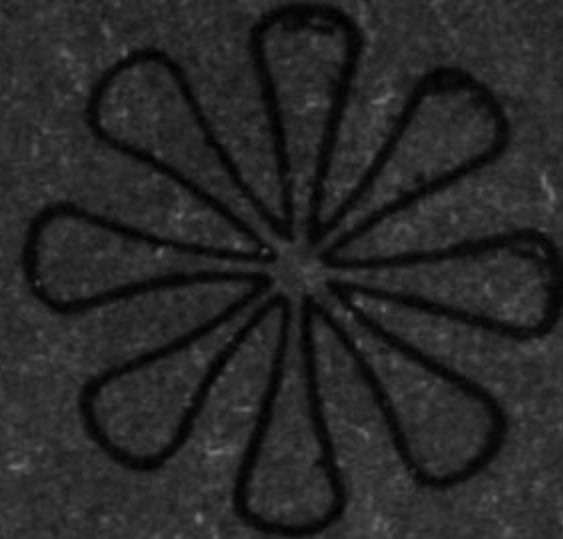
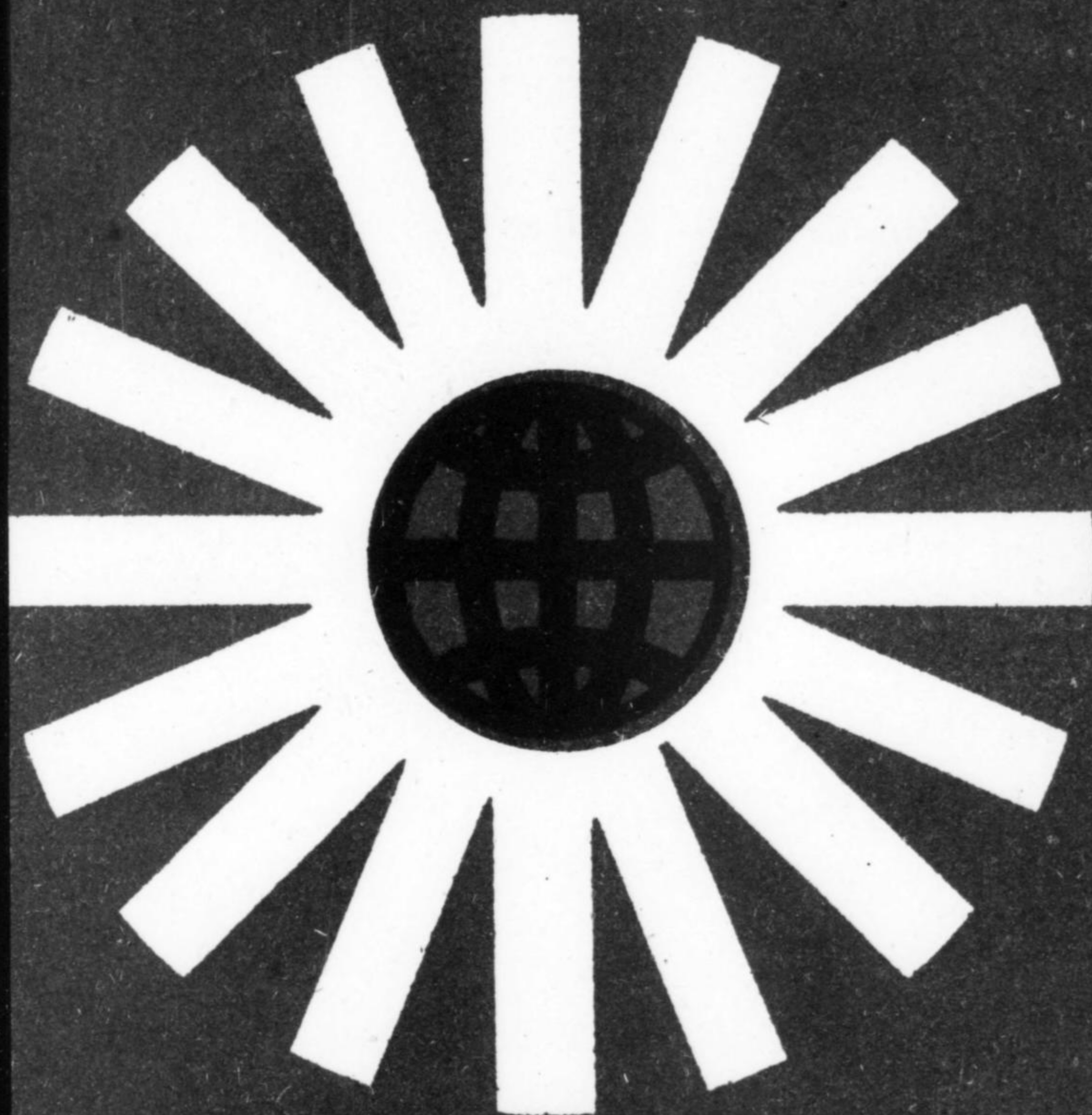


INFORMA



102



BULLETIN

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**MEETING OF
WARSAW TREATY
MEMBERS**

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PANAMA

•
AUSTRIA

13

(413) • 1980

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations

which are satisfied by the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ in the domain D of the space E_3 .

The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be harmonic in the domain D .

The third part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be biharmonic in the domain D .

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be triharmonic in the domain D .

The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be tetraharmonic in the domain D .

The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be pentaharmonic in the domain D .

The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be hexaharmonic in the domain D .

The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be heptaharmonic in the domain D .

The ninth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be octaharmonic in the domain D .

The tenth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be nonaharmonic in the domain D .

The eleventh part of the paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of the case when the functions $u_i(x, y, z)$ and $v_i(x, y, z)$ are assumed to be decaharmonic in the domain D .

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A STRONG CALL FOR PEACE NEW INITIATIVES OF WARSAW TREATY POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

*Communiqué of the Meeting of the Political Consultative
Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States*

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was held in Warsaw on May 14-15, 1980.

The meeting was attended by delegations from the Warsaw Treaty member-states consisting of the General and First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties, their heads of state, Chairmen of their Councils of Ministers, and their Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministers.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was led by Todor Zhivkov, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by Gustav Husak, the German Democratic Republic by Erich Honecker, the Hungarian People's Republic by Janos Kadar, the Polish People's Republic by Edward Gierek, the Socialist Republic of Romania by Nicolae Ceausescu and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Leonid Brezhnev.

Taking part in the work of the meeting were Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, and Nikolai Firyubin, General Secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States.

The meeting was opened by the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party's Central Committee Edward Gierek. The Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was presided over in turn, by: Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; János Kádár, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee; Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

The meeting summed up the results of the activities of the Warsaw Treaty over 25 years and discussed urgent problems and tasks in the struggle for détente and security in Europe, and for strengthening world peace.

The conferees unanimously adopted the Declaration and Statement which are printed below.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee took place in a friendly atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and confirmed the identity of views of its participants on the European and international problems discussed.

DECLARATION OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member-States of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance on May 14th and 15th, 1980, in Warsaw, summed up the results of the 25 years of activity of their fraternal defensive alliance at the service of peace, and considered topical tasks in the struggle for détente and security in Europe, for consolidation of universal peace.

I

The participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee noted with satisfaction the great importance of the signing 25 years ago in Warsaw of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, in reply to the setting up of the NATO bloc, to the intensification of the danger of war in Europe and the threat to the national security of the peace-loving states, particularly in connection with the course of the leading quarters of this military bloc toward the re-militarization of West Germany.

Throughout this quarter of a century our fraternal alliance and the states belonging to it, cooperating and collaborating with other states and with all peace forces, have been confidently and effectively ac-

completing vitally important tasks — to prevent the unleashing of war in Europe, to promote in every way the strengthening of peace, the easing of international tension, the development of equal peaceful cooperation between states.

The participants in the meeting highly assess the results achieved in strengthening the fraternal friendship among their states, in developing broad and many-faceted mutual cooperation, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on respect for equality, independence and national sovereignty, on non-intervention into internal affairs, and on comradely mutual assistance and international solidarity.

In their efforts for peace, security and détente, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States have always displayed and continue to display consistency and adherence to principledness, a constructive approach and goodwill, boldness in putting forward initiatives and realism at talks, readiness to consider the legitimate rights and interests of others.

The whole course of international developments over the 25 years that have passed since the signing of the Warsaw Treaty and the experience of the Treaty Member-States convincingly show that in the present-day world each step forward in strengthening international security and in developing the process of détente is the result of resolute struggle of the peoples, of all progressive and democratic forces against the imperialist policy of strength and diktat, confrontation and unleashing conflicts, arms race and interference from the outside in the internal affairs of states. The radical changes in the balance of forces in the world, the strengthening of the positions and influence of socialism in the world, the successes of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of peoples and national liberation forces have created the necessary conditions so that the purposeful policy of the socialist countries, the unity of actions by peace-loving states and peoples should lead to important positive changes in the whole system of inter-state relations, to the strengthening of peace and international security.

The biggest gain of the past decades has been the breaking of the tragic cycle in which peace was only a respite between world wars, in launching on the broadest scale the struggle for eliminating wars forever from the life of human society.

The territorial and political realities in Europe, which have taken shape as a result of the victory of peoples in the anti-fascist war and post-war development, have been recognized by all states. The in-

violability of borders between European states has been affirmed, progress has been achieved in consolidating stability and developing peaceful inter-state relations on the European continent.

A long and difficult path has been traversed from the Austrian State Treaty, which was concluded a quarter of a century ago, to the bilateral treaties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. Advancement on this path has also been marked by normalization of relations by Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania with the FRG. In spite of the obstacles which were put up by the forces of imperialism and revanchism, this path has been traversed, a number of dangerous seats of tensions have been eliminated and a good basis has been built for mutual confidence between states in Europe, for their joint responsibility for the destinies of European peace and security.

A defeat for the cold war warriors, for European and world reaction, and a major success for the policy of realism and the goodwill of all its participants was the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, which was convened on the initiative of the socialist countries. The European Conference, which embodied the spirit of mutual understanding, cooperation and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, was crowned with the adoption by the leaders of 35 states of the Helsinki Final Act — a charter of European peace and security, a long-term program of cooperation for the benefit of all European nations.

Thanks to the efforts by the socialist and many other countries, in defiance of stubborn resistance by imperialist quarters and their military-industrial complex, it has been possible to make advances in some direction of limitation of the arms race: nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater have been banned, a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is in operation, the states renounced the deployment of mass-annihilation weapons in near-Earth orbits and celestial bodies, on the bottom of seas and oceans, bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons have been banned and liquidated, military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques has been prohibited.

