January 1978

**TO ALL FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS,
TO ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO
ARE STILL IN JAILS OF
THE REACTIONARY REGIME**

Dear comrades,

More than 12 years ago, aided by foreign imperialism, reactionary circles used the defeat of the adventurist September 30 Movement to strike a blow at the communist and revolutionary-progressive move-

ment in Indonesia. This brought into power an anti-communist, anti-democratic, anti-people's, reactionary, pro-imperialist military regime. All of us experienced and saw for ourselves how in order to achieve their criminal aims the reactionary forces led by right-wing reactionary generals with Suharto at their head started massive terror against the communists and other democrats, sympathizers and their families, how they arrested and persecuted these people. You were made the victims of reaction's policy of terror. You were arrested through the arbitrary actions of the ruling circles for being true patriots and staunch fighters against imperialism, for independence, democracy, progress, peace and socialism. In other words, for championing the bright ideals of the Indonesian people.

In prison you have had to bear inhuman privations and mockery at the hands of the fascist hangmen. Many of our comrades died in torture chambers or disappeared without a trace. You have staunchly borne physical and spiritual suffering, preserving fidelity to the ideals for which we are fighting.

We thought constantly about you. Your fate gave us immense anxiety. And we did all in our power to hasten your release. Working underground, we strengthened public opinion in the country in its belief that there were no grounds for your arrest and demanded the restoration of legality. On the international scene we mobilized world public opinion to demand the immediate release of all political prisoners. For this purpose various committees and solidarity movements were formed abroad. The demands from socialist and non-socialist countries in all continents fused into a single mighty voice insisting that the tyrannical Suharto regime immediately release all political prisoners.

It was therefore not through "kindness" but under pressure from public opinion in Indonesia and in the world that the reactionary regime was compelled to decide to release you from prison. However, everybody knows that this so-called release is not complete. Those released are denied elementary civil rights and sent to live outside Java, in other words, they are sent into life-long exile, and they are the first to be arrested when mass actions take place in the country.

The Communist Party of Indonesia categorically demands the immediate release of all political prisoners, including persons arrested during the recent events. At the same time, we demand their full restitution in their rights as citizens of the Republic of Indonesia, and the return of their property seized by the authorities. As formerly, the CPI comes forward with these just demands not only in the country

but also on the international scene in order to secure the support and solidarity of all strata of society and individuals, who cherish the ideals of democracy, justice and humanism.

We call upon you, comrades, to be staunch, to join in the struggle with all the methods available to you for the attainment of the sacred ideals that have always been our goal: a genuinely free, democratic, flourishing, progressive, socialist Indonesia.

You must know that the more resolute our struggle becomes, the quicker will this tyrannical regime topple and the sooner will the sacred ideals of the Indonesian people be achieved.

We are constantly with you! We are continuing our struggle!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Indonesia
Jakarta, January 1978

OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Speech by Head of the Soviet Delegation Boris Ponomaryov

On January 26, 1978, President of the U.S. James Carter has received in the White House Boris Ponomaryov, the head of the visiting delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They touched upon the present state of Soviet-American relations and some other international problems. President Carter said that the U.S. government is interested in the further development of Soviet-American relations.

Boris Ponomaryov set forth the principled policy of the Soviet Union aimed at consolidating and developing the process of relaxation of international tensions and at further progress in Soviet-American relations.

The Soviet Ambassador to the USA Anatoly Dobrynin took part in the talks.

On the same day, speaking at the meeting with the members of the

House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress Boris Ponomarev set forth the principled position of the USSR on the issues of ensuring peace and international security.

The USSR, he said, never ceases its tireless work in the international arena for a lasting peace and security. The entire postwar history convincingly bears out that the Soviet Union has tirelessly and persistently suggested practical steps for a limitation of the arms race and the establishment of peace on earth.

Our party and government leadership and CPSU General Secretary, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev have worked relentlessly to achieve these goals.

Our general position on safeguarding universal peace also determines the Soviet Union's policy vis-à-vis the United States. The essence of this policy is that the Soviet Union firmly intends to pursue a course for further improvement in Soviet-American relations in strict conformity with the spirit and letter of the agreements reached and commitments assumed. And notwithstanding the difficulties of recent years, which arose not through our fault, this principled policy of the Soviet Union in the field of Soviet-American relations has not changed.

One of the main questions now, the head of the Soviet delegation went on to say, is the conclusion of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. And this is, as you understand, not accidental. Though the threat of nuclear war has of late somewhat receded as a result of the joint efforts of our countries, it nevertheless still remains, and is still worrying not only the peoples of the Soviet Union and the USA but also all mankind. Mankind expects our countries to take further constructive steps.

As is known, the positions of the two sides have now been brought closer together. As for the Soviet side, "there is no lack of willingness of our part," as Leonid Brezhnev said, "to bring these talks to a successful conclusion." We think that the task of legislative bodies is to contribute as much as possible toward the earliest conclusion of the talks, the drafting of an agreement acceptable to both sides and its subsequent ratification.

It is well known that it is precisely the Soviet Union that comes out for the discontinuation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by all countries and for the reduction of stockpiles of these weapons up to their complete liquidation. As for the SALT-2, Leonid Brezhnev stressed in his speech in Tula that the Soviet Union is "willing to go further in the matter of strategic arms limitation. Only it is necessary

at first to consolidate what has been achieved and to translate into life what was agreed upon in Vladivostok . . .”

A new agreement can serve as a starting platform from which the way would begin toward strategic arms reduction.

It goes without saying that the principle of equality and equal security of the sides is a most important one in the problem of strategic arms reduction.

The development of new types of mass destruction weapons, especially the neutron bomb, now causes special concern throughout the world, Boris Ponomarev went on. It should be said that the neutron bomb is a new and dangerous variety of nuclear weapon. In conditions when talks on the limitation of arms, including nuclear ones, are in full swing, when the American President spoke more than once of the readiness and need to stop the nuclear arms race, the very fact that the United States is going to begin a new spiral of arms race can find no justification whatsoever. The Soviet Union persistently calls your attention to our proposal for mutual renunciation of the neutron bomb. Account should be taken of the lessons of history. Action prompts counteraction. Should a decision be adopted to produce the neutron bomb, the USSR will in self-defense be forced to counter it with a new weapon.

Renunciation of the neutron bomb and limitation of strategic offensive arms is an important measure toward curbing the arms race. But this is not all that can be done in this field.

Guided by the Program of Peace, adopted at the 24th Congress of our Party, supplemented and developed at the 25th Congress, the Soviet Union is busily and consistently acting on a wide front of struggle for disarmament. Recently the Soviet Union advanced new proposals which, it seems to us, are of cardinal importance for averting the threat of nuclear war, for universal peace. This refers, above all, to the proposal for a simultaneous halt in the production of nuclear weapons by all states. At the same time, the nuclear powers could assume a commitment to begin a gradual reduction of stockpiles of these weapons down to their complete liquidation. It is also well known that the USSR, seeking to reduce the threat of a nuclear war, to advance the talks on banning nuclear weapons tests and bringing them to a successful conclusion, expressed its readiness that a moratorium be announced covering nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes along with a ban on all nuclear weapons tests for a definite period.

Turning to the Middle East problem, the head of the Soviet delegation went on:

It is well known that one of the most dangerous seats of international tension, creating a serious danger to peace and security of the peoples, has existed in the area for many years. The need for a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East on a just and sound basis is widely recognized in the international community today. There exists an international legal basis for a settlement of the conflict — the relevant UN decisions. A special international mechanism has been created for achieving a settlement. This is the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East of which the Soviet Union and the United States are the co-chairmen.

