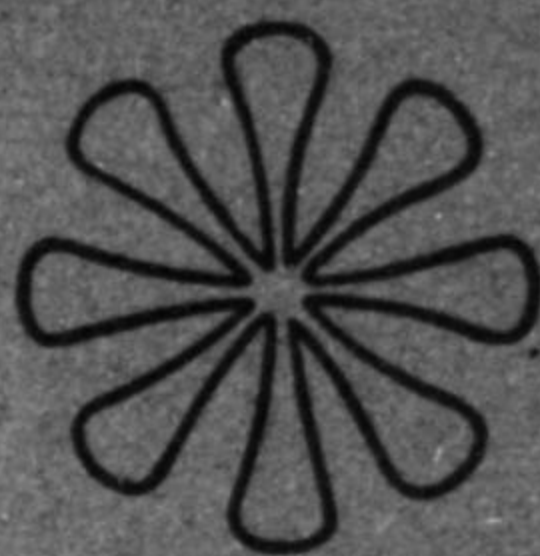


INFORMA



1102

BULLETIN

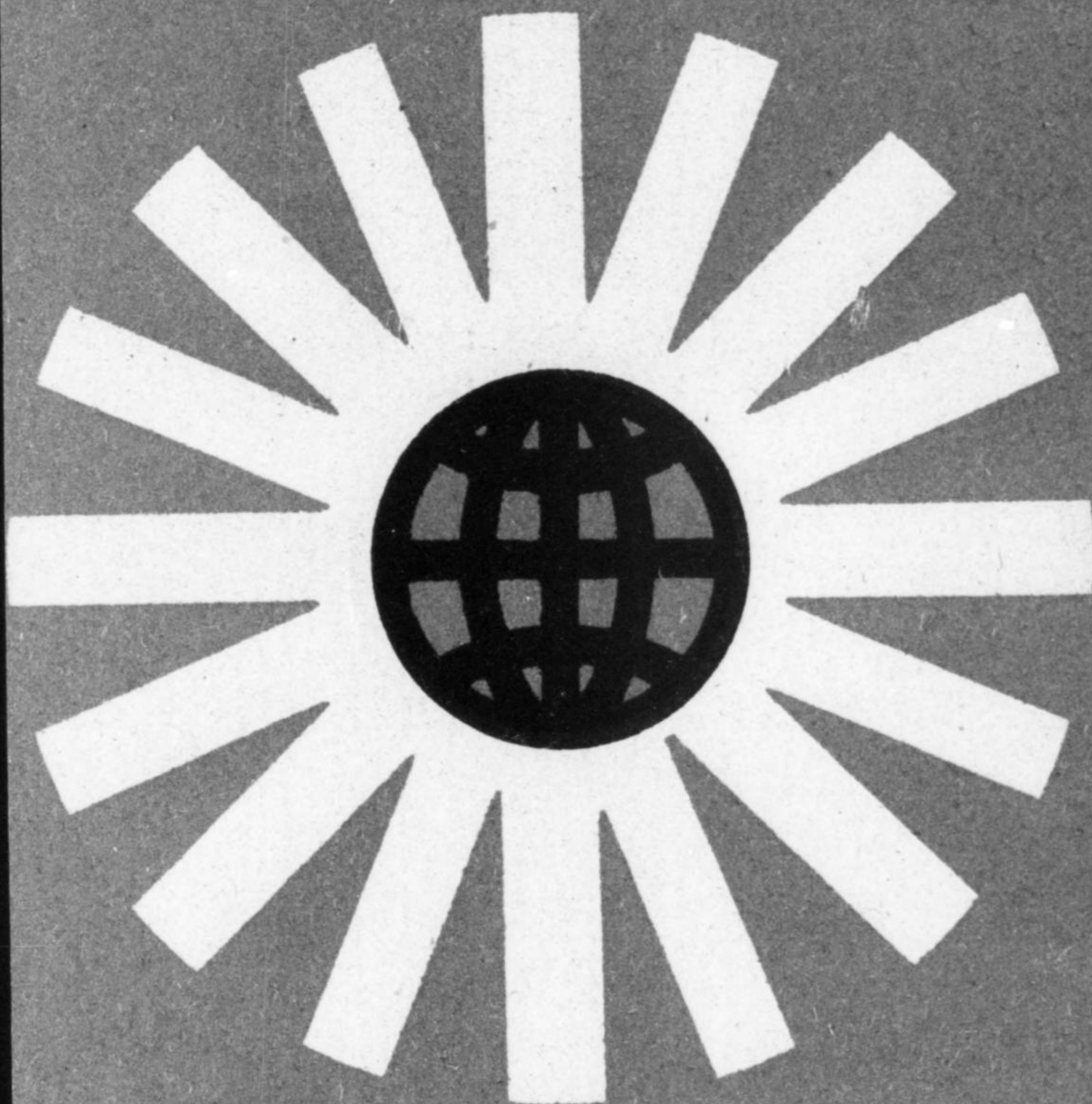
Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**MEETING OF
EUROPEAN
COMMUNISTS**