Intense efforts over many years were needed to make initial advances along the road of strategic arms limitation and thus checking the arms race in its most dangerous direction. But on this most difficult question it has also been possible to make advances at a certain stage.

Notwithstanding attempts by the foes of peaceful cooperation to oppose some states to others, tangible progress was made, especially in Europe, in the normalization of relations between countries with a differing social order, in the development of political contacts between them. It has also been possible to attain considerable results, useful for all participants in cooperation, in the development of equal trade and economic, scientific and technological, and cultural relations between states.

Whatever aspect of inter-state relations is considered, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States have always been in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, détente and international cooperation. This is an expression of the socialist nature of their foreign policy, which is profoundly democratic and meets the fundamental interests of mankind.

Meanwhile, as long as the NATO bloc exists and, striving to gain military superiority, continues building up its military potential, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States will take all necessary steps to maintain their defense potential at the proper level. They will always see to it that the security of their peoples is reliably ensured.

Emphasizing this, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States declare once again that they have never striven and will not strive for military superiority; they are invariably coming out for safeguarding the military balance on ever lower levels, for reduction and elimination of the military confrontation in Europe. They have not, have never had and will not have any other strategic doctrine except a defensive one, they have not, have never had, and will not have the intentions to build up the potential for the first nuclear strike. By the very nature of their social system, they cannot and will not strive for setting up "spheres of influence," for the establishment of military or political control over any regions of international communications.

The policy of forming blocs is organically alien to the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, the defensive alliance of the socialist countries. They have more than once expressed their readiness to dissolve their alliance if the NATO bloc is simultaneously liquidated, they have proposed, as a first step, that the military organizations of both alignments be liquidated, beginning with the mutual reduction of military activity. These proposals are still valid at present, too.

The policy of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States from its very inception and up to the present has been not expansion of both alliances, not extension of activity to new regions, but the overcoming of the division of Europe into military-political alignments, weakening

of the confrontation between them, strengthening of confidence in the relations between all European states. This would allow the participants of both alliances to reduce the burden of military expenditures, to concentrate completely on tasks of development and peaceful cooperation.

The Warsaw Treaty Member-States want this and are ready for it; they have repeatedly put forward initiatives leading to this goal. It is also in the interests of all peoples that the NATO member-countries should take a constructive stand.

A quarter of a century ago, when only a decade had passed since the rout of the nazi aggressors and the end of the Second World War, the states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, inspired by the idea of building a world without wars, committed themselves to work in fraternal alliance in order to increase to the maximum their contribution to the attainment of this great objective.

Now that 35 years have passed since the end of World War II, they are convinced more than ever before that the building of such a world is a difficult, but a feasible goal. It will further remain the top priority objective in their policy.

They realize that many important problems, on which mankind's peaceful future and progress depend, have not been resolved yet, especially in the field of ending the arms race, which continues intensifying, thus increasingly threatening the process of détente, peace and security of peoples. These problems have been further exacerbated recently. But the building of lasting peace has been started. And it must be continued.

The states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee are solemnly reaffirming on the day of the 25th anniversary of the signing of their Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, their indomitable determination to work tirelessly in this direction together with all other peace-loving countries and public forces.

II.

The participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee have examined in the general context of international developments the situation emerging in Europe at present, topical issues pertaining to security and cooperation on the European continent.

They emphasized that the course of world developments has borne out the correctness of the evaluations and goals enunciated in the Moscow Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States of November 23, 1978.

In this connection, the participants in the meeting have pointed out that, on the one hand, the determination of peoples, all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the aggressive and oppressive policy of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism continues strengthening; the struggle for peace, for détente, for ending the arms race, for freedom and social progress, for peaceful and equal international cooperation on the basis of mutual respect, for national independence, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs is further gaining in scope.

On the other hand, the participants in the meeting have recalled that in the Moscow Declaration they had pointed to a fresh growth in the activeness of the forces of imperialism and reaction, the latter's intensified attempts at subordinating to their domination independent states and peoples, at whipping up the arms race, at their crude interference in the internal affairs of other states, which already then jeopardized the process of détente and was in conflict with the striving of peoples for peace, freedom, independence and progress.

They note with still greater anxiety that the international situation has now become more complex, the threat to peace and détente has largely increased. This is the result of a further invigoration of the imperialist policy of strength, confrontation and hegemonism, the result of the piling up of many outstanding international issues. The imperialist circles which conduct this policy openly violate the independence and sovereignty of states, interfere in their internal affairs and more frequently use force in international relations or threaten to use it.

Ever new obstacles are being raised to the restructuring of international economic relations on an equal and fair foundation. Force or threat of force is more frequently used against developing countries in a drive for energy and raw material resources. This causes instability in inter-state relations and leads to new seats of tension.

Imperialist and reactionary forces make use of all this to increase military budgets, to speed up the implementation of long-term armament programs. As a result, new obstacles arise on the way to the strengthening of security in Europe where there is still no headway in the sphere of military détente and disarmament, where the build-up of military expenditures, troops and armaments is continuing, where

means of destruction, particularly nuclear, which threaten the peoples of the continent, are being stockpiled in ever growing proportions.

Particularly dangerous is NATO's decision on the production and deployment in Western Europe of new American medium-range nuclear missiles. If the decision is materialized, the situation in the European continent will sharply worsen, since a rise in the destructive potential in Europe will inevitably affect the political climate and the vital interests of the peoples of the continent, will entail new huge expenditures which will be a still greater burden to be borne by the peoples.

Having deferred ratification of the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), having brought, along with some of its allies, the negotiations on many important aspects of the limitation of the arms race to a standstill and having interrupted them all in some directions, the United States acts contrary to the interests of international trust and détente, contrary to the decisions of the Special UN General Assembly's session on disarmament. There are increasingly more instances when it scraps the political, trade and economic agreements and treaties, which were signed by it, pointedly repudiates its commitments, thus violating the principle of conscientiously abiding by international law, a principle proclaimed by the UN Charter and the Final Act of the All-European Conference.

Political and propaganda campaigns in the cold war spirit are being unleashed against the socialist states. The U.S. administration is bringing unprecedented pressure to bear on the Olympic movement, which from ancient times to the present has always been the embodiment of the spirit of peace, cooperation and the drawing closer of nations.

The states represented at the meeting raise their voice against all such steps and actions, against attempts at torpedoing international détente and hampering the development of cooperation among states. They are resolutely declaring that steps shall not be made that can complicate the situation, that all states should join their efforts with the aim of halting the growth of tensions, for continuing the policy of détente and peaceful cooperation.

The participants in the meeting firmly declare against permitting a revival of a situation of animosity and distrust in the European continent. For the European nations, which have convinced themselves from their own experience how deeply détente accords with their true interests, the continuation of the process of détente and development of equitable cooperation are, like for all peoples of the world, a vital

cause. It is necessary that the present political, economic, scientific and technological and other peaceful ties between the states, which participated in the conference on European security and cooperation, far from diminishing, be further developed, so that an exchange of views, ideas and considerations on topical European and world problems should continue between them within the framework of political contacts and consultations.

It is also important to use the experience of the all-European meetings held in 1978-80 on the basis of the decisions contained in the Helsinki Final Act. It is necessary to ensure the implementation of the results of the All-European Conference on environmental protection, to hold an All-European Conference on energetics, preparations for which have already been started, and reach agreement on the holding of a similar conference on transport.

At the same time, the participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consider it their duty to stress that the continuation and deepening of the process of détente in the European continent depend in a decisive measure on how carefully all the states, which participated in the All-European Conference, will treat the positive assets accumulated in Europe over the last decade, how consistently all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act will be implemented in practice.

In this connection they draw special attention to the resumed attempts to question the sovereignty of states and the inviolability of their borders, attempts which are in conflict with the commitments taken under the Final Act by all the states — participants in the All-European Conference.

The states represented at the meeting are resolved to work for and uphold détente together with all peace-loving states and public forces, exert efforts so as to make it a continuous and comprehensive process, universal in its scope. They are as before ready to deepen and develop relations with all countries of Europe and the world, by broadening the already tested and building new ways of cooperation.

The participants in the meeting are convinced that an important role in strengthening détente, in consolidating security and developing cooperation in Europe can and must be played by the forthcoming meeting in Madrid of representatives of the states, which participated in the All-European Conference. They maintain that the present situation in Europe urgently necessitates that due attention should be given to a careful preparation for this meeting by all of its participants and that they should strive to build up an atmosphere of confidence

and mutual understanding, which is indispensable for the success of the meeting. Great is the responsibility of all the participants in the Madrid meeting for ensuring its holding in a constructive atmosphere.

The participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consider that there are opportunities for completing the Madrid meeting in a coordination of practical steps as regards the military and political aspects of European security, and the development of cooperation in all fields. This calls for will-power, the efforts by all the participants in the meeting and their readiness to look for and find opportunities for coordinating constructive steps on each section of the Final Act.

The problem of military détente and disarmament on the continent is central to the strengthening of peace in Europe at the present time.

To achieve progress in military détente in Europe is an objective and most acute necessity. Of paramount significance in this context is the strengthening and broadening of confidence-building measures, renunciation of the use of force or threat of force, limitation of armed forces and armaments of each state or group of states solely to suit defense needs, mutual renunciation of attempts at gaining military supremacy.

The participants in the meeting maintain that there are no, nor can there be, insurmountable obstacles to the finding of practical solutions for the benefit of military détente in Europe, if all sides approach this task with the wish to make their constructive contribution.

An example of this approach is the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw from Central Europe unilaterally a certain number of its troops and arms, including tank units. All the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, which expressed their positive attitude to this peace-loving step of the USSR at the time it was proclaimed, now continue fully supporting its implementation.

A proposal to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, which was put forward by the Warsaw Treaty Member-States and specified in their joint documents, were presented already a year ago to the governments of all states, which participated in the All-European Conference. The holding of such a conference may become an important milestone in strengthening the fundamentals of European peace, in translating into reality the commitments of all states — participants in the All-European Conference as regards carrying out effective measures directed at lessening military confrontation and contributing to disarmament in Europe.

The states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative

Committee are calling upon all the participants in the European Conference to take a constructive stand on the question of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe so that it will be possible to adopt at the Madrid meeting a decision on its convocation. On their part, they are ready to examine attentively proposals of other states as regards the procedure and contents of the work at the conference.

All the participants in the meeting are expressing support for the proposal by the Polish People's Republic that the conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe be held in Warsaw, a city which displayed tremendous heroism and self-sacrifice during the years of grim trials of the Second World War. They are expressing hope that this proposal, which met with a positive response in many European countries, will have general support.