The Soviet-U.S. joint statement of October 1, 1977, was an important positive step toward a settlement. The significance of this statement, in our opinion, consisted in the fact that the USSR and the USA, being co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, agreed on the principles on the basis of which this conference could be called and could successfully accomplish its work. The statement also set a time limit for calling the conference — not later than December 1977. But this positive process was interrupted. And now the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated sharply.

Boris Ponomarev assessed the Egyptian-Israeli separate talks as actions harmful to the cause of an overall settlement in the Middle East and the interests of the Arab people.

Touching on the situation in the Horn of Africa, Boris Ponomarev said that the Soviet Union together with the other socialist states has done everything possible to prevent the outbreak of the Ethiopian-Somali conflict. The Soviet government drew the attention of the leaders of Somalia more than once to the inadmissibility and danger of attempts to settle the territorial question by force of arms, and the more so, to the inadmissibility of introducing troops in the area of Ogaden.

There are some other areas of the globe which have recently attracted the attention of the peoples of the world. One of these areas is the Indian Ocean, which may become a source of military tension. As is known our countries are in talks on the question of preventing the arms race in this important, vast area.

The attainment of this aim is of exceedingly great importance for the peoples in the region and for strengthening world peace in general. We believe that it is not only the peoples living in the area that are

interested in making the Indian Ocean a peace zone. For our country the Indian Ocean is the route connecting the European part of our country with our Far East. It is also important for the United States and Japan and for many other countries doing trade.

So far the arms race there has not yet assumed such a scope that one could speak of an acute danger of war. But this can happen. Our country is doing its utmost to prevent the Indian Ocean from being turned into another seat of tension. It has not set up and is not setting up military bases in the Indian Ocean, and is not concentrating strategic forces there.

On the other hand, the United States adopted the line of stepping up its military activity there back in the late 60s. Even naval exercises with participation of U.S. ships began in that area. After 1975, the United States began enlarging its naval and air force base on Diego Garcia Island to convert it into a stronghold for the deployment of strategic forces. The Soviet Union has more than once proposed that an understanding be reached not to take steps which could create tension in the Indian Ocean.

What in principle is the position of the Soviet Union at the talks? The dismantling of all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean area, renunciation of the setting up of new bases, reduction of the military presence of non-coastal states on a reciprocal basis. This position fully accords with the interests of all peoples who are worried about the possibility of the emergence of another seat of tension, above all, the peoples living in the Indian Ocean area, Boris Ponomarev emphasized.

Abridged from *Pravda*, January 27, 1978

STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY USA

Increasingly the Middle East is becoming an arena where the danger of war and possibly world war is ever present. The collusion between Arab and Zionist reaction, in the persons of Sadat and Begin, demonstrates that, contrary to those who would picture the source of the war danger as an "Arab-Israeli dispute," as a contention between states, the Middle East is a region where the class struggle and national-liberation struggle hold center stage in the international are-

na. In this regard the recent meeting in Tripoli to form a front of anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world has great significance.

The Arab liberation movement, an important component of the world national-liberation movement, confronts imperialism — U.S. imperialism in its forefront — at a most critical point. The struggle for national independence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for democratic advance, is arrayed in the Middle East against imperialism seeking to maintain control over the extraction of petroleum, a most important energy resource and fundamental element of the world economy. Over 40 per cent of the return on U.S. investment abroad comes from oil. The giant oil monopolies play a decisive role in the formation and execution of U.S. imperialist foreign policy.

The most critical point of conflict today between the forces of national-liberation and imperialism operating in the Middle East is in the area of Palestine and neighboring countries. The most important instrument of U.S. imperialism in the area is Zionism and the power it wields as the dominant ideology and the holder of state power in Israel.

Over the past 30 years, the armies of the State of Israel have crossed the borders established in the 1947 United Nations partition of Palestine four times and occupied sizable territories belonging to nations and peoples living in the adjacent areas. That aggression in combination with the betrayal of Arab reaction, makes for the major source of tension in the Middle East today and could lead again to war.

Israeli aggression is supported and promoted by U.S. imperialism which benefits from perpetual tension and instability in the region and which sows division between Arab countries and continually strives to subvert, weaken and overthrow progressive regimes. This aggression flows directly from the ideology of Zionism and its program.

But the designation "Zionist" must never be confused with Jewish people. In Israel and throughout the world, Jewish people (as nearly all peoples) are characterized by separation into all economic classes and adhere to the political ideologies of those classes. Zionism is a nationalist movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie and an instrument of imperialism. It is capitalist, colonialist and anti-communist. Zionism is expansionist and proceeds on the premise of the denial of national rights of another people, and claims a divine blessing to seize the

lands of others. Zionism is therefore racist and is recognized as such by the United Nations.

Within Israel, the main, most principled and consistent force against Zionism is the Communist Party of Israel (CPI), heroic fighter for peace and national liberation, opponent of racism and discrimination, vanguard of the Israeli working class, Jewish and Arab, and upholder of the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples. The CPI fights for and organizes international support for the Arab minority in Israel who suffer second-class citizenship and cruel confiscation of ancestral lands. It does likewise for the majority of Israel's citizens — the "Sephardic" Jews who suffer discrimination and super-exploitation. Our party, the Communist Party of the United States, is proud of its firm, long-standing relations with the CPI, which strengthens still more with each passing year.

The last elections in Israel, which showed a distinct and dangerous shift to the right with the election of the ultra-rightist and expansionist Likud government of Begin, heightens the danger of another possibly nuclear war in the Middle East. It underscores again the necessity and responsibility of peace-loving forces in the United States to step up their efforts to force a re-ordering of priorities by the Carter Administration. It is more apparent now than ever that the main obstacle to reconvening the Geneva Conference — and thereby establishing a just peace in the Middle East — is Washington's political, economic and military support for the policies of the government of Israel — Labor or Likud — and for the collaborationist policies of Sadat and other Arab reactionaries. In this context, the recent Sadat-Begin link, supported by the United States, should be seen as an attempt to torpedo the Geneva Conference, the Soviet-U.S. joint declaration, and a just peace.

As part of its overall support for the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, the CPUSA supports self-determination and the national rights, including the right to a national state, of the Arab people of Palestine. We recognize without qualification the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The national rights and self-determination for the Palestinian people, and recognition of the PLO are accepted by the vast majority of the nations of the world, and supported by the socialist community of nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, the Organization of Arab States, the World Peace

Council, many governments in Western Europe and the communist and workers' parties of the world.

Using reactionary regimes in the area, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as its surrogates, U.S. imperialism seeks to divide the forces of national liberation in order to maintain its hegemony. It seeks to separate the peoples of the area from their natural allies, in the first place the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The ties of the Zionist leadership in Israel and of other reactionary governments to U.S. imperialism constitute the greatest threat to both the independence of the the peoples and to peace.

Our party recognizes the critical character of its role as a working-class party inside the USA confronting the forces of imperialism and campaigns to win our country to a policy of peace and non-interference in the affairs of the people of the Middle East. In our country a critical aspect of the work for peace and justice in the Middle East must be to win the mass of Jewish people — particularly workers — away from the influence of Zionism and for a program of peace, national liberation and justice.

Another crucial aspect of our work in the present period must be to intensify the struggle against anti-Arab chauvinism and racist attacks on Arab peoples, similarly as we conduct a struggle against anti-Semitism. This is a major factor even among some progressive circles and is a chief stumbling block toward expanding the movement for a just peace.

The CPUSA is committed to building and supporting activities in solidarity with peace, liberation and democratic movements in the Middle East, and especially, at this time, with the Palestinian resistance movement. This must be a signal task for our entire party and for the trade union, peace and other democratic movements.