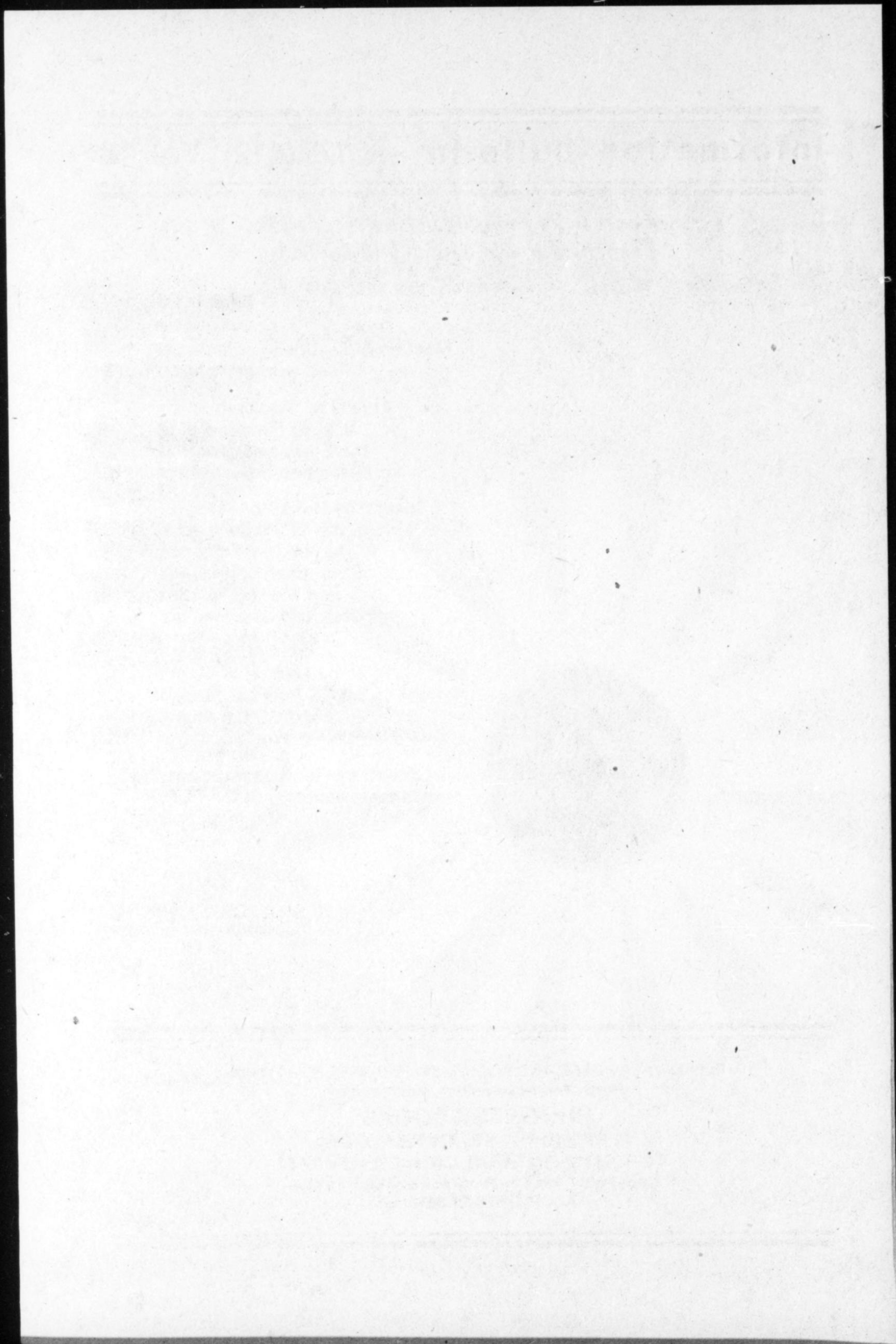
•
**RACISM IN
THE U.S.**

•
AFGHANISTAN



12

(412) • 1980



information bulletin — 12 (412) Vol. 18

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

contents

Meeting of European communist and workers' parties	5
Appeal of the communists to the peoples of the European countries for peace and disarmament	6
Speech by Boris Ponomarev, head of the CPSU delegation at the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties for peace and disarmament	8
Summing-up speech by Andrzej Werblan, member of the CC Political Bureau and CC Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party	25
Speech by Georges Marchais, General secretary of the FCP, at a reception following the meeting	26
For peace in Europe	29

Continued next page

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

Copyright © 1988 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Continued

FROM THE PRESS

- Racism — 1980s, worse than
"more of the same"
Gus Hall 35
- The Cuban people's victory,
a victory of
international solidarity
Speech by Fidel Castro 39

DOCUMENTS

Afghanistan

- A turning point in the glorious
history of our country
theses of the CC PDPA
on the second anniversary
of the April Revolution
in Afghanistan 43

Jordan

- On setting up a Palestinian
Communist Organization
In Lebanon 52
- In brief 54

PRINTED IN CANADA
JUNE 30, 1980

PRICE: 10 CENTS



MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Convened on the initiative of the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, a Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties for Peace and Disarmament was held in Paris on April 28-29. It was attended by delegations of the Communist Party of Austria, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the Communist Party of Malta, the Communist Party of Norway, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Turkey, and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and also by observers from the Communist Party of Belgium and the Swiss Party of Labor.

On behalf of the FCP and the PUWP, the meeting was opened by M. Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. He said that the only item on its agenda was peace and disarmament in Europe. Impelled by a common urge, the initiators of the meeting set themselves the goal of promoting the assertion of the communist parties' active role in this meaningful and vitally important sphere. We believe that this is the most effective way of creating the most favorable conditions for a dialogue and joint action with other political, social and religious forces in each country and on the European level.