The states represented at the meeting declare that in approaching questions of military détente in Europe material measures of trust and disarmament should be combined with political and treaty-based steps aimed at lessening the danger of war, at strengthening guarantees of the security of states. This is the aim of their proposal that a treaty on not being the first to use against each other both nuclear and conventional armaments should be signed between all the states, parties to the European Conference.

They declare themselves for the adoption and realization of all measures and accords aimed at strengthening the political and legal foundation of the observance in Europe of the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force, and also for the taking of special measures to strengthen the guarantees of the security of the non-nuclear European states. Such measures might envisage that nuclear powers would never use nuclear weapons against those European states — irrespective of their participation or non-participation in military blocks — which do not possess such weapons and which do not have on their territory foreign nuclear weapons. These states have the right to get the guarantee that no other weapons will be used against them, in accordance with the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force.

The states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee attach particular significance to such a major question as elaboration of accords on medium-range nuclear missiles.

Negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles are possible, and the parties to the meeting back the proposals of the Soviet Union on this score. The only thing needed for such negotiations is to cancel

the NATO decision on the production and deployment in Western Europe of new types of American nuclear missiles or, at least, to halt its realization.

They express confidence that if all the states are guided by the interests of peace and security of the European peoples and display the necessary political will, then, provided the established approximate balance of forces, which was but recently admitted by the NATO countries, is preserved a further dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race in Europe will not only be prevented, but an opportunity will open for maintaining this balance at lower levels.

The European peoples have a vital stake in the earliest opening and the successful holding of negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles, in ending the nuclear arms race, in putting an end to expansion of nuclear-missile arsenals on the European continent. This meets the interests of peace and security of all peoples.

The states represented at the meeting consider it to be absolutely inadmissible to further procrastinate the Vienna negotiations on reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe. Huge masses of troops and the most up-to-date armaments have been concentrated in that area, and nobody is entitled to underestimate the danger of that.

The socialist countries, party to the Vienna negotiations, have taken considerable steps toward bringing the positions closer. But the participating NATO countries are not contributing to the success of the negotiations and in recent times their stand on the substance of the questions under discussion goes increasingly backward. Meanwhile, in the opinion of the participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, possibilities of attaining accords at the Vienna negotiations are far from having been exhausted. They are ready to continue exerting efforts in the quest for such solutions which, without prejudicing the security of any of the sides, would lead to a lower level of military confrontation in Central Europe. This calls for a constructive approach on the part of the participants in the Vienna negotiations.

The states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee consistently advocate realization of measures in the sphere of military détente also in other parts of Europe, as well as in the Mediterranean.

Relevant steps for the Mediterranean area could envisage the spreading to it of measures of trust, reduction of troops in that area, withdrawal from the Mediterranean Sea of warships with nuclear

weapons on board, renunciation of deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of Mediterranean European and non-European non-nuclear states, which would be in line with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The Warsaw Treaty Member-States are ready for serious, businesslike negotiations on all these issues.

With the same consistency they advocate the adoption of effective measures to ensure not only on the European but also on the global scale a turning point in the solution of issues of limitation and ending of the arms race, realization of concrete measures of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. They are convinced that the broad package of proposals, embracing all directions of this problem, which has been put forward by the Warsaw Treaty Member-States, indicates reliable ways toward such actions. As to the states represented at the meeting, they reaffirm that there is no type of armaments which they are not prepared to limit or reduce on a mutual basis.

Inspired by the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, the states represented at the meeting declare once again before their peoples and the peoples of the entire world their resolve to multiply efforts, to struggle still more actively for military détente, for ending the arms race and for disarmament, including the reduction of the military spendings of states, their armed forces and armaments.

III.

In the course of the exchange of views on other international questions the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stressed that their states consistently advocate the just and lasting peaceful settlement of conflict situations irrespective of the area of the world where they originate.

There are no such problems, global or regional, which they would regard as impossible to solve by political means.

This requires strict respect for the sovereign rights and independence of all states, full renunciation of interference in their internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force against them, renunciation of attempts to establish foreign domination over them, to turn them into springboards of aggression against other countries.

Lasting peace in the Middle East could have been established already long ago. The road to this is well known; it has been indicated

more than once also by the states represented at the meeting — this is the road of the comprehensive Middle East political settlement with the direct participation of all the sides concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine in the person of its representative — the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the basis of respect for the lawful interests of all states and peoples of the Middle East, including Israel.

Such a settlement requires the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, restoration of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the creation of its own independent state, ensuring the sovereignty and security of all states of that area. A political settlement in the Middle East also requires that no actions impeding the attainment of these aims be taken; no state should interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of the area, try to prescribe to them what socio-political systems they should establish, or lay claim to or encroach on their natural resources.

The participants in the meeting also stressed the need for a political settlement of the situation that has developed around Afghanistan. Such a settlement should reliably guarantee the full termination and non-resumption of any forms of outside interference directed against the government and people of Afghanistan. Together with the full termination of all forms of outside interference directed against the government and people of Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be started in accordance with the Soviet Union's statements.

In the course of the exchange of views the participants in the meeting declared their support for the inalienable right of the people of Iran to shape its destiny itself without any outside interference, to determine the road of its development. They most resolutely and categorically condemn the military-subversive operation carried out recently by the United States on the territory of Iran as a particularly crude act of violence, interference and violation of the sovereignty of an independent state. Confirming that all states should strictly observe their obligations under the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations, they declare that no pretexts can justify a violation of the sovereignty of any country whatsoever and pressure exerted on it in any form.

They are convinced that the problems in American-Iranian relations, like any problems that might arise in relations between states, should be resolved through peaceful negotiations, on the basis of the generally recognized principles and standards of international law,

and renunciation of any military steps and the use of force or threat of force.

The participants in the meeting have declared their support for the proposal by the Indian Ocean states to turn that area into a zone of peace and expressed their readiness to cooperate with them in this matter, above all at the International Conference on the Indian Ocean planned by the UN for 1981. At the same time, they have pointed out that the major buildup of U.S. naval strength in the Indian Ocean, the building of new foreign military bases there and the expansion of the existing ones grossly contradict the UN-approved plan to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, pose a threat to the security and independence of many countries and may result in the creation of a new seat of international tension.

The countries participating in the meeting consistently support the national liberation struggle of nations against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism, against any form of domination, for respect for the right of every nation to be the undisputed master of its destiny and fulfill its desire to develop along the road of progress.

They are welcoming with gratification the proclamation of independence of Zimbabwe, which has crowned the heroic struggle of many years by that country's people against the colonialist-racist regime and for the right to a free and dignified life. The participants in the meeting have reaffirmed their solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence, with the people of South Africa, fighting for the elimination of the apartheid regime and racial discrimination.

Whenever political tensions are running high or an explosive situation turns up in the Middle East or Southwest Asia, in Southeast Asia or the south of Africa, or any other part of the world — wherever it may be — it is the direct duty of all states, firstly, to do nothing that might deteriorate the situation and, secondly, to contribute by their objective approach to the problem and by their policy to the easing of tensions, to help normalize the situation. The states represented at the meeting strictly follow this line and call upon all other countries to act likewise.

The states participating in the meeting are for the extension of the process of détente to all parts of the world. There is no country that would not benefit from it, there is no people that would not benefit from the fruit of détente. There is no, can be no sensible alternative to the policy of détente.

In this connection, the participants in the meeting are viewing as an important positive factor pronouncements by statesmen of many countries, who declared for effective measures for strengthening détente, for eliminating in relations among states all that impedes this process, that is, methods of pressure and diktat, violation of sovereignty and interference in the internal affairs of states.

The participants in the meeting note that the non-aligned movement increasingly plays a major role in the resolution of complex international problems. This movement is a major positive factor in present-day international politics. It is from this point of view that they are appraising the results of the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference, held in Havana in 1979.

They confirm the decisions of the meeting directed at the strengthening of peace and international security, the implementation of disarmament, the creation of peace zones, the liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of others, the impermissibility of any outside interference in the internal affairs of states, at ensuring the rights of peoples to free and independent development, at the liberation of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, at the creation of a new international economic order on a just and democratic basis.

In connection with the special importance of the problem of overcoming the gap between the economic development of states and the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, the participants in the meeting noted the importance of the forthcoming special session in the summer of this year of the UN General Assembly, devoted to questions of a new international economic order.

They express hope that the work and results of this session will facilitate the progress of equal international cooperation in the economic field, including support for the efforts of developing countries to accelerate the rates of their economic development.

The 70s were a period of strengthening cooperation and good neighborliness between states with different social systems. In the 80s it is necessary not only to preserve all the positive that was accumulated during the past decade but also to multiply the fruit of détente, to expand still further the struggle for peace, freedom, national independence and social progress. This will accord with the aspirations of the whole of mankind.

IV.

The Warsaw Treaty Member-States, who gathered on the day of the 25th anniversary of its signing for a Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, draw the attention of all European countries, of all countries of the world to the responsibility for the future that now rests with every state in connection with the present development of world events.

The future is being formed today, and the morrow in the life of the peoples depends on what decisions on acute international problems are now adopted by the states — all together and each separately. When adopting these decisions they must remember that it is in the common interests of all states and peoples to proceed from the territorial and political realities that have taken shape in Europe as a result of the great victory over the fascist aggressors in the Second World War and in the course of post-war development, to facilitate the strengthening of international legality based on the principles and aims of the UN Charter.

The leaders of states, governments, parliaments, all public forces, aware of their responsibility to their own peoples and the peoples of the whole world, must exert every effort to rule out the possibility of the outbreak of a new war, to erect in its way an insurmountable dam. An analysis of the existing situation dictates the need to concentrate these efforts first of all on the following directions:

First as a joint act of goodwill to reach agreement that starting with a certain agreed date not one state or group of states in Europe shall increase the size of its armed forces in the area defined by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This would facilitate the consolidation of positive trends in the situation on the European continent, would be an important step along the road of strengthening stability and trust in Europe.

Second, strictly observe all provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was solemnly signed in Helsinki five years ago by the highest representatives of 35 states. This concerns in the first place the principles by which the states-participants in the European Conference committed themselves to be guided in mutual relations — sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; non-use of force or threat of force; inviolability of borders; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-interference in internal affairs; respect for human rights and basic freedoms; equality and the right of peoples to

decide their destiny; cooperation between states, conscientious abiding by commitments in accordance with international law.

Third, in the interests of the successful holding of the Madrid meeting scheduled for late 1980, intensify and deepen exchanges of views on a bilateral and multilateral basis so to reach already before the start of the meeting, on the whole, general consent as regards the questions on which it will be possible to reach agreement at the meeting on practical steps leading to a still fuller implementation of the Final Act. Good preparation of the Madrid meeting and progress in getting agreement on its decisions could serve as a basis for the participation of foreign ministers in their adoption. The ending of the Madrid meeting with positive concrete results would also have a salutary effect on the general international atmosphere.