January 1978
(Abridged)



SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

*Open Letter from CPA General Secretary
Geronimo Arendo Alvarez*

The Communist Party of Argentina will mark its 60th birthday on January 6, 1978. In connection with this important event in the life of the country I warmly hail the membership and all the party's friends for their fidelity to our cause, for their militant spirit and high revolutionary morale.

This historic date transcends the framework of strictly party life. The Communist Party's role in the life of our country is growing steadily, its ideas and initiatives are winning an increasing number of supporters from among the broad strata of working people, and its prestige is mounting. With every passing day ever broader masses are coming to consider our party the party of national hope. Not surprisingly then we are approaching its anniversary with redoubled organizational strength and political and ideological cohesion.

The Communist Party was born of the extensive actions of the workers, peasants and students in the period of the general crisis engendered by the First World War of 1914-1918. It was then, as a consequence of the destructive war between imperialist bandits for control over the world market, and as a result of the triumph of the heroic and glorious Russian revolution on November 7, 1917, that the general crisis of the capitalist system broke out, ushering in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The party emerged above all as the inheritor of the best fighting traditions of our working class and people, their struggle for social well-being, political democracy, economic independence and all-round harmonious development of all regions of the country. From the outset its ideology was distinct from that of any other party. Leaning on the best democratic, progressive and liberation traditions of our historical past, the party imbibed the advanced ideas of the

participants of the May Revolution,* the epoch of wars of independence (the glorious heritage of San Martin), and the creators of our national statehood. At the same time it rejected the reactionary and medieval ideology of the past. The party came out resolutely against the idea that the historical past should be indiscriminately assimilated as a whole. For it to continue influencing present-day life, our democratic heritage must be constantly enriched. We on our part have contributed to it, relying on the most forward-looking scientific ideology of our time — Marxism-Leninism.

Vilification of Marxism-Leninism has become habitual in the reactionary circles of the country, who arbitrarily identify it with political terrorism. Those who see terrorism as a magic weapon capable of moving history forward have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, which examines human society and the laws which direct its development and transformation, and the motive forces that effect changes.

By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the existing conditions, by seeing it — as Marx and Lenin put it — not as an ossified dogma, but a guide to action, we were able to understand the causes of the vast difficulties which our country has been experiencing over several decades already, the causes of the periodic economic crises, of the social and political upheavals. Modern Argentina is based on an outmoded structure which hampers its development. This explains the general tendency toward an ever widening gap in the scientific-technical field between Argentina and the more developed countries.

Unless this structure is changed the crisis will reach the proportions of a national catastrophe. In society as in nature, contradictions must be resolved in good time or one fine day this will come about in a violent manner. As you know, our party is exerting enormous efforts to achieve a broad alliance of progressive forces with the aim of a peaceful transition from the old structure to a new one. At the same time we know perfectly well that the course of events does not depend on us alone.

What does the crisis of the present socio-economic structure signify? We do not share the opinion of those who see this crisis only in relation to productive forces. It is manifested primarily in production relations. It is preposterous that in the last quarter of the 20th century Argentinian agriculture is dominated by the latifundia on the basis of which capitalist production relations are developing. The latifundia's existence results in the technological backwardness of agriculture and

*On May 25, 1810 an anti-colonial uprising broke out in Buenos Aires. — Ed.

frenzied land speculation. It is equally absurd that the country's finances are controlled by the International Bank, and foreign monopolies are seizing the key levers of the economy. The alliance of the foreign monopolies, latifundist oligarchy and the big capitalists hampers the all-round development of the national economy. Therefore a priority task is to carry out the agrarian reform and ensure economic independence.

This task is inseparable from politics. It is essential above all to win democratic liberties and then to set up a genuinely representative popular government that will expand the framework of democracy and develop it to the full.

Such ideas are already forging a way for themselves. And this is to the great merit of the Communist Party.

In marking the party's 60th anniversary and recalling its long road, it is gratifying to know that there has not been a single progressive movement in the country, a single campaign in defense of the interests of the working class, peasantry, national culture, a single popular movement for economic or general democratic demands in which the communists have not taken a prominent part. We have always deemed it a great honor to wage a courageous struggle in defense of working-class interests and simultaneously to be the standard-bearers of the struggle for national liberation.

To list everything that our party has done and the actions it has championed would take too long. From its inception it has waged a struggle for trade union unity of the working class and was the first to raise the banner of popular, democratic, anti-imperialist unity. Let us remain true to this splendid tradition.

Solidarity on a national and international scale has always been a characteristic feature of our party. The party has always held high the banner of proletarian internationalism. It has been and remains an argant champion of world peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems.

In recalling the party's past activity, we cannot but give their due to its founders, above all to Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi, veteran party members, who built it up and valiantly defended it in the difficult conditions of anti-national, reactionary dictatorships.

In paying homage to them, we express our eternal gratitude to the foreign workers who were able to make their contribution to our just and noble cause. In some instances they paid with their lives for this, and in others — were deported to countries where fascist dictatorships reigned. Honor to them all! Naturally, on January 6 they will all

be with us, all these heroes and martyrs, whose deeds attest to their high communist fighting spirit. By their sacrifices they opened for us the way to social and political liberation.

The Communist Party came into existence two months after the most important event of the 20th century — the socialist revolution in Russia. Socialism was transformed from a purely theoretical question into reality. Life itself has delivered its irrefutable verdict: capitalism is no more eternal than was the slave-owning society or feudalism. Socialism is a historic necessity. The Russian revolution opened up a new period in the history of humankind, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Over the past 60 years socialism has been gradually winning the hearts and minds of peoples. The most forward-looking and enlightened representatives of humanity are ever more openly and resolutely joining the legions of fighters for socialism.

Today there exists a developed socialist world, headed by the Soviet Union. Numerous countries, which until recently were colonies of the big powers, have opted for the non-capitalist path of development. The experience of real socialism clearly shows that only through the revolutionary road can the internal and external contradictions that have matured in one or another country be resolved, and high development levels in all spheres of social life ensured. In marking the anniversary of our party on January 6, we will also ardently and sincerely give its due to the great Russian revolution of November 7, 1917.

We will celebrate the party's 60th anniversary in singular circumstances. In 1973 an opportunity appeared for the expansion of democracy and strengthening of national independence. However, this opportunity was blocked both by the right Peronist forces, led by the sinister Lopez Rega, and the ultra-left forces, who have arrived at absurd conclusions and at the use of impermissible methods of struggle. The original sin of the ultra-left forces consists not only in the fact that they resorted to individual terror, that non-proletarian method of struggle, but also that they did not take account of two important circumstances. First, that the present development stage was unavoidable and, second, that the balance of forces between democracy and reaction must not be ignored. The task facing the country was not that of creating a "socialist homeland," but of strengthening and expanding democracy so as to develop it to the full, as our unforgettable Victorio Codovilla pointed out. For this a definite balance of forces is required and it could and can be favorable given the unity of

all forces interested in a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution on the basis of a common program.

The failure of the new Peronist experiment led to the formation of a military government. The Communist Party was able to grasp the situation and to adapt accordingly its political line and tactics. In view of repeated declarations by General Videla, the party supported his declared though hesitantly applied policy of a broad and open dialogue favoring persistent efforts to draft common programmatic provisions that would serve as a firm foundation for democratic national unity. The Communist Party was able to expose in time the looming threat of a Pinochet-style coup and repeatedly called for joint actions so as not to allow it to mature. At the same time the party noted that the Martinez de Hoz* plan is a plan of the latifundist oligarchy and monopolies, who seek to place the burden of the crisis on the working people. The Communist Party waged an unremitting struggle for human rights, against terrorism of every hue, for the release of arbitrarily held prisoners.

The peculiarity of the situation helped us to understand that a realistic political solution consists in recognizing the need for a transitional stage, the formation of a broad democratic coalition government relying on a program jointly elaborated by the civilian circles, their political parties and public organizations, on the one hand, and the military, on the other.