M. Gremetz said he was sure that the work of the meeting would be a contribution to the great and humane cause which is a common one for the fraternal parties, however different their conditions, and however different their experience.

Representatives of all the delegations spoke at the meeting.

The participants unanimously passed the following Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the European Countries.

APPEAL OF THE COMMUNISTS TO THE PEOPLES OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

We are worried by the reckless intensification of the arms race.

Peoples of the European countries, you are right in showing vigilance.

The means of destruction and death, accumulated in our continent, which is so very densely populated, or aimed at it, are a major threat to our common destiny. You also realize how monstrous is the squandering of resources and what tremendous means are being diverted from meeting the everyday needs and from the future development of the peoples and nations of Europe. You see what tremendous harm is being done to the cause of peace, to détente, mutual trust and international cooperation by the campaign of military psychosis, which has been launched recently with a view to resuming the cold war.

Yet there are plans to install in the very heart of Europe new nuclear arsenals; to destroy the achievements of détente. In question are the already signed agreements, negotiations already under way, the existing economic, cultural, sport and human links.

The peoples in our continent have paid dearly in learning the true value of peace, firm friendship and cooperation. The 35th anniversary of the victory over nazism makes us realize better the extent to which peace is one of the primary human rights and a necessary human blessing.

All of us who are building our lives in our respective European countries may lose everything as the result of this dangerous escalation. So let us exclude the very possibility of the destruction of this region of the globe, whose substantial human and economic potential is needed by the whole of mankind, and let us safeguard its natural and historical wealth which is part of mankind's heritage on earth.