Fourth, accelerate preparations of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, intensify exchanges of views on a bilateral basis on concrete questions of these preparations, hold multilateral preparatory consultations of representatives of the states-participants in the conference so as to adopt at the Madrid meeting practical decisions on the objectives of the conference, the date, place and procedure of its holding, including the agenda for its first stage, by concentrating its work on confidence-building measures.

Fifth, make efforts at the talks held along various directions toward the limitation and ending of the arms race to achieve speedy agreements. Immediately resume talks in the directions on which they were suspended or broken off.

Along with the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Arms (SALT II) to consider as the immediate objectives in the field of practical measures to end the arms race the speediest successful completion of the talks:

- on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests;
- on the prohibition of radiological weapons;
- on the prohibition of chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles;
- on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states, which do not have them in their territory, and on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of the states where there are no such weapons at present.

The attainment of agreement on each of these measures, for whose implementation the United Nations Organization has already declared, would contribute to improving the international situation, and

a successful completion of the talks on all of them taken together would be a major achievement for mankind.

Sixth, start immediately business talks on the following urgent measures for ending the arms race and eliminating the threat of war, in favor of which the socialist states permanently come out and the United Nations Organization has also declared, but talks on which are not being conducted so far;

- on concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force;
- on ending the production of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of their stocks, up to their complete liquidation;
- on a ban on the development of a new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction;
- on a cut in the military budgets, above all of major powers.

Not a single state, not a single government has or can have valid reasons for evading talks on these issues. Mankind's conscience cannot allow the opportunity to resolve them in the interests of all people to be missed.

It is also necessary without further delay to make fresh efforts on an international scale for achieving a ban forever on the use of nuclear weapons and a renunciation by all states of the use of force in relations with each other, for dismantling foreign military bases and withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, for a cut in armed forces and arms, and creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various areas of the world, including Europe.

Seventh, in the interests of peace and stabilizing the international situation, as well as in the interests of ensuring reliable and unimpeded use of major international sea lanes, start examining, for example within the UN framework, the question of limiting and lowering the level of military presence and military activity in the areas concerned, be it in the Atlantic, Indian or Pacific Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea or the Persian Gulf.

In putting forward these proposals, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States are expressing the hope that they will be received in a positive spirit and attentively studied by the governments of all states in Europe and the world, and will have their broad support and the backing of the European and the world public. The Warsaw Treaty Member-States are ready for contacts and dialogue with all interested states on the substance of these proposals. They are ready, as always, to examine attentively and in a constructive spirit the proposals of other states as regards strengthening peace and détente, curbing the

arms race, carrying out disarmament and developing international cooperation.

Having examined at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee topical tasks in the efforts for détente and security in Europe, for strengthening universal peace, the Warsaw Treaty Member-States are reaffirming their steadfast adherence to the policy of peace, European and international security.

They are determined to strengthen fraternal friendship and cooperation in all fields between each other, as well as other socialist countries, to develop relations and maintain and deepend the dialogue with all states.

The quarter of a century after the signing in Warsaw of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance were years of struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and hegemonism, for peace and détente, for firmly establishing relations of equality and peaceful cooperation between states.

The Warsaw Treaty Member-States express their firm conviction that by acting in the spirit of lofty responsibility, the states and peoples of the world can ensure the preservation and strengthening of peace, the realization of mankind's striving for freedom and progress.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Todor Zhivkov,

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Bulgarian Communist Party,
Chairman of the Council of State
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

Gustav Husak,

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

For the German Democratic Republic:

Erich Honecker,

General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Chairman of the Council of State
of the German Democratic Republic

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

For the Polish People's Republic:
Edward Gierek,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party

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

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
L.I. Brezhnev
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
President of the Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the USSR

Warsaw, May 15, 1980.

STATEMENT

Inspired by the striving to strengthen the hopes of all peoples on earth for a peaceful future, the participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States advance the following initiative:

They propose that a summit meeting of the heads of state of all regions of the world be held in the near future. The attention of the participants in such a meeting is to be focussed on the task which both the European peoples and all mankind is concerned with today — that of eliminating the seats of international tension and preventing a war. Special attention is to be paid to questions of European security and the preservation of peace on the European continent.

Such a meeting can be arranged by means of consultations between states.

The present-day situation, the apprehensions which it engenders, the possibilities which have by no means been exhausted yet, and finally the entire history from the time of the anti-Hitler coalition to our day show that precisely such a summit meeting constitutes the most reliable way to mutual understanding and lasting peace.

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For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
L.I. Brezhnev,
General Secretary of the CPSU
Central Committee,
President of the Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the USSR

Warsaw, May 15, 1980

IN A CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic arranged in Warsaw on May 15 a reception on the occasion of the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States.

Present at the reception were the heads of the delegations — Leonid Brezhnev, Nicolae Ceausescu, Edward Gierek, Erich Hon-ecker, Gustav Husak, Janos Kadar, Todor Zhivkov — and the members of the delegations.

A speech at the reception was made by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK

Esteemed comrades,
Dear friends,

First of all, I should like to express once again the satisfaction that we can greet you in socialist Poland's capital — Warsaw.

Really symbolic is the fact that it was Warsaw that exactly 25 years ago gave the name of our defensive alliance — the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance. For an alliance the name of which is linked with Warsaw, the city condemned by fascism to destruction, can only be the alliance in defense of peace.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee of our treaty has had two days of intensive and fruitful work. The result of that work is the remarkable document in which we contrast our real picture of the future and a program of peaceful development to the policy of aggravating tensions and reviving the cold war spirit. In this document we are again expressing the striving of our peoples and are

coming out to meet all who see world peace as the greatest value. Basing ourselves on an in-depth analysis of the present situation and prospects for its development, we point out once again: there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of détente. This policy serves all peoples and invariably remains a condition for shaping international relations in an appropriate direction.

I want to express the hope that the declaration we have adopted will be met by all governments with due attention and understanding, and will be supported by the public forces, as its main aim is to eliminate the present tensions and contribute to the positive peaceful processes in Europe and elsewhere.

To consolidate the process of political détente it is necessary to complement it with military détente. World peace is endangered not only by the stockpiles of the means of destruction that have already been accumulated, but, as is stressed in the UN Declaration on the Education of Peoples in the Spirit of Peace, by the race of arms, particularly in nuclear ones. The conference on questions of military détente and disarmament proposed by our states would promote the elaboration of specific measures directed at halting the arms race in Europe and would create favorable prerequisites for the solution of disarmament problems. I want to thank heartily the fraternal parties and governments for the support they are giving to the Polish initiative to convene such a conference in Warsaw.

In the course of the current conference, the states of the socialist community have once again demonstrated their ideological unity and fraternity as well as the will to close cooperation in foreign policy, to continue efforts for the benefit of peace and international security. We completely support the idea expressed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that the socialist states are ready to hold talks with everybody, if this can contribute to the cause of world peace and détente.

I think we can congratulate each other on the results of the Warsaw meeting. The ideas voiced in the course of the meeting are projected far into the future, while their common denominator is the most precious asset — peace. This heritage is highly valued by our people, who have on more than one occasion gone through the calamities of war in the past. I am therefore convinced that the document adopted by us will meet with most ardent support from the entire Polish public.

I should like to avail myself of this occasion to convey, on behalf of

the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Council of State, the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Polish people, our warm greetings and wishes of well-being and new accomplishments to you, dear comrades, to the fraternal parties, governments and peoples. In this spirit I should like to propose a toast:

— to further successes in the construction of socialism and communism;

— to the unity in action of our fraternal parties and states in the international arena in the struggle for durable peace and socialism;

— to the health and the well-being of the outstanding leaders of the states of our community, who are present here, and to all our dear guests.

A speech in reply was made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Gierek,

Dear comrades and friends,

Here, in springtime Warsaw, we mark the 25th anniversary of our treaty, the 25 years of our organization.

Looking back at these past 25 years, we can say with clear conscience: history has reaffirmed that the act, accomplished by our states in Poland's capital on May 14, 1955, was justified and far-sighted. The Warsaw Treaty Organization can take pride in the results of its activities.

Our alliance has always been alien to aggressive desires. It was never directed against the interests of any country or a group of countries. It was formed to defend the peaceful labor of our peoples engaged in building a new life. It was formed for our joint struggle for durable peace, for respect of the sovereign rights of the states and freedom of the peoples. And it has always discharged well its historical mission.

The Warsaw Treaty member-countries established reliable joint defenses and that discouraged the aggressive-minded foes of socialism from trying to recarve by force the socio-political map of Europe that was established after the Second World War. The foundations for a more realistic approach on the part of Western statesmen, the foundations for peaceful coexistence and détente were thereby laid.

It can be stated without exaggeration that the Warsaw Treaty

Organization has invariably launched important peace initiatives. Their realization made it possible to lay a firm foundation for peaceful life in present-day Europe, to outline concrete ways toward further consolidation of security of the peoples of our continent.

Now all honest people admit: the Warsaw Treaty Organization, its consistent, principled peaceful policy is the main bulwark of durable peace and security in Europe, one of the main strongholds of universal peace.

The strength of our policy lies in the fraternal unity of our countries, our parties, our peoples, in our devotion to the lofty ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist internationalism. The strength of our policy is that it meets the vital interests of hundreds of millions of people in the whole world, all who need peace and not war, who cherish creation but not destruction, who strive for cooperation and mutual understanding between peoples, but not for alienation and enmity.

We have worked with you in this spirit at our jubilee meeting — have worked, it appears, quite well.

The documents adopted today by the Political Consultative Committee will undoubtedly leave a noticeable trace in international life. In the present complicated situation, with millions of people feeling concern for the destinies of détente and peace, from Warsaw comes a clear warning against the policy of military ventures and feverish arms race, the voice of reason and peace, the confirmation of the will for cooperation in the solution of acute problems of the present.

In conclusion, comrades, permit me, on behalf of all the delegations present here to express our sincere gratitude to the Polish comrades, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the extensive volume of work done by them in preparing our meeting, for the warm hospitality accorded us. Availing myself of the occasion, I convey our most kind wishes for new labor successes, prosperity and happiness to all the working people of socialist Poland.

I toast:

- our glorious socialist community,
- our great common cause — the cause of durable peace, the cause of socialism and communism!

Pravda, May 16, 1980

DOCUMENTS

NO ALTERNATIVE TO DETENTE, DISARMAMENT

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

As we face May Day 1980, working people throughout the world are being faced with the cruel dilemma — guns or butter.