Menacing clouds have appeared on the horizon. But there are also objective signs that a reactionary storm can be averted. Our country possesses adequate democratic reserves. Mobilized and united, they are invincible. Ultimately, our common cause will triumph: the cause of a national democratic agreement that will ensure the stability of the state and genuine peaceful coexistence of Argentines. That is why there can be no doubt that the broad popular masses will become united and mobilized. The communists are working persistently for the creation of such unity and for the mobilization of the popular masses.

Dear comrades, we reaffirm our unflinching fidelity to the ideals that form the basis of our party. These ideals are full democracy, peace and socialism. They are an expression of genuine humanism. Our party has deep roots in the working class, the historic liberating mission of which was revealed by Karl Marx, and in the working people. We also have deep roots in the nation because the purport of our struggle is to transform Argentina into a great and flourishing

*Minister of the Economy in the Videla government. — Ed.

country, a country that is strong, happy and modern, with a steadily rising material and cultural level, a country which in foreign policy relations would make a weighty contribution to the cause of peace, peaceful coexistence and complete independence of all peoples and nations.

Long live the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Argentina! Let us work unstintingly to increase its growth, its organizational cohesion and political level!

Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez
Buenos Aires, December 15, 1977

MANIFESTO OF THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Late in October 1977 the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party held an enlarged plenum which thoroughly discussed the new political situation in connection with the legalization of the Communist Party. The Central Committee adopted a decision on the party's participation in the forthcoming presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections.

Below we print the Manifesto of the Dominican Communist Party (abridged), which sums up the discussion at the plenum.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS OF THE ELECTION STRUGGLE

The development of the Dominican economy, the emergence and strengthening of the positions of the bourgeoisie in conditions of a dependent country, the relatively weakened positions of the ultra-conservative oligarchic elements, the growing role of the middle urban strata and the increasing though ununiform influence of the recently formed upper classes on the state institutions have created objective conditions for the establishment of forms of domination characteristic of bourgeois democracy.

This socio-economic reality was accompanied by an abatement of the revolution, the strengthened positions of the army as a result of the 1975 events (consequently a closely integrated military grouping set about tackling the tasks and aims of modernized capitalism), with

the struggle against the threat of ultra-right dominance and to safeguard liberties, and also with the new U.S. government's special imperialist policy linked with the name of Jimmy Carter — all this created a political situation in which the possibility of a return in the immediate future to a despotic regime was reduced to a minimum and a relative improvement in civil liberties can be noted.

The limited progress in the development of political democracy was not, however, accompanied by any significant progress in the sphere of social reforms. On the contrary, the agrarian measures announced by the regime in 1972 have not been fully implemented.

The government has gone over from a limited confrontation to open deals with the big latifundists.

The government's promises or its attempts to change the present situation of economic dependency on the United States show that these relations are a serious obstacle to implementation of the reforms connected with the modifications in the character of property relations.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The struggle for democracy in our country has acquired a broad scale. Various social strata, the mass media, organizations and the majority of the opposition parties — some by conviction, others for political expediency — are waging an unremitting struggle for respect of social and individual liberties.

The attempts to prolong and expand the terror imposed by the U.S. military intervention, on the one hand, and vigorous national and international protest campaigns against the repressions, on the other, led to marked contradictions in the ruling circles and were often the source of differences and internal strife among them, thereby greatly weakening the ultra-repressive groupings.

The socio-economic changes effected in the country have forced the regime to suspend the political terror and crimes and to gradually accede to the demands for liberation.

This process, which has noticeably weakened the ultra-right military and civilian forces, has been intensified under the influence of international events.

CURTAILMENT OF THE REFORM

At the same time the opportunities of moving forward with social reforms were not backed up by a favorable balance of forces. On the

contrary, it came up against stubborn resistance both in and outside the government, resulting in delays and shady deals.

The reaction of the landowners, boycott of civil servants, disagreement of the majority of the opposition parties (including the DRP,¹ DLP² and individual left and ultra-left groupings), government corruption and vacillation of executive power, all this hampered the active implementation of reforms, and consequently the promises made to the peasants were not met. The initial impact of the peasant struggle and the prospect of its deepening affected even the urban bourgeoisie, which was not inclined to support the agrarian reforms.

With the exception of a very limited and partial application of certain laws, this initiative was torpedoed and distorted by the authorities who chose the path of least resistance, that is, distribution of the land on the basis of the law on partial quotas and agricultural development.

However, an important result of this process was and remains the steady growth of the consciousness of the rural poor, their increasing readiness to wage an independent struggle. The land holdings remain unchanged, but the peasant has overcome his habitual submissiveness and has become a militant, though not yet sufficiently organized force.

The same can be said about the inconsistency of the authorities in face of serious problems like the plunder by the foreign companies that are entrenched in the country, and everything linked with the alarming growth of imports and foreign debt. The government has been unable to take effective measures against these ills. Nor did the attempts to negotiate some contracts with foreign companies lead to positive results. The public discussion and scrutiny of these problems served to prod the regime and to create a more progressive public opinion in the country, though the concrete achievements are obviously very limited.

The pressure on the part of the multinationals and the U.S. Embassy was also facilitated by the conciliatory, capitulatory stance or indifference of the majority of political parties, including those which sought to counter this pressure, but owing to their wrong tactical alliances, inability or considerations of expediency were incapable of doing so. The interlacing of the interests of national and foreign capital, increasing dependency of the former on the latter served as the backdrop and the primary cause of the appearance of such positions.

If the achievement of a relatively democratic situation and isolation

of the ultra-right forces is not accompanied today by a similar advance in implementing social reforms and struggle for independence, it is obvious that this is partially linked with the stance adopted by the forces which made concessions to or deals with the most invidious circles. Undoubtedly the country would have achieved a more promising stage of development had not many of those who claim to be revolutionaries and progressives supported the opposition of the landowners and had they not relinquished the anti-imperialist demands for the sake of concluding alliances with the rightist forces.

The responsibility devolves primarily on them and on the central government, which proved incapable of meeting its promises and enforcing its laws.

SUMMING UP

In summing up we can say that the above socio-political and military battles have not led either to the predomination of the ultra-reactionaries, nor to the implementation of the announced reforms. *Latifundism and the ultra-right military and civilian circles were powerless to control the state apparatus and the reformist-Balaguerist tendency, nor were they able to sustain the further implementation of social reforms on the initial 1972-1973 scale.*

In these circumstances our party must concentrate its energies on developing its own forces and on elaborating a left alternative. This does not signify a refusal to support any initiative which is aimed at reactivating the reform or which favors, if only partially, the popular or national interests.

ELECTIONS: PROPONENTS OF RE-ELECTION VS. DRP

In the new situation yet another attempt is being made to perpetuate the present regime with the aid of the forthcoming elections.

The conquest of power in the Dominican Republic is not now, however, simply a problem of winning a mathematical majority at ideally conducted elections.

In the present circumstances a party like the DRP will have to counter the economic, administrative and military levers of power which are being used with extraordinary dexterity — and unobstructed by anyone — by the President who is a candidate himself, the only political leader with real influence and power over the military institutes of the country.

The struggle between the supporters of the DRP and the

Balaguerists is gradually coming to be the central issue in the election discussion and no other option, particularly a genuine popular alternative, has a real chance.

Apart from its anti-oligarchic nationalist past, the hopes inspired by the DRP in the broad popular strata are determined by the inability of the ruling regime to find a solution to the problems agitating our people. Undoubtedly the *roots of the support* given to the DRP by the electors lie primarily in the economic hardships of the masses (hunger, growing poverty, rural under-employment, rising cost of living, etc.), which engenders a broad protest against the regime and an ardent striving to improve living standards.