Whoever we may be, and wherever we may be living in Europe, we can only stand to gain from the settlement of existing problems of negotiations; we can only stand to gain from the reduction of armaments and armed forces and from progress in disarmament, which meets the requirements of equal and guaranteed security of all states and nations.

The forces exist for the attainment of this goal.

We communists are advocates of peace, we want disarmament,

cooperation and friendship among nations. Therefore we say: peace is our common cause, and our common actions will provide for its victory. Together:

Let us work for the cancellation or actual suspension of the implementation of the NATO decisions to produce and deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe, in order to launch effective negotiations on the issue of middle-range missiles under conditions of equality and equal security.

Let us work for the soonest possible ratification of the SALT II accord and the continuation of the talks to further limit strategic armaments.

Let us struggle to secure decisive progress at the Vienna talks and for the reduction of armed forces and armaments, let us support all the partial steps aimed at attaining this goal, including the establishment of nuclear-free zones in our continent, guaranteed against the use of such weapons against them.

Let us struggle for the 1980 Madrid meeting on European security and cooperation. Let us make it our goal to ensure further progress in the implementation by all states of all the provisions in the Helsinki Final Act, especially through complementing political détente with military détente.

Let us work for the convocation in Warsaw of a European conference on military détente and disarmament.

Let us demand the practical implementation of the decisions of the UN special disarmament session.

Let us work to ensure that the funds thereby released would be used for development and for combating hunger, as the non-aligned nations suggest. This is consonant with the interests of all mankind.

Yes, the struggle for disarmament is the paramount issue today!

We, the communists of all the countries of Europe, are ready for any sort of dialogue, consultation and joint action when it comes to the struggle for peace and disarmament. To this end, we want all the peace-loving forces to join together. We say to all, whatever our national origins, our convictions, our way of life — communists, socialists, social-democrats, or Christians and believers of other faiths:

“Peace is our common heritage!”

Gathered at this meeting, we proclaim our desire for an open initiative within whose framework the widest contacts could be made and the broadest possible dialogue could be held. We are prepared, in forms acceptable to all, for consultations and exchanges of views with

all the forces in Europe that are resolved to act, in the Helsinki spirit in anticipation of Madrid, in the interests of continuing the policy of détente and exploring avenues for reducing armaments in our continent.

Men and women of goodwill, let us act together in each country and in Europe as a whole.

Given unity, the cause of progress, happiness and peace will triumph.

**SPEECH BY BORIS PONOMARYOV,
HEAD OF THE CPSU DELEGATION
AT THE PARIS MEETING
OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
AND WORKERS' PARTIES
FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT**

Dear comrades,

Allow me to convey to you and the leaders of your parties fraternal greetings from the Soviet communists, from the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, and from Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the FCP and the Central Committee of the PUWP have shown a very useful and timely initiative and have done everything within their power in the short time available to arrange this meeting. Many thanks to our French friends for their hospitality, for the splendid organization of our joint work.

I

First of all, the CPSU delegation feels it necessary to note the urgent and pressing nature of this meeting. A very alarming situation is developing in the world and in Europe. The trend of events has made it essential for our parties to get together quickly and without delay, for a practical and businesslike discussion about the current political situation and, above all, about the steps that could be taken against the threat of war that hangs over Europe, over the whole world.

The mounting international tension makes this incumbent on all the

political forces that are aware of their responsibilities. And this applies particularly to the communists, who have always been and still are the most steadfast fighters for peace and the security of the peoples. As internationalists and patriots, they cannot remain silent, cannot be merely passive observers. Their duty is to warn peoples of the growing danger, to sound the alarm, to call for action before it is too late. This is what has brought us all here, to Paris.

The present aggravation of the situation is not an accident. It did not begin only this year. In the past few years the United States and NATO have taken many steps to substantially strengthen their armaments and accelerate military preparations in general.