In Canada real incomes are falling, working people are losing their jobs, people are losing their homes, savings are being wiped out by inflation and escalating interest rates, social services are being watered down and farmers are being driven from their land. At the same time the government refuses to introduce a new Canadian Constitution granting Quebec the right to national self-determination. This threatens to divide our country and further expose it to domination by the U.S. and multinational corporations.

While all this is happening more and more money is being poured down the armaments drain. More than \$4-billion for F-18's for NATO deployment, plus an automatic 3 per cent hike in arms spending face Canadian taxpayers this year.

This colossal waste of taxpayers' money does not protect Canadians. Rather this money is being sacrificed to the adventurist cold war policies of the United States Carter administration.

U.S. imperialism has not learned the lessons of Vietnam or Korea. It is once again trying to assume the role of world policeman which brought it to defeat and world shame and placed the world on the brink of world war more than once.

Even the USA's closest allies in Europe are dismayed by the reckless policies of President Carter. They are aware that their interests lie in policies of détente and disarmament, of trade and friendly relations with the world socialist community. Only the Liberal government continues to salute the U.S. flag and obediently says "me too."

The Trudeau government which won the election on the twin promises to pursue an independent foreign policy of détente, and a

domestic policy for expansion of the economy and protection of the interests of the people, has already broken both these vows.

Canada is being dragged into the cold war and confronted with the real danger of being caught in the middle of a world war.

The policies being pursued by the Trudeau government neither correspond to the economic interests nor the national interest of the Canadian people. Rather they expose the lackey role which Canada finds itself in as a result of the economic subordination of our country to giant U.S. multinationals.

Only the labor movement in Canada has the strength and the identity of interest necessary to confront the cold war anti-people policies being foisted on Canadians by both the Liberal and Tory parties.

Together with working people the world over this May Day, Canadian workers, their great trade union movement, their political parties, the New Democratic Party and the Communist Party, need to stand firm against the growing U.S. imperialist drive for cold war and war, and the resulting unemployment and lower living standards.

Such a firm stand by the Canadian labor movement will rally to its side the overwhelming majority of the people of Canada.

No war, no cold war, an independent Canadian foreign policy of peace and détente, accompanied by policies for genuine Canadian independence and control over our economy, and jobs, higher incomes and living standards for all working people — these should be the slogans for Canadian labor on May Day 1980.

There is no sane alternative to détente and disarmament.

Canadian Tribune, May 5, 1980

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NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE'S MILITANT VANGUARD

*Extracts from Concluding Remarks
to the Sixth PPP Congress**
*by Ruben Dario Sousa, General Secretary,
CC People's Party of Panama*

We have met here after a long period of trial to account for work done in various fields. The main point is that while ours has always been a revolutionary class family, we are a still more close-knit and more revolutionary family now, when we are resuming the fulfillment of our duty, for our unity and brotherhood have passed a severe test in struggle.

In two days of fruitful deliberations, we have discussed complicated and profound theoretical problems and decided questions concerning PPP strategy in the democratic, national-liberation revolution. We have specified the main directions in which the congress' line is to be implemented. The chief result is that we have correctly defined change as the chief goal of our society.

Our congress has made it clear that Panamanian society is going over from bourgeois democracy, now in a deep crisis, to progressive democracy, which is an intermediate stage on the road to people's democracy and serves the completion of national liberation and the subsequent transition to socialism.

This conclusion, which sums up and synthesizes the road traversed by the Panamanian revolution, is the result of extensive theoretical discussions and an in-depth analysis of the experience of our revolution and mass struggles. Therefore this formulation should by no means be seen as arbitrary, for it is a product of calm scientific and revolutionary analysis of social phenomena in Panama. Prompted by the lessons and concepts of scientific socialism, our party has evolved a strategy which it must follow now and in the future and which must guide the party's every action on all fronts of the revolutionary struggle and in the organization of the masses and the party itself, all its efforts toward defeating the enemy.

*First congress ever to have been held in conditions of legality. It sat in Panama City from February 9 to 11, 1980 — Ed.

As communists we never solve the problem of social emancipation mechanistically but proceed according to our way of thinking, our working methods and our revolutionary morality. This is the fundamental difference between us and the ultra-leftists, who confuse a way of thinking and a world-view with the social system that must incarnate these ideas. The fact that we are fighting for socialism does not imply that socialism will come as a gift from heaven, or that its construction is determined by subjective factors, such as the will of revolutionary forces. We must take account of concrete reality, subordinate our desires to it and proceed from this reality. This is the underlying principle of our struggle for a new society. It means that we must distinguish between the philosophy of revolution and the social system. As far as we are concerned, the issue is settled. We have worked out a strategy that we will pursue to end the exploitation of man by man and achieve real national liberation.

However, with due regard to the realities of our country and the historical context of the Panamanian revolution, we must travel a road on which we will have to accomplish certain preliminary tasks before proceeding to build a socialist society. We must consider the problem of going over to socialism from both an objective and a subjective point of view. In posing the problem of transition in this particular manner, that is, as a transition to progressive democracy, we insist on changing the content of the state, ensuring the participation of the classes interested in national liberation, and providing greater democratic rights for all except the hostile forces opposed to our national liberation, the establishment of an independent national state and the extension of the people's democratic rights.

We consider that progressive democracy creates the premises for transition to a higher level of democracy, that of people's democracy. This will provide the necessary political conditions in which both the state and the masses can set out to fulfill the decisive task, that of expelling imperialism from the country, for this is a requisite of completing national liberation.

For its part, national liberation is a precondition for the transition to socialism, for we cannot build socialism in our country unless we expel foreign oppressors and draw the people as a whole into political decision-making and the shaping of the country's destiny.

The strategy evolved by the sixth party congress regards the formation of a Democratic National Liberation Alliance (DNLA) as a necessary means of attaining these goals. In other words, the tactic of forming the DNLA is a means of translating their general line toward

progressive democracy and the completion of national liberation into revolutionary reality. It is not merely a question of achieving unity. The unity we need must have a definite class content and a specific mission. Consequently, the alliance of democratic and anti-imperialist forces is an exclusive formation in relation to Panamanian society as a whole. Not every component of this society can join it in virtue of its class nature. There are classes and social strata that are firmly opposed to these objectives of the national liberation, democratic revolution.

What we mean by organizing and forming an alliance of national liberation and democratic forces is that we must organize the forces favoring these changes and attain mutual understanding through political compromise. Hence these forces can be identified as the ones that brought about the adoption of the 1972 constitution as an expression of greater democracy and made possible through joint struggle the signing of the treaty between Torrijos and Carter, which eliminated the legal basis for the existence of the U.S. colony in the Canal Zone.

Thus the alliance is a historical asset. It is a provisional alliance that can be formed in support of goals not shared by all. But while some regard it as the only goal, others see it as part, or a means, of accomplishing a more far-reaching task, that of building socialism.

The alliance is indispensable and should comprise all the forces that cannot live any longer in a climate of national stagnation and seek social change. This is not a fantasy but a concrete reality and for its materialization we must reach agreement with all these forces.

The alliance we advocate is not an end in itself but a means of achieving the supreme goal. It would help us bring about a new balance of forces making it possible to carry out the long overdue social changes that correspond to the present stage of the national liberation struggle, the stage of establishing a democratic, progressive state with an anti-imperialist program calling for the completion of national liberation. This balance of forces would help the workers and peasants in adopting a common position and strengthen progressive democracy.

The revolutionary process has led to the rise of organs of people's power. And while this power is exercised minimally and is relative, it is a new phenomenon in our socio-political system and has created the prerequisites for transition to a state of progressive democracy in which political decisions shaping the development of the whole of our society will be made with all popular forces participating. By contrast, the legislators of bourgeois power in the legislative assemblies of the

period of oligarchic rule were either members of the bourgeoisie, servitors of the bourgeoisie, or politicians who won appointment by cringing to the powers that be. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the present organs of people's power are unquestionably composed of true representatives of the people expressing in legal form the basic will of the population, without demagogues, traditional parties or professional politicians guilty of Panama's moral and political decline.

Nobody could have dreamed that Indians, peasants and workers would really be represented at a forum such as the Assembly of Deputies. Nobody could have imagined that the oligarchy would not be represented in this institution.

Another reality we must bear in mind in implementing our strategy is imperialist plans which are directed not only against Panama, for imperialism has plans of action directed generally against the peoples of Latin America, Central America and the world.

These plans threaten a return to the cold war and an offensive against peoples fighting for freedom. Imperialism's revival of the cold war strategy foreshadows hard and dangerous times for our country's national liberation fighters. However, the imperialists are no longer omnipotent. Gone are the days when imperialism shaped the fate of the world. The international situation has changed, and the excesses, interventions and acts of aggression by imperialism meet with fitting revolutionary resistance on the part of all fighters for peace, democracy and national liberation, on the part of the powerful forces of the socialist camp, the glorious Soviet Union and all the peoples fighting for national liberation.

The events in Afghanistan are a warning to imperialism. They inspire all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with optimism, for they show that imperialism can no longer throw its weight about with impunity.

Imperialism cannot recapture the strategic initiative, for it has long been deprived of the absolute power needed to crush the will of peoples. Even in local struggles, imperialism suffers reverse after reverse. It was defeated in its war against heroic Vietnam and in the fight against the Angolan people. Its attempts to break free Ethiopia failed ignominiously. While it has contrived to score temporary gains in Chile and Uruguay by imposing fascist regimes, it has sustained setbacks in other countries of the continent. The Nicaraguan revolution has achieved a glorious victory. Here in Panama we have won too, even though our victory is incomplete. The colonial enclave has gone out of legal existence. But to eradicate imperialism physically,

we must fight against remnants of the power of imperialist oppressors.

This congress will go down in history as a congress marking the 50th anniversary of our party. Its decisions will be carried out as a proof that while the past 50 years have been difficult for us, they have also been years of growing experience and serious lessons. This has helped our society and international opinion realize that in 1930 Panama's communists founded their party not in order that it should disappear before long, but in order that it should chart a dependable path for our society and become the vanguard of the revolution. It must lead our people to real freedom and real well-being. This is why, in deciding on strategy, this congress was prompted by the conviction that the party would be able to advance along the road of the revolution while retaining its vanguard role and showing wisdom and endurance in implementing its tactics within the DNLA. For the same reason, remembering that our party must become a vanguard capable of fulfilling its historical mission, the congress concentrated on studying the situation in our party and evolved the line which we must follow to develop the party. The party has analyzed its entire work boldly, openly and self-critically, pointing to the mistakes we have made, the shortcomings still existing in our ranks and in our concepts, and the ideological lag we will yet have to overcome. It is in this context that this congress has discussed the main lines of work to build up the party. These lines will be a guide in our effort to strengthen and advance our organization.