The clash between the supporters of Balaguer and the adherents of the DRP is of a non-class character. These are two streams controlled by the upper classes. The confrontation is mainly political, and a close look at the forces actually participating in it shows that what the one has in abundance, the other one lacks. Balaguer's problem lies in the number of votes, while the DRP's is linked with everything that concerns the possibility to effectively control the key levers of power.

A LEFT OPTION

The present situation requires systematic and unremitting work aimed at creating a broader and socialist-oriented left trend which could in future become a force around which the dispersed national and popular currents could rally.

Efforts should be made to popularize in the course of the election struggles the program and provisions of our party, linking them with the aspirations of the exploited classes and with all sentiments that favor a left option.

In this connection, with account for the tardy legalization, the enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of our party resolved to take the following steps:

1. Proceed immediately to carry out the measures needed for the official registration and recognition of the party by the Central Election Commission and exert every effort to achieve this goal.

2. Recommend immediately that the corresponding party organizations and meetings select possible candidatures at the level of the National (capital) district and provinces, having previously studied the chances and specific qualifications of each of them.

3. Launch an active campaign to popularize our ideas, program and candidates.

4. Leave open the possibility of agreements and united actions

with representatives of the progressive-minded circles on the fundamental points of the program for profound structural changes approved by the Third Conference of our party. To closely study in future too the requirements and prospects of such agreements, without discounting our own efforts, which are the sole guarantee of the party's success at the forthcoming elections.

We are not trying to delude ourselves, nor are we harboring illusions or exaggerating our *present possibilities*, but we are aware that it would be absurd to refrain from discussing our positions in a campaign which normally draws the broad popular masses into political activity.

The DCP, moreover, does not wish to deny the proponents of Marxist ideas the possibility for the first time in our history to take part in the election struggle, which has always been the aim of our political adversaries.

October 1977
Santo Domingo

1. Dominican Revolutionary Party. — *Ed.*
 2. Dominican Liberation Party. — *Ed.*
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IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The decision of the United Nations Security Council last November to impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa is a step in the right direction. At the same time, the motive of the Western powers in adopting this resolution should not be misinterpreted. While the resolution itself reflects world abhorrence of apartheid and the beginnings of a UN campaign to do something about it which will be of assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa, it should be borne in mind that only the previous year the Western powers had vetoed a similar resolution, and that they only agreed to an arms embargo on this occasion because of the growing resentment against their pro-South African stand voiced by African and other Third World countries where Western economic and strategic interests might have been damaged by further blocking action. The Western countries were probably also induced to support an arms embargo because they considered it would not be of great practical effect. South Africa claims to be largely self-sufficient in arms production — thanks largely to previous Western aid and licensing arrangements — and there are always ways around embargoes through third parties and the international underground. Israel has already openly indicated her determination to stand by South Africa.

What is more important at this stage is to impose full economic sanctions against South Africa, and this is a sphere where the West, by virtue of its huge investment and trade stake in Southern Africa, could undoubtedly call the tune. But in this context the Western powers have already indicated their unwillingness to move further against South Africa by vetoing the more comprehensive resolution first moved in the Security Council by the African countries and supported by the socialist and Third World countries. The battle at the UN is by no means over.

Nevertheless the white-dominated states of Southern Africa are today confronted by pressures which are steadily growing and must in

the long term prove irresistible. The primary force for change in the region stems from the demand and struggle of the black majority for national liberation, independence, majority rule based on one man one vote and an end to the domination of imperialism and colonialism. But external forces are also being brought to bear. The socialist countries and the international communist movement have been the staunch allies of the liberation movement ever since it was formed in the early years of this century, and are today still the main bastion of its foreign support. Another stand of support for our cause has been the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and democratic and progressive forces in all countries which have joined the anti-apartheid camp.

For decades the racists of Southern Africa were able to withstand the threat of revolution because they enjoyed the support of international imperialism, happy to secure from apartheid Southern Africa bigger returns on invested capital than they could obtain elsewhere in the world. Western recognition of the strategic importance of South Africa was also incorporated in the Simonstown Agreement, which placed South Africa's dockyard resources at the disposal of her Western allies. The thousands of millions of pounds of foreign capital invested in Southern Africa were a guarantee not only of economic development of a certain kind but also of Western involvement in the maintenance of the status quo, even of Western willingness to help preserve it by military means in the event of an emergency.

Western confidence in the ability of the white racists to maintain "law and order" had been expressed as far back as 1910, with the creation of the Union of South Africa. By contrast the absence of Western confidence in the ability of the white racists to suppress the revolutionary forces today is reflected in the frenzied attempt to bring about new "constitutional settlements" in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself.

NEW URGENCY

This frantic attempt to bring about "change" in social and racial relationships in Southern Africa is based on two main considerations. The first is the recognition of the series of reverses suffered by imperialism since the end of World War II — the extension of the boundaries of socialism, the achievement of independence by former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America; the shattering defeat of the imperialists in open conflicts in Korea, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Especially Angola, because there

for the first time South African forces were involved and driven to ignominious defeat.

The second consideration, flowing partially from the first, is the declining ability of South African capitalism to deliver the goods. Toward the end of 1977 the South African economy was registering hardly any advance at all, a fact which, taking into account the increase in population, meant an all-round decline in living standards. The cushioned whites were protected against the worst effects of this economic decline, but for the Blacks it has meant wholesale poverty and dislocation, with African unemployment well over the 2 million mark and increasing steadily.

The decline in the South African economy has been due to a combination of factors. Partly it was the result of the depression in the capitalist world; partly it has been caused by the flight and withholding of foreign capital following the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere; partly it is the consequence of the restrictive practices of apartheid which prevent the full utilization of the human and material resources of the country.

In all these respects, what has been happening in South Africa is reflected also in Zimbabwe and Namibia, whose regimes survive only because of the South African connection. So today the world is witnessing throughout Southern Africa the revolt of the oppressed black masses, driven to desperation by their worsening political and economic situation, and inspired by the liberation of their brothers in the north and particularly the establishment of socialist regimes in Mozambique and Angola.

Normally the imperialists in such a situation today, having learned the lesson of their postwar colonial reverses, are quick to hasten forward with a neo-colonial solution which by transferring political control will release some of the pressure and enable their profit-taking to continue. In Southern Africa, however, the intransigence of the white racists stands in the way of such a solution. The illegal Rhodesian regime still equivocates over the demand voiced both by the liberation movements and the Western intermediaries for a constitution based on one man one vote, while in South Africa the Vorster regime continues to refuse the basic right of citizenship, let alone the right to vote, to the African majority of the population. The brutal butchery of student demonstrators by the police, resulting in well over 1,000 deaths in the last 18 months; the cold-blooded murders of political prisoners in detention; the crackdown on the Black consciousness movement; the banning of *The World*, the Christian Insti-

tute and other leading anti-apartheid activists, white and Black — all these are a chilling reflection of the white racists' inability to adapt to changing circumstances.

Some at least of the conditions precedent to revolution obtain in South Africa today. Restrictive social relationships are choking productive capacity. The people are clearly unwilling to go on living in the old way, and in many areas like Soweto the authority of the government has broken down. When even an exponent of non-violence like Steve Biko is done to death in a police cell it is inevitable that more and more of the oppressed masses are turning toward armed struggle as the only way forward. A process has been set in motion which, if the confrontation is allowed to persist, can have only one outcome, however long delayed — the final defeat of the white supremacists and the establishment of a government on lines even more radical than those envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

It is precisely because the revolutionary process in Southern Africa is being speeded up, not halted, by white racist repression and ruthlessness that the Western imperialists are now attempting to intervene in the hope of saving something from the wreckage. And it is not just the fate of Southern Africa which they fear for. It is the worldwide future of capitalism itself which is at stake.