The most important of these include:

- decision of the NATO Council session in Washington in May 1978 when the unprecedented long-term program of the automatic build-up of the bloc's military power was adopted;

- Carter's plan of unprecedented U.S. military build-up providing for a 20 billion dollars' increase over the earlier sought military appropriations, accelerated implementation of nuclear programs, such as Trident and MX, growth of the military budget not by three per cent annually as NATO's Washington session had decided but by 4.5 per cent;

- decision of the NATO Council session in Brussels on the production and deployment of Western Europe of new American medium-range missiles;

- sabotaging followed by official indefinite postponement of the ratification of the SALT II Treaty.

All these decisions and actions have come together to form a whole "doctrine" and practice of anti-détente that is clear for all to see.

Anti-détente means a commitment to a long-term, steadily intensifying arms race and blocking of disarmament negotiations, to upsetting the military balance that has currently been achieved in the world, and to renouncing the principle of equality and equal security.

It means taking the line of confrontation with the socialist countries.

It means a policy of undisguised interference, including military intervention, in the affairs of other countries and peoples in the interests of the monopolies and for the purpose of establishing the domination of American imperialism over many countries and regions of the world.

Such words as "dialogue", "Mutually advantageous cooperation", "consideration of each other's legitimate interests", that is to say, concepts that have become current under the beneficial influence of the processes of détente, have now disappeared from the vocabulary of those who make policy in Washington and NATO. Now all we hear are such phrases as "maintenance of U.S. world leadership", "the use of force", "guarantee superiority" and "exert pressure". This is the language of hegemonism, of chauvinism, the language of the cold war days.

At the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s it looked as if the ruling circles of the United States had realized that there was no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. But now it has become fashionable again to talk in terms of "limited nuclear war" and the "acceptability" of use of nuclear weapons.

Matters have come to such a pass that after his latest get-together with the followers of Mao Tse-tung, Zbigniew Brzezinski declared in one of his widely publicized interviews, that in the event of nuclear war the death toll would not amount to more than ten per cent of humankind. "It's inaccurate thinking to say that the use of nuclear weapons would be the end of the human race . . . It would not be the end of humanity." Such irresponsible statements are used to justify the more and more frequent threats of "readiness to resort to nuclear weapons", the "right to press the button first", and the need to be ready "to wage a full-scale war and not simply prevent it". And these statements are being made by people on whom much really does depend, people who have both the political and material power to plunge humanity into catastrophe!

Such an approach is arousing grave concern across the globe. This concern has been specifically reflected in a statement by some of the most eminent physicians and scientists in the U.S. Recently they published an outspoken document describing the consequences of nuclear war, stating just what nuclear weapons could do from the standpoint of medicine. As you know, they sent this document to Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter. Comrade Brezhnev replied to the American scientists with an expression of full support for their concern and their good intentions.

Allow me to quote some excerpts from this document:

"A 20 megaton thermonuclear bomb exploded on a clear day at ground level on a large . . . city would create a fireball one and a half miles in diameter, with temperatures of twenty to thirty million

degrees Fahrenheit. Everything in the downtown area, the streets and the earth below, and all living things, would be vaporized, leaving a crater several hundred feet deep.

"At six miles from the epicenter, all people would be instantly killed by a huge silent heat flash travelling at the speed of light. Glass would melt, and building would collapse when hit by a supersonic shock wave and winds of 300 miles per hour.

"Even mild winds of 20 miles per hour would carry fallout as far as 150 miles where everyone exposed could receive a lethal dose within 24 hours ... Sublethal doses would produced an increased incidence of still births, fetal malformations, leukemia, and cancer. In subsequent generations genetic damage would probably appear.

"... Such an exchange could be complete in one hour, and could destroy most life in the northern hemisphere ... It would be a different world afterwards, colder, harsher, and contaminated by radiation for thousands of years. The number of deaths would break scales of comparison."

This is a scientific opinion that cannot be refuted. In the light of the danger they have described is it sensible or timely to refer to differences or other considerations as a justification for avoiding joint discussion and joint action to prevent such a threat from becoming reality?

The public is being deafened with the howls of anti-Soviet propaganda alleging that everything started with the Afghan events; people's minds are being confused about the cause and the effect. But, I must add at once, this is not the time or the place to discuss the events connected with Afghanistan. Above all, because no representatives of the People's Democratic