All the comrades present here, all delegates to the congress, are confident that by electing our party's new Central Committee we have put the fulfillment of congress decisions in reliable hands. On returning to the posts assigned to us, we will all fulfill our sacred revolutionary duty, and when we meet again at our next congress we will account for what we have done. We must entrust the party with realizing the great hopes of our people and our communists in regard to the future of our country. The prospects of the struggle of our party and our people are great and radiant because truth is on our side, because our people know the road they must follow, and because the international situation is favorable to us while the positions of imperialism, the common enemy of all revolutionaries in the world, are worsening from day to day. The hour of its defeat is approaching and so is the victory of the revolutionaries, the final victory of the communists.

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

*Excerpts from the Political Report
of the Enlarged Meeting of the Leading Committee, Palestinian
Communist Organization on the West Bank of the Jordan*

The main task facing the Palestinian people and their national movement led by the Palestine Liberation Organization is to achieve national liberation, establish a Palestinian state and bring all refugees home after the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied as a result of aggression on June 5, 1967.

The Palestinian national movement is courageous and determined to fulfil this task in the face of vicious attacks by Zionism and imperialism, barbarous air raids, terroristic operations involving also Arab reactionaries, particularly in Jordan and Lebanon, and the brutal suppression of the Palestinian resistance in the occupied areas. These battles have exacted numerous sacrifices from the Palestinian national movement; many of its members have been deported, arrested or persecuted. All this notwithstanding, the movement has remained staunch and gained greater prestige in the Arab liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement.

The PLO, the only lawful spokesman of the Palestinian people, has won recognition by the UN and the support of more than 100 countries, which is only logical, for the PLO represents the national liberation cause of a people defending its flouted national rights. Thanks to the Palestinian people's sustained struggle, the clarity of their goals, the solidarity shown by the Arab liberation movement and Soviet support, the Palestinian problem has become an international one impinging directly on the destiny of world peace.

The West Bank and Gaza Strip holds a particularly important place in the struggle unfolding in the Middle East, and this situation has a decisive effect on the choice of a solution in this struggle. It has been universally recognized in recent years that the liberation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from Israeli occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on this territory are a requisite for settling the overall situation in the Middle East both from the national Palestinian and the Arab standpoint, as well as from the standpoint of progressive world opinion.

Thus the struggle focusses increasingly on this occupied area,

which is gaining in importance as the Palestinians' main battlefield. This area is the birthplace of the Palestinian state for which the Palestinian people, wherever they may happen to be, are fighting under the leadership of the PLO. It is there that Zionism seeks expansion and carries out its repressive operations; it is the area against which the tripartite conspiracy reflected in the Camp David agreement signed by Egypt, Israel and the United States is directed.

Recent events have shown that our people in the occupied areas are resolved to fight on for national independence. They have made numerous sacrifices in this fight. By the middle of 1979, as many as 40,000 citizens had been arrested and jailed by the hated occupation regime; 1,516 citizens had been deported and so had almost as many more again after serving terms in Israeli prisons. The regime had destroyed thousands of houses and forcibly resettled tens of thousands of Arabs.

However, neither these, nor many other repressive measures have broken the spirit of popular resistance. Indeed, the resistance has a broader base now. More and more peasants, traders and intellectuals declare their support of the people's movement. This was evident during the general strike called in March 1979 to protest against the signing of the traitorous Camp David agreements.

The Zionist invaders' activities, such as the seizure of lands, the creation of new settlements, confiscations, especially since Camp David, have brought it home to the people that the occupation regime is not only an alien imperialist force which has grabbed our lands, but a criminal force that breaks into every home, robs every citizen of his land or allows others to do so. The Israeli occupation differs from other forms of occupation primarily by its aggressively expansionist character, which expresses itself in confiscating land, creating settlements and expelling inhabitants.

This is why the Zionist occupation is opposed to *all* social strata and has no weapon other than terror and suppression by virtue of its criminal, predatory nature. It also explains why the invaders have been unable to win even a narrow social base interested in the maintenance of this situation or in collaboration with them.

The Zionist invaders' most dangerous and inhuman practice is the reaction of Israeli colonists' settlements in violation of universally accepted standards of international law. The latest decision of the occupation authorities declares about half the territory of the West Bank to be suitable — from *their* point of view, needless to say — for settlement, inasmuch as the lands concerned belong to the state or to

private individuals who have no documents certifying their right of ownership. On other lands, all construction is prohibited although they are private property. Certain areas have been declared to be closed zones because new settlements are to be built there. By early 1979, the number of these settlements have reached 123, nor is this figure exact because some settlements are built without authorization and their existence is not revealed until later.

Every act of the Israeli occupation authorities is indicative of their bid — backed by Sadat's betrayal — to perpetuate the present occupation and achieve Zionism's goal, that is, usurp Arab lands, expel the Arab population and do away in this manner with the Palestinian problem and the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Steadily growing support for the PLO in the occupied areas is an incontrovertible fact. There can be no question that the doubtful attempts of certain circles to form an alternative leadership or center representing the Palestinian people instead of the PLO are doomed to fail. The masses in the occupied areas realize that the PLO is the political embodiment of the Palestinians and that to back the PLO is to champion national independence and the preservation of the Palestinian national identity.

It is on this basis that the Palestinian national movement mobilizes the masses on the occupied territory, for it considers itself part of the PLO and its spokesman in the occupied areas.

The Palestinian national movement in the occupied areas has made an appreciable contribution to the PLO's struggle for recognition in Arab countries and the world as the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people. The massive popular rising in the occupied areas in 1974 confirmed the solidity of the base supporting the PLO and revealed the intensity of the resistance and the people's allegiance to the cause of national independence. The PLO, for its part, being the political embodiment of the Palestinian identity and the force uniting all patriotic Palestinian forces, plays an important unifying and mobilizing role among the masses in the occupied areas. The struggle which the PLO is carrying on gives the people's movement moral strength.

We look on the PLO from precisely this point of view and consider recognizing it as the only lawful spokesman of the Palestinian people to be a criterion of loyalty to the cause of national independence.

The experience of successful revolutionary movements over a fairly long period of history confirms the need to unite all patriotic

forces under an agreed program as a prerequisite of effective leadership in the struggle against the common enemy.

All the forces waging an active struggle against the occupation of our country have come to realize that cooperation among them in solving this or that specific problem of the national struggle invariably yields favorable results for the cooperating contingents and the national cause as a whole.

The PLO is a front. Hence the national front, whose formation in the occupied areas is being urged, is seen as a continuation and development of the existing front, the PLO. The importance of setting up a national front on the occupied territory was confirmed at many sessions of the Palestinian National Council. This front did exist for some time. But afterwards certain forces withdrew from it and the front virtually ceased to exist. Our Communist Organization did much for the restoration of the front but came up against vacillation and procrastination. All vacillation ended after Sadat's traitorous visit to Jerusalem.

The Camp David deal laid bare the miscarriage of the policy of relying on imperialism and the falsity of the right-wing Arab forces' message that it is possible to convince imperialism of the need to establish a Palestinian state. Conditions for national forces and patriotic leaders uniting in one front became more favorable and the necessity for a national front won widespread recognition. Nevertheless, certain forces continued to hesitate and raised obstacles to the formation of the front. The indecision of some PLO leaders regarding the formation of a national front in the occupied areas makes for similar indecision on the part of these forces. These leaders call for reliance on the mayors instead of cooperating with the national movement in the occupied areas. The mayors hold greatly divergent political views; therefore an attempt to unite them all within one political organization would merely result in the rehabilitation of some of them without benefitting the national movement.

It should be stressed in this connection that there is no reason to fear that the formation of a national front would bring into being a rival of the PLO. The front would be part of the PLO and its political program says as much. There is no difficulty in formulating the principles of cooperation between the PLO and the national front.

We consider that cooperation should be based on the following key principles:

- the national front comprising all forces should be the only entity

representing the Palestinian masses in the occupied areas vis-a-vis the PLO Executive Committee;

- the EC PLO and the leadership of the national front should maintain close contact:

- support to the population of the occupied areas in any form should reach through the national front; decisions on rendering aid should be taken after consultations between the leaderships of the PLO and the national front, for it is the national front operating on the occupied territory that can correctly determine how far this or that form of support is likely to contribute to the struggle;

- the national front should set up an appropriate body to receive and use aid;

- the national front should decide on suitable forms of struggle with due regard to the general situation in the occupied areas;

- the national front should decide on the ways of cooperation with forces and individuals outside it.

Respect for these principles of interaction would add to the prestige of the national front among the masses and neutralize attempts to strengthen the positions of the Jordanian bureaucracy in the occupied areas and justify the behavior of certain rightists who ignore decisions of the national movement and try to serve several masters at once in an effort to bolster their own positions.

The various national forces and patriotic leaders favoring the establishment of an independent Palestinian state after the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories should unite within the national front.

However, this is not a call for refusal to cooperate with other forces opposed to the occupation. It does not mean ruling out tactical use of certain positions of vacillating elements. But this will benefit the national movement only if the movement is united and holds the initiative of mobilizing and organizing the people and carrying on everyday struggles.

We have never been against the efforts of any contingent of the national movement to strengthen its positions and expand its base provided it did not do this at the expense of other contingents or use solely in its own interests the prestige or financial means and information facilities of the PLO.

It must be admitted that such a tendency exists, which certainly does not make for closer unity of the diverse contingents of the Palestinian national movement in the occupied areas and gives rise to fears about attempts to establish hegemony in the movement by

bureaucratic means. These attempts are disguised with charges against the communists, who are alleged to want to have everything for themselves and to gain full control. The leadership of the Palestinian Communist Organization is under pressure to relinquish the positions which its members have won through sustained struggle and at the cost of much sacrifice, and to cede leadership to elements that have played no active part in the movement or have adhered to a wait-and-see attitude, hoping to benefit by the fruits of the struggle.

The Palestinian national movement would do well to adopt the principle of proportional representation, with the proviso that the principle will be applied at various representation levels. Regrettably, some parties to the national movement try to impose on the forces active in the occupied areas the balance of forces existing outside these areas, and to use financial lures, harassment, unreasonable demands and unwarranted or even doubtful alliances with a view to attaining this aim.

The national movement is faced with the following tasks:

- set up a national front on a solid basis and with the cooperation of diverse national forces having a common political program;

- mobilize and organize the masses against the Camp David agreements and “administrative autonomy” to assure a complete boycott by the means of all elections or referendum based on these agreements;

- support, extend, and help step up the activity of mass organizations, increase their number and strengthen their relations with the rural population;

- set up resistance committees against Israeli colonization in urban and rural areas; form within them commissions for the cultivation and use of lands on the principle of voluntary labor and with incoming financial aid;

- gear the activity of municipal and national organizations to satisfaction of the needs of the urban masses and the rural population;

- care for the living conditions of workers, intellectuals, handicraftsmen and other low-income categories;

- ensure coordination and cooperation in the sphere of information and propaganda in the Palestinian national movement in and outside the occupied territory.