U.S. INTENTIONS

President Carter's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, in a press interview last October, justifying the American initiative in Southern Africa, made it clear that the imperialists could no longer leave it to South Africa to police the area. "What is at stake here is of really major importance, both in international and human terms," he said. "What is at stake is how to avoid a transcontinental war, which will simultaneously be a Black versus white and a red versus white war. In other words, a war which will merge the racial conflict into an ideological conflict. What is at stake here is the livelihood of some millions of people, Black and white. What is at stake here, in short, is how to avoid historical tragedy."

Brzezinski did not explain why the conflict should take this form, but implicit in what he said is the recognition that there is a natural alliance between the anti-imperialist forces, between the liberation movements and the forces of international communism. Just how effective this force can be was demonstrated in Angola. It is to prevent the triumph of this force in Southern Africa as well that the

imperialists are now devoting all their diplomatic initiatives and threats of economic pressures.

What the imperialists are aiming at is without doubt a neo-colonial solution which will preserve their interests in Southern Africa. From whence does the U.S. derive its *locus standi* in Southern Africa? It has never ruled there, or held territory there. It objects strenuously when the Soviet Union or Cuba becomes involved in areas where they have not "traditionally" been established, but shows no reluctance to do so itself. And of course the U.S. has an enormous stake in the area. U.S. direct investment in South Africa accounts for almost 40 per cent of total U.S. investment in Africa. The book value of direct American investment in Africa at the end of 1976 was 4,467 million dollars, of which 1,665 million dollars was in South Africa, more than double the 1969 figure of 700 million dollars (*Financial Mail*, 30 September, 1977). The British stake, as is well known, is even larger, accounting for almost 60 per cent of total foreign investment in South Africa, and Foreign Secretary Owen has frankly admitted that the British government opposes sanctions against South Africa because it cannot afford them.

The reason why some form of pressure is now being contemplated by the Western powers against South Africa is because, whatever the cost, the alternative is the total loss of the area as a field for private enterprise and profit-taking. Just as the South African Liberal Party, which initially called for a qualified franchise, was eventually compelled to espouse universal suffrage for fear of losing all support from the disfranchised Blacks and leaving the field, in its view, "wide open to the communists," so now the imperialists have suddenly become the most ardent exponents of universal suffrage in Southern Africa. Their neo-colonialist experience of majority rule based on one man one vote in the postwar era has satisfied them that it is not incompatible with capitalism. Fearful that white racist rigidity will lead to total confrontation, thereby opening the door to the "apocalyptic alternative," the Western powers are pleading with Vorster to accept a compromise.

It is the primary contradiction between capitalism and communism which has led to the development of the secondary contradiction between the imperialist powers and the white racist regimes of Southern Africa. Vorster himself, in an address to an audience of American businessmen and women in Johannesburg last September, admitted that America's pursuit of Black majority rule and one man one vote was leading the two countries to "drift apart." Some of his Cabinet

ministers have gone even further and dubbed the U.S. enemy No. 1.

SUSPICIONS REMAIN

The liberation movements of Southern Africa are rightly suspicious of Western motives in the present round of negotiations. It is all very well for President Carter to appoint Andrew Young as his UN Ambassador and allow him to spout platitudes calculated to win friends and influence people in the Third World. What the West will be judged by are the results, and to date nothing apart from the arms embargo has emerged to lead anyone to believe that the imperialist leopard has changed its spots.

In Zimbabwe the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement, as incorporated in the Rhodesia White Paper presented to (the British) Parliament by the Foreign Secretary, are patently designed to disarm the liberation movements and placate the white minority. Even if Smith can be persuaded to step down, the whole of the white-dominated apparatus of Rhodesia, including the laws passed since 1965 and the judges, administrators, policemen and possibly even soldiers who have been enforcing them with indescribable ruthlessness ever since UDI¹, will remain in being. Presiding over what is being passed off as decolonization would be Lord Carver, an army blimp whose record in Kenya in suppressing the so-called Mau Mau rebellion can hardly be calculated to inspire confidence in African breasts. And Carver would from the world "go" be able to rule by decree using emergency powers placed at his disposal by the white paper.

If the constitutional proposals go forward in their original form, the whole pace and direction of whatever change is contemplated will be determined by Carver and his advisers. Nowhere is there any provision for representation of any of the liberation movements in the processes of decision-making. The freedom fighters, whose courage and sacrifice have opened the way to change in Zimbabwe, are expected to exchange their guns for ballot papers, leaving effective power in the hands of the imperialists and their agents. The UN representative and the UN Zimbabwe Force contemplated in the white paper will be at all times subject to the authority of the Resident Commissioner; they may advise but they cannot decide what is to happen.

Likewise the intervention of the five Western powers in Namibia is specifically designed to assist the South African government in its plans to isolate and destroy SWAPO.² The five powers concerned —

Britain, the U.S., France, West Germany and Canada — have no mandate from anyone to negotiate over the future of the territory. As in South Africa itself, their only concern is to stop the fighting and create the conditions in which their looting of the immense natural resources of the area can continue uninterrupted. In view of the fact that between them they account for the bulk of foreign investment in the territory, their determination to do all in their power to prevent a SWAPO government from coming to power and implementing its program of repossessing the resources of Namibia for the benefit of its inhabitants is understandable, though hardly defensible. And it is noteworthy that in Namibia, as in Zimbabwe, the imperialists and racists are proposing a mechanism for the transition period which totally excludes SWAPO, whose struggles over the years are the main factor responsible for creating the conditions in which a transfer of power can be placed on the agenda.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia the Western and South African shibboleth is “free elections.” Grandly they proclaim: “Let the people decide.” Imagine, the South African racists, who deny citizenship rights to the majority of the population in their own country, are demanding free elections on the basis of one man one vote in Namibia and Zimbabwe!

That in itself should be sufficient to raise the doubt whether “free elections” and “one man one vote” are in themselves adequate to ensure majority rule, the effective transfer of power. Capitalism and imperialism have survived “one man one vote” throughout the Western world, because the way people vote in elections depends on what sort of pressures are exerted on them at election time; and that in turn depends on who controls the levers of power, who administers the law, who is in charge of the security services, the press and radio — in the long run, who owns the means of production and distribution, and what sort of laws he has placed on the statute book to perpetuate his ownership. Basically, there can be no free elections in an unfree society. So long as white racist domination remains in being in Zimbabwe and Namibia an effective transfer of power cannot be brought about by elections alone. In fact, the challenge in Southern Africa as a whole is that people’s power must be made a reality before there can be any prospect of truly free elections.

Abridged from *The African Communist*,
No. 72, First Quarter 1978

1. Unilateral declaration of independence.
2. South-West Africa People’s Organization.

“WE WILL NOT GIVE IN TO EITHER EXTORTION OR BLACKMAIL”

Editorial in “Unidad” (People’s Party of Panama)

Every nation has dates symbolizing major events in its historical evolution. They are the high points on the road of its development. October 10, 1925, December 12, 1947 and January 9, 1964 are such dates. All of them spectacularly reflect the fighting ability and self-sacrifice of the Panamanian people, which in many circumstances, decisively and vigorously rose up in struggle against their oppressors, the oligarchy and imperialism. January 1964, however, marks the highest point — the popular uprising against the colonial enclave. It was the popular masses’ heroic challenge to the U.S. Army stationed in the Canal Zone, an open expression of the people’s will, who refused to put up any longer with the colonial presence of imperialism on their territory. Therefore January 9, 1964 marked a decisive moment and opened up a new stage in Panama’s protracted struggle against imperialism.