These tasks are obviously inseparable from the immediate tasks of the Palestinian national movement as a whole led by the PLO and from the tasks of the entire Arab liberation movement because the Camp David agreements and the subsequent escalation of imperialist

and Zionist attacks on the Arab liberation movement are directed not only against the Palestinian people but against all Arab peoples generally. This makes the struggle against the agreements an important task of every contingent of the Arab liberation movement. To accomplish these tasks, it is necessary:

- to take a resolute stand vis-a-vis U.S. imperialism, enemy number one of the Arab peoples and their liberation movement; to foil all attempts to rely on U.S. imperialism for the solution of the Palestinian problem and what is called the Middle East problem; to regard such attempts as capitulatory;

- to resist U.S. imperialist plans to form a military bloc in the Persian Gulf; to ensure coordinated action by the anti-imperialist Arab states against these plans and conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and reaction, whose aim is to mount an armed intervention on the plea that the interests of U.S. imperialism and reaction in the region are threatened;

- to back the Arabs' struggle against imperialism and above all against regimes supporting the Camp David agreements, more particularly the regimes in power in Egypt, the Sudan, Oman and Somalia;

- give effective support to the PLO and the Lebanese patriotic movement against Israeli aggression and the separatists, who are Israel's agents;

- to carry out without fail the decisions of the Baghdad conference; to insist on carrying out the decision to boycott the Egyptian regime and its henchmen;

- to revive the Stauchness and Resistance Front and make it a home and foreign policy model for its member countries;

- to promote Arab solidarity through struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Sadat reaction;

- to pursue a policy of reliance on the Arab peoples; to trust in their strength and democratization;

- to strengthen relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community;

- to use financial power and oil as weapons for winning greater support for the Arabs' just struggle;

- to advance a comprehensive political program for the solution of the Middle East problem and the Palestinian problem in the Arabs' national interest.

The Jordanian Communist Party put forward this program from the start of the occupation, and has worked steadfastly for its imple-

mentation. A similar program has been put forward by the communist movement in other Arab countries. We note with satisfaction that the position of the various contingents of the Palestinian and Arab national movement is drawing nearer to our program. The Palestinian Communist Organization has done much for its implementation. It has used various means to this end, including the press, public statements and everyday work among the masses. It has taken an active part in organizing the fight against Israeli occupation, the creation of Israeli settlements and the repressive measures of the occupation authorities. It has fought against capitulationist solutions and against the Camp David agreements.

The masses' extensive action against Camp David and separate peace was a result of previous activity over a long period that mobilized the masses to fight against capitulationist solutions and Sadat's policy, for national independence. Our Communist Organization has made a substantial contribution to this; it proceeds from scientific analysis, guides itself by Marxism-Leninism and uses the decades-long experience of revolutionary struggles. In this activity, we have been assisted in great measure by a courageous communist press. The press, statements and pamphlets tell many thousands the truth and rouse them to struggle. Special credit for this is due to the Palestinian Communist Organization on the West Bank.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY AT THE THRESHOLD OF ITS 60TH ANNIVERSARY

Communiqué on CC CPT Meeting

Not long ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey held a regular meeting in conditions of clandestineness. The meeting further strengthened the party's political, ideological and organizational unity based on Leninist principles.

In view of imperialism's sinister attempts to aggravate the international situation, the meeting stressed the importance of stepping up the struggle for peace and disarmament. It spoke highly of the contri-

bution made to this struggle by the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties.

The meeting defined the party's political tasks for the period ahead with due regard to the increasing hegemonist pressure put by U.S. imperialism on our region in general and our country in particular, and to the degeneration of the Turkish regime into a semi-military regime pursuing a policy that tends to foment violence and worsen the country's economic crisis. It pointed to the urgency of the struggle against the U.S. and NATO bases on Turkish soil and the shackling bilateral treaties imposed by the United States.

The meeting devoted special attention to the problem of alliances and the formation of a national democratic front. It approved the policy of promoting democratic unity of action against the Demirel government's anti-people policies, unity of action by diverse working-class parties and the unity of the women's, youth and peace movements, as well as the policy toward the nationalities question.

The meeting passed a resolution of solidarity with the workers' unrelenting strike movement against the monopoly offensive, and called for unity of action in the trade union movement. It hailed the April 30 general strike and the May Day demonstrations held in working-class neighborhoods and throughout the country in spite of terror.

With reference to the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth, the meeting described further popularization of Leninist principles as a duty of party organizations. It hailed the 35th anniversary of the great victory of the Soviet Army and all the anti-fascist forces over Hitler fascism. It resolved to intensify party building in its 60th anniversary year, raise the standard of ideological work, apply the principles of democratic centralism more extensively in every sphere according to the new conditions and strengthen the party structurally.

The CC CPT meeting unanimously approved the Political Bureau report, the Bureau's policy and the decisions adopted by it.

*Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkey
May 10, 1980*

FROM THE PRESS

“EUROCOMMUNISM” AND THE AUSTRIAN COMMUNISTS’ STAND

*Extracts from a paper by CPA Chairman
Franz Muhri*

Below are extracts from a paper recently presented by CPA Chairman Franz Muhri to the Academic Society of Innsbruck University on the CPA's main positions on foreign policy and international relations.

Franz Muhri began by pointing out that the Austrian mass media most frequently invite anti-communists to speak on communism, and systematically disseminate distorted expositions of the CPA's stand. He declared: “For instance, we believe that there is no single general model of socialism. The CPA stands for a road to socialism meeting our country's national conditions and traditions (a way without civil war, in the form of a multi-party system, etc.).

“Furthermore, the CPA believes that democracy, freedom and socialism constitute an organic whole. The road to socialism, the building of a socialist society involve implementation of a number of fundamental democratic rights and freedoms which are unfeasible under capitalism: the right to work, equal opportunities for education and advancement, real — and not merely juridical — equality of women, various forms of active participation by the working people in discussing important matters and adopting the relevant decisions, etc.

“Our party's third characteristic feature is its autonomy and independence, which do not clash with its internationalist ties and solidarity with the world communist movement, with all the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces. The principle of the CPA's independence has also been and is expressed in its uncompromising struggle for Austria's national and state independence.

“In the Austrian mass media all these attitudes, if they are men-

tioned at all, are ascribed only to the 'Eurocommunist' parties, and are not recognized for the CPA."

ABOUT "EUROCOMMUNISM"

"One of the essential reasons why the CPA does not regard itself as a 'Eurocommunist' party — alongside the fact that we believe the definition itself to be wrong — is above all the existence of differing standpoints on some issues. For instance, although the 'Eurocommunist' parties also emphasize that there is no general model of socialism, they have, in effect, defined their views as being valid for all industrialized capitalist states. Such an approach runs counter to the principle of each party's autonomy.

"The CPA wants the utmost democratization of society, but the absolute democracy and freedom which some spokesmen for 'Eurocommunism' advocate does not exist even under socialism, under which, for instance, man's exploitation of man has been abolished. Besides, we believe that if we made our notions of Austria's road to socialism a criterion for assessing the socialist countries which got down to building the now existing socialism in *substantially different* conditions that would be an ahistorical approach.

"At the same time, we emphasize and invariably reaffirm that the different views existing among the communist parties should not prevent consolidation of joint action by the communist movement in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

WHAT DOES THE ADVERSARY WANT?

"The experience of the past few years shows that our political adversaries have been carrying on a campaign under the banner of 'Eurocommunism' aimed to force the communist parties to abandon their revolutionary principles. Austria's Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky said as much in an interview with *Der Spiegel*, when he declared: 'If the communists truly want to be reliable democrats, they must jettison not only the dictatorship of the proletariat but also the whole of their political credo; then nothing would remain of the communists, they would become social democrats with a somewhat more revolutionary language.'

"When the splinter revisionist group which had earlier been in the CPA and whose spiritual leaders were Ernst Fischer and Franz Marek, now call themselves the first 'Eurocommunists' or, at any rate, their predecessors, that does not accord with the truth. Actually,

there have been and continue to be radical differences between the official political line, say, of the ICP and the FCP, and other parties calling themselves 'Eurocommunist,' on the one hand, and the stand of this splinter group, on the other. In its attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, that splinter group did not confine itself to criticizing some aspects, but increasingly took the attitude of total denial of the socialist nature of the social system in these countries. The official line of the ICP and the FCP, while it does contain some critical aspects with respect to the socialist countries, does, however, reaffirm solidarity and emphasizes the gains of existing socialism and the tremendous importance of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace.

"There were also radical differences in the attitude to the SPA. At that time that group increasingly pursued in practice a political line in our party which would have ultimately converted the CPA into an appendage of the SPA, and would have then led to the political self-liquidation of the Communist Party as an autonomous revolutionary-class party of the working class. None of the 'Eurocommunist' parties has pursued such a line.

"One question on which substantial basic differences existed was a key organizational principle of our party, the principle of democratic centralism, which that group abandoned both in theory and practice. Meanwhile, the FCP, the ICP and other parties reaffirmed this organizational principle at their recent congresses.

"I do not believe that there is any need for a 'Eurocommunist' party in Austria. The CPA seeks creatively to study and adopt everything that is positive in the international working-class and liberation movement, including the experience of the West European working-class movement. We regard ourselves as a party of continuity and renewal. Someone keeps advising us that we should become 'Eurocommunists,' which would produce electoral success. Apart from the fact that it is not one of our principles to abandon for tactical electoral considerations the convictions which we regard to be correct, international experience, including the results of various elections, shows that this thesis is defective.

"Besides, today there is evidence of growing contradictions and differences of approach among the 'Eurocommunist' parties themselves. At the same time, it is the present situation, marked by a grave threat to the cause of détente, that more than ever before calls for unity of the communist movement. Furthermore, securing political détente in Europe and real advances toward disarmament as a pre-

requisite for peace will essentially depend on the activity and interaction of the three main political forces in Western Europe: the communist movement, the social-democratic parties and the Christian Democrats. Ideological differences should not be an impediment to joint action aimed to achieve the most important goal: lasting peace."

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Vienna, Austria

WHY IMPERIALISM CAMPAIGNS AGAINST AFGHANISTAN

What has happened in Afghanistan since April 1978 to arouse such hatred from imperialism? What are the moves and aggressive acts mounted against that country and its people to justify Carter's hysterical campaign in his interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign people and a free country? Why does imperialism campaign against Afghanistan?

The victory of the Afghan revolution in April 1978 meant for the people of that country the start of a totally new way toward building a more fair and democratic society. Having overthrown a typically feudal regime, the Afghan people at once got down to radically transforming the whole of their life.

Imperialism and its allies in the region were alarmed and the former ruling classes which had been deprived of their privileges were furious over the profound transformations then started in Afghanistan. The implementation of the agrarian reform, for instance, dealt a palpable blow at the interests of a handful of powerful feudals and landowners.

After a while, the internal and external enemies of the Afghan revolution started concerted action aimed to change the situation that had taken shape. Imperialism was aware of what its agents were about to do, and at the time Afghanistan was not yet a subject of concern for the U.S. leaders and their allies, who pinned their hopes on a counter-revolutionary coup.

But the Afghan people thwarted these moves. They avoided the disaster looming on the horizon as a result of the treacherous acts of internal enemies (connected with Amin's regime) and external enemies, and created the foundation and the necessary conditions for

defending the gains of the revolution and defeating the aggressive acts from outside.

At present, the new Afghan leaders are devoting a considerable part of their efforts to eliminating the consequences of Amin's policy. In the few months since his removal from power, over 10,000 political prisoners have been set free, among them prominent clergymen and intellectuals. All those who had been arrested and subjected to the grossest repression under the Amin regime were released.

The Afghan people met these measures with enthusiasm, but the reactionaries and imperialism were dissatisfied.

BROADER UNITY IN DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION

However, the new Afghan leaders went even farther: they gave much attention at every level to the question of extending the social and political basis of the party and the state. These measures were expressed in various ways: persons who are not members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan have been included as full-fledged members of the new Revolutionary Council, set up after Amin's overthrow; the same applies to three ministers of the new government (the Minister of Trade, the Minister of Public Health and the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform).

In Democratic Afghanistan, the foundations have now been laid for forming a national front with the participation of various political, public and religious organizations.

On the other hand, steps were taken in the same direction in order to improve relations with the Moslem clergy which had been persecuted under the Amin regime. This work has begun to bear fruit: not long ago, Jamiate Ulema, the country's supreme Moslem organ, announced its support for the Afghan revolution and the country's present authorities.

Much attention is also being given to relations with the nomad population. This is extremely difficult and painstaking work into which the government of Democratic Afghanistan has put in much effort . . . Some success has already been achieved, notably in relations with the Pushtu tribes, whose chief, Ghafar Khan, has also announced his support of the Kabul government.

Another primary task in party work is to strengthen the unity of the party ranks. This unity was undermined as a result of the infighting between factions, which was especially acute in the atmosphere of repression and purge campaigns carried on when Amin was in power.

After the victory of the April Revolution, the People's Democratic

Party of Afghanistan was divided into two groups: "Khalk" and "Parcham." Although the two groups took a common stand, each actually worked on its own. This division weakened the party.

That is why the PDPA realized the need to turn the party into a united and well-knit organization. A new 35-man Central Committee and a 7-man Political Bureau were elected and included well-trying revolutionaries from both former groups, the Khalk and the Parcham. Incidentally, both these words have been expunged from the revolutionary lexicon.

AFGHANISTAN WANTS GOOD-NEIGHBOR RELATIONS

In foreign policy, the Afghan authorities attach much importance to improving relations with neighboring countries and peoples. Soon after his assumption of the post of Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, Babrak Karmal sent a message to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, proposing a normalization of relations between the two countries. Relations with India have been developing normally. As for Pakistan, the Kabul authorities have already declared their desire to establish good-neighbor relations with that country despite the obstacles being thrown up by Washington and Peking, which have continued to use that country's territory for attacks against Afghanistan.

It is here that the imperialists' efforts to undermine the Afghan revolution have had the most pernicious effect. Pakistan has been converted into a real base for attacks and provocations against Afghanistan.

After the collapse of the Shah's reactionary, pro-imperialist regime in Iran, the CIA's regional headquarters in the Middle East was transferred to Pakistan. There the CIA set up over 30 special bases and training camps to train terrorists, and they are the launching pads for the piratical attacks against the Afghan people. From there, groups of terrorists armed by imperialism raid towns and villages, kill civilians, destroy means of communication and disorganize life in the localities.

Something like an undeclared war reigns in the country, and here the Peking leaders have an active role to play alongside U.S. imperialism. Chinese special services have also set up various camps to train terrorists in the province of Sinkiang. Weapons, munitions and specially trained men are freely moved across Pakistani territory from China to carry out subversive acts against Afghanistan.

THE IMPERIALISTS' AND EXPANSIONISTS' PLANS WILL FAIL

Such is the picture of the imperialist, expansionist aggression against Democratic Afghanistan. The whole world is coming to realize ever more clearly why Washington and Peking are carrying on such a desperate offensive against the Afghan revolution.

The mass media catering for imperialism have distorted all these facts and ignored the tremendous effort by the Afghan people to reconstruct the country in every sphere.

The "Afghan card," by means of which U.S. imperialism seeks to save its game of confrontation and destabilization on a world scale, has proved to be hopelessly beaten by the struggle of the Afghan people combined with the broad campaign of international solidarity. In this solidarity campaign, the Portuguese communists have taken a clearcut and unambiguous stand from the outset, because they are convinced that they express the will of the working people and the rest of the people, and the interests of the whole of democratic Portugal.

Avante!, April 24, 1980

IN BRIEF

The socialist countries' mass media have been widely reporting and commenting on the results of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw.

The decisions, unanimously adopted in Warsaw by the socialist countries' party and state leaders, are permeated with a high sense of responsibility for the peaceful life of their nations and the whole of mankind, says an editorial in *Neus Deutschland*, organ of the SUPG Central Committee. The documents of the meeting provide fresh and convincing evidence of the organic unity of socialism and peace. In contrast to the most aggressive imperialist circles, notably in the United States and NATO, who have been brazenly putting in all their resources into poisoning international relations and switching from détente to confrontation, the Warsaw Treaty member-states want détente to spread to all the regions of the world. The Warsaw Treaty

- is the mainstay of stable peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The PCC meeting has fully reaffirmed that the main tasks of the socialist countries' military and political alliance in averting a war in Europe and consolidating and developing international cooperation have not changed, says an editorial in *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the PUWP Central Committee. The documents adopted in Warsaw are a clearcut program of action for peace, which contains a profound analysis and proposals for further struggle for détente and security on the European continent and throughout the world. These documents provide confirmation of the socialist countries' conviction that the only way out of the existing situation is a consistent policy of peace and a broad international dialogue, the paper says. The main task facing mankind at the present stage is military détente and disarmament.

An editorial in *Rude Pravo*, organ of the CPCz Central Committee, emphasizes that the meeting or the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee has once again reaffirmed the traditions of this highest organ of the fraternal socialist countries' military and political alliance. The Warsaw meeting has come out with new initiatives whose realization would mark an important step in consolidating peace. Among them is a summit meeting of the heads of state. The socialist countries are prepared to cooperate in solving the acute problems of our day.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' initiatives are aimed at strengthening world peace just when the international horizon is darkened by clouds and when no task is more important than to avert the danger of a world military conflict. The way to a dialogue is open. Everything now depends on the other side, on the NATO countries, on their response to this initiative.

The results of the PCC meeting provide fresh evidence that the socialist countries' firm resolve to safeguard peace and security remains immune to diverse threats, says an editorial in *Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the BCP Central Committee. The meeting in Warsaw considered the most meaningful tasks of our day, which need to be translated into life in order to continue and deepen détente in Europe and throughout the world, to maintain and consolidate peace, to broaden the basis of security, and to unfold mutually advantageous cooperation among all countries and peoples. The Warsaw Treaty countries' initiative is another testimonial of their sincere and profound concern for the cause of peace and the security of nations, and of their political boldness.

The results of the PCC meeting, says a commentary in *Unen*, organ of the MPRP Central Committee, clearly testify to the Warsaw Treaty countries' outstanding contribution to world peace. Its documents, a serious warning to the aggressive forces of imperialism, will be of exceptional importance in international life today. All men of good will are aware that the Warsaw Treaty is a defense and political alliance which has invested international relations with a new content and which has a special role to play in consolidating world peace, and providing solid guarantees of peace and security on the European continent. They have met the new documents with a sense of profound satisfaction, for they contain a clear assessment of international problems and define the concrete tasks aimed at overcoming the difficulties. These documents are evidence of the objective appreciation by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries of their historic mission in ridding mankind of the danger of another world war.

CYPRUS

The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) and the Arab Baath Socialist Party of Syria have expressed full support for the people of Afghanistan and condemned the malicious campaign started by imperialism against the DRA and the internationalist assistance rendered to that country by the Soviet Union.

This is said in a joint communiqué issued on May 17 on the results of the visit to Cyprus by a delegation of the Baath Party of Syria led by V. Tannus, a member of the regional (Syrian) party leadership, and its negotiations with the AKEL leaders.

Both parties, the communiqué says, condemn the traitorous Camp David deal and the separate Egyptian-Israeli agreements, concluded under the aegis of U.S. imperialism, and also the attempts to impose "autonomy" on the Arab people of Palestine, to annex Jerusalem and set up para-military Zionist settlements on the occupied Arab territories.

AKEL and Baath, the communiqué stresses, condemn the aggression by imperialism and Zionism against Lebanon and the creation of a puppet "state" in the south of the country, and express solidarity with the progressive patriotic forces of Lebanon defending their country's territorial integrity.

Both parties support a comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East based on a withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the

occupied Arab territories and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, led by the PLO, including its right to set up an independent state of its own.

GUADELOUPE

The Communists of Guadeloupe held their Seventh Congress on May 16-18.

The Report to the congress was given by Guy Daninthe, General Secretary of the Guadeloupe Communist Party (GCP).

The congress emphasized that the definitive factor in present-day world development is the existence of the mighty community of socialist states, the growing cohesion of the socialist countries, and the development of fraternal friendship between their Marxist-Leninist parties, all of which markedly enhances the influence of socialism on world developments. It was said in the report and the speeches of delegates that the main responsibility for the complication of the international situation falls on imperialism and the Peking leaders, who are allied with it, seeking to undermine the process of détente.

The need was noted to enhance the peoples' struggle against the danger of war, and for peace. In this context, the report said that "the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties for peace and disarmament made an important contribution to this struggle, a meeting whose positive results we welcome."

The congress mapped out the concrete ways for strengthening the GCP and forming a national front for the self-determination and decolonization of Guadeloupe.

The congress elected the party's governing organs. Guy Daninthe was re-elected as General Secretary of the GCP.