The historic legacy, sealed with the blood of the Panamanians who fell in January, demanded putting an end to colonialism and eliminating the so-called Canal Zone. Already then it was not a matter of a new interpretation of the 1903 Treaty, nor of possible modification to that document, but a demand for its abrogation, of freeing the occupied territory and eschewing all forms of foreign jurisdiction over Panamanian territory. These militant calls became the slogans of the movement for national liberation and the program of the government headed by General Torrijos.

This was the direction of the recent negotiations which led to the Torrijos-Carter treaties. While these treaties do not signify complete and immediate fulfillment of the above-mentioned demands, they serve, in our view, as the basis for liquidating the colonial enclave on Panamanian territory. This will come about as a result of a complex process of struggle over a definite period. That was how the Panamanian people understood it when they approved these treaties in the October 23 plebiscite, while expressing the resolve to carry on the struggle.

At present these treaties have been submitted to the U.S. Senate which is to consider them early in 1978. A public debate is already

under way in the press and over the radio and television in the USA. The Torrijos-Carter treaties have become an international issue over which U.S. public opinion has split up. Thanks to them two broad opposing currents have been revealed in the heartland of imperialism. One is represented by those who realize that the present period differs from that of the beginning of the century, that imperialism can no longer impose its will on other peoples as was the case a few decades ago, and that it is essential to change its methods, though its aims remain world domination and the exploitation of other peoples. At the same time the representatives of the other current still believe that they are the master of the planet and that they can at will command the destinies of other countries. The proponents of these two currents of U.S. imperialism, which were revealed in connection with the issue of the treaties — as earlier over the Vietnam war issue and at present on the relations with Cuba — are setting forth their arguments in an attempt to influence public opinion.

The significance and importance of the Torrijos-Carter treaties is evidently such that they have become a factor in the internal policy of the United States as well as that of Panama.

In the U.S., Carter and his supporters are taking steps that are of crucial importance for their political future, while their opponents are intent on dealing them crushing blows. Such are the vicissitudes of the political game in the United States. The Panamanians, however, must realize that there is in fact no difference whatsoever between the one and the other with respect to the aims and objectives of U.S. foreign policy which is designed to safeguard the positions of North American imperialism, continue the exploitation of other countries and to impede the world's advance toward socialism. In this they are at one. They differ only on how to achieve these aims. Regarding Panama, both currents agree on the need to defend and safeguard what they call the vital or fundamental interests of the United States. The disputes and differences center around whether or not the Torrijos-Carter treaties will guarantee this. The Carter government is seeking to convince U.S. public opinion that the Torrijos-Carter treaties ensure the interests of the United States, while their opponents dispute this.

A peculiar situation has emerged as a result of the conflicting interpretation of the above-mentioned treaties. Some Senators are proposing not only amendments to the treaties but also give their own explanation and interpretation of the text. These interpretations, which have been submitted to both the United States and Panamanian

governments, are fraught with peril for our country. The Panamanian people demand approval by the U.S. Senate of the originally signed treaties, without any amendments or arbitrary interpretations.

In Panama the question of ratification of the treaties by the U.S. Senate is used both by imperialism and the domestic oligarchy to seriously attack the national-liberation process and the Torrijos government. They seek to emasculate the revolutionary and anti-imperialist essence of the national-liberation movement and to firmly link Panama to the capitalist camp and make it a loyal ally of imperialism. This policy is designed to impede the struggle of the consistent revolutionary forces to extend the process of completely changing the old economic, social and political structures, the source of underdevelopment, backwardness and poverty of the Panamanian people. More precisely, it is sought through political blackmail to force the government to permit legalization of the traditional parties and to inveigle it to return to the pre-1968 political practices. The economic crisis bedeviling Panama is being used to impose political conditions through credits provided by international agencies, such as the International Development Bank, the International Development Agency, and others.

Now, on the 14th anniversary of the January 1964 events, we say: General Torrijos, the people support your government and are prepared to fight vigorously for the liberation of the country and the revolutionary transformation of outmoded structures. We will not give in to either extortion or blackmail. Forward, along the road of national liberation irrespective of whether or not the Senate ratifies the treaties or postpones their consideration indefinitely. The national-liberation movement which encompasses the military, workers, peasants, students, professionals and members of other strata will continue their struggle till the legacy of the January 9 fighters is fully honored.

The national-liberation struggle will be crowned with success. An earnest of victory is the maturity and high political consciousness of the Panamanian people, the strength of the revolutionary movement and the potency of the world forces fighting against imperialism, that is, the might of the socialist camp, the worldwide national-liberation movement and the international working class.

Unidad, December 1977

IMPROVE THE WORK AMONG NEW PARTY MEMBERS

The question of party membership has always been and remains a fundamental question of party building. This is only natural, since the party's entire activity is largely determined by its composition. The decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses are of crucial importance in adopting a correct approach to admittance to the party, for a strictly individual selection of new members and in educating the communists. The qualitative composition of the Communist Party has been formed in such a way as to enable it successfully to resolve the most complex objectives of the revolutionary transformation of society. In the article "A Historic Stage on the Road to Communism," which gives a profound theoretical substantiation of the main features of developed socialism — Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasized the key role of the Communist Party in the struggle for socialism and communism, in developing socialist statehood and socialist democracy. He noted also that no privileges accrue to the party from the constitutional formalization of the CPSU's leading role in our state and society. On the contrary, this places additional responsibility on the party because its guiding role is carried out not by the force of authority but thanks to its high political prestige and ideological influence among the masses.

The communists have always honorably and truthfully served the people who were the first in history to build a genuinely free, socialist society. This explains the party's high prestige among the working people of our country, as evidenced by the fact that almost 2.6 million people were admitted into the CPSU in the period between its 24th and 25th congresses. More than 610,000 active builders of communism joined the party last year.

Our party has never considered the admittance of new members as an end in itself, nor seen it in isolation from work among the masses, from mobilizing and organizing them for the fulfillment of economic and socio-political targets. The continuous growth of party ranks confirms the correctness of its domestic and foreign policy and reflects its increasing role and authority in society, expansion and strengthening of its ties with the masses and the growing socio-political awareness of the masses. In its turn, the influx of new

members enables the party better to appoint its forces, improve the structure of its organizations and to ensure its impact on all areas of the life of our society.

The Central Committee report to the 25th Party Congress noted: "Under developed socialism, when the Communist Party has become a party of the whole people, it has in no sense lost its class character. The CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class." The working class has a leading role to play in the entire life of our society. By its organization, collective spirit, consciousness and consistency in fighting for the triumph of communist ideals it leads all classes and strata that make up the Soviet people. Numerically the working class now occupies first place in our society. Taken together, all this predetermines the working class' leading position in the social composition of the party. With a growing number of people wanting to join the party, the party organizations insist that priority must be given to forward-looking men and women engaged in key areas of social production, and above all to the best workers. The provisions of party congresses were further developed in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the work of Party Organizations in Kirghizia in Admittance to the Party and Educating CPSU Members." It stresses in particular that in regulating the growth of their ranks the party organizations should bear in mind the changing social structure of the population, particularly in each region, city and district, the specifics of work collectives, the need to enhance the party's influence in various fields of the economy and culture.

The probationary period has a big role to play in the system of political and organizational measures regulating party growth. It is essential for a more thorough acquaintance with the Program and Rules of the CPSU and preparation for full membership. The party organization helps the probation member in this and verifies his personal qualifications. It is extremely important that in all party organizations the probationary period should be a serious test and not a mere formality.

To best implement the provisions and instructions of the 25th Party Congress and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the central committees of the Communist parties of Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, of the Astrakhan, Karelian, Oryol, Kiev, Gomel regional party committees and many other party committees examined at their plenums the party organizations' objectives in improving the work of admittance to the party and education of young

communists. It was stressed at the plenums that the primary party organizations bear a special responsibility for this work. With respect to the applicants for party membership they must more thoroughly study and take into account the opinion of both the communists and non-party comrades who work together with them and who know them well not only at work, but in their everyday life. The CC CPSU decision on Kirghizia says: "Admittance to the party should, as a rule, take place at open party meetings where the merits and demerits of the applicants are discussed, that is, these questions should be resolved openly, in full view of the collective." Such an approach ensures individual selection of forward-looking workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

Experience shows that the overwhelming majority of the probation members successfully pass the year-long practical test and the local party organizations help them in every way. However, a part of the probation members fail to pass the test: some are expelled for various misdemeanors or, having proved inactive, are not admitted to full membership and simply drop out. Thus the probationary period is a serious test of personal qualities as well as a barrier, a shield against those who do not meet the high demands made on a communist.

The majority of the primary party organizations seek to ensure an individual approach to each probation member, entrusting him with increasingly complex tasks to help him more fully to reveal and use his capabilities.

Instructive also, in this connection, is the experience of local party organizations which draw the probation members broadly into the discussion of questions at bureau and committee sessions and at party meetings. Moreover, they set up brigades and commissions to study certain questions, which include both experienced full members and probation members. Such a combination enables the probation members more speedily to learn the norms of party life and the principles of party leadership as well as to work with people.

The CC CPSU decision on Kirghizia notes that throughout the entire probation period it is essential to show constant concern as to how the probation member is preparing himself for full party membership. This is now being done in many party organizations. Discussion of such information at meetings helps the probation members better to see their shortcomings and the objectives of the collective, encourages them to seek opportunities of enhancing their contribution to the fulfillment of the tenth five-year period targets.

As a rule, probation members today have a secondary or higher education, while many continue studying in evening technical schools and institutes. The approach of local party organizations which take all this into account in deciding to which group of party studies to assign one or another probation member, is correct. Ideological-political tempering, a profound knowledge of the theory and history of the party, its domestic and foreign policy — that is the main instrument with the aid of which the communists influence non-party people. And it is extremely important to organize their training and education in such a way as to enable each probation member to master this instrument.

Experience shows that the schools for young communists greatly help the probation members in studying the CPSU Program and Rules, and the rights and duties stipulated in the Rules. Such schools, with a yearly enrollment of 400 people, exist, for instance, in Ulyanovsk, at the Zasviyazhski district committee of the CPSU, at the party committees of the Avto-UAZ production association, and the heavy, unique machine-tool and hydroapparatus factories.

More than two-thirds of the party members come from the Young Communist League. Many continue working actively in Komsomol organizations as secretaries or their deputies, members of Komsomol bureaus and committees and YCL organizers. The growth of the party core in the YCL organizations helps to enhance its influence on their activity, to raise the level of educational work among the youth.

Women make up a significant part of the probation members. Last year in the Oryol Regional Party organization, for instance, women accounted for 37 per cent of the probation members, and in the Ivanovo, Vladimir, Kalinin, Kuibyshev, Vinnitsa, Gomel and a number of others — 40 to 50 and more per cent. This is a good indication of the growing socio-political activity of women. It is essential to help women probationary members to effectively combine fruitful production or office work with socio-political activity, and to see that their party assignments enable them to continue their studies and give more attention to their family and the upbringing of their children.

To speed up the ideological-political and organizational tempering, the development of high political, professional and moral qualities and to instill a party spirit in the probation members, the most diverse forms and methods of work are required. But the substitution of paperwork for day-to-day work with the probation members in evi-

dence in some primary party organizations, cannot be considered correct. Thus, in the primary party organizations of the Zeia district, Amur Region, each probation member is required to draw up a personal plan-commitment for the duration of the probationary period. In its initiators' view, this is designed to intensify control over the probationary period. Obviously, here priority is given to the plan-commitment, and not to the probation member in question, his strong and weak points, his behavior and performance.

By eliminating all that is unnecessary, superficial, all that leads to confusion or distracts them from vital issues, the primary party organizations must ensure that an atmosphere is created in the party collective wherein the communists are exacting toward each other and do not tolerate shortcomings. In such an atmosphere of broad criticism and self-criticism, higher demands are made on each for stringent adherence to the Leninist norms of party life, and each person goes through a genuine school of training and education, a school of instilling the party spirit in the probation member.

The communists who have recommended them must of course make their contribution to the education of the probation members, to training them as political combatants. The CC CPSU decision "On the Work of Party Organizations in Kirghizia" notes: "It is essential to enhance the responsibility of communists for those whom they recommend for party membership, for the objectivity of their characterization. They not only vouch to the party for the person they recommend but are called upon to facilitate his ideological, professional and moral growth."

But it would be wrong for the secretaries, bureaus, party committees of primary organizations to place the entire burden of educating the probation members on those who vouched for them. The entire primary organization is responsible for the member's correct conduct during his probation period. The responsibility of all communists for each and of each for all members ensures the monolithic character and action ability of the party.

Improvement of the entire work of admittance to the party and education of the CPSU probation members is the earnest of enhancing the action ability of the primary party organizations, of strengthening the leading role of the party in our society, of the successful solution of the objectives of communist construction.

Abridged from *Partiinaya Zhizn*, No. 24, 1977

“ARAB-ISRAELI WAR WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR BRITAIN”

Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, gave an interview to a *Morning Star* correspondent. The paper writes:

In an exclusive interview with the *Morning Star*, Israeli MP and communist leader Meir Vilner said it was not only out of a selfless desire to help the people of the Middle East that the people of Britain should stop the U.S. from sabotaging the Geneva peace conference — “but out of your own national interests.”

“The mistake of the leaders of your government is that they are treating the Americans like big brothers and letting them deal with the problem alone,” said Mr. Vilner, leader of a group of five MPs of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament).

He warned that the results of a new Arab-Israeli war would prove more disastrous for Britain and other West European countries than for the U.S.

The Israeli Communist Party general secretary stressed that no stable peace would come to the Middle East until the Israeli government is forced to abandon its expansionist policy.

Whatever decisions are taken by President Carter and President Sadat in Washington this weekend, he said, there would be no real peace without a solution of the Palestine problem on the basis of recognizing the rights of the Palestine Arab people to determine their own future.

“We are still in a minority in Israel when we say this,” he said, “but internationally we are in a majority.”

Mr. Vilner said that one of the main factors in bringing about a just peace would be the development of a broad peace front in Israel itself — and there were already signs in all parties (including those of the majority coalition) that this could be created.

“Everybody will be able to participate in this peace front,” he said, “communists, Zionists, religious people, all those who see that it is in the national interest of Israel to achieve peace.”

He said that many Israeli people had been seduced by the demagogic postures of Premier Menachem Begin, who had made promises without really giving up ill-gotten gains.

But the communist leader said that these illusions were now being dissipated.

Morning Star, February 4, 1978

COMMUNIQUE

Mohamed Harmel, secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party, addressed a letter to the *Information Bulletin* requesting us to print the following:

Mohamed Harmel (secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party which was outlawed in 1963) applied, as a citizen and in conformity with the Press Code, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for permission to publish a daily newspaper, of which he is to be director. It is to come out in two languages, Arabic and French, under the title *Al Jadid*.

Al Jadid, whose appearance is contingent on the consent of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, will be a Left Publication with a progressive and democratic orientation. It will make its contribution to the solution of our country's vital problems.

Freedom of the press, an important aspect of democratic freedoms for which we have never stopped fighting, is today a fundamental demand. Reflecting the profound changes occurring in Tunisian society, it will enable normal expression of political trends and currents in all their diversity and create conditions for a genuine dialogue and a nationwide discussion of the present and future of the country.

Mohamed Harmel
Secretary, Tunisian Communist Party
Tunis, December 22, 1977

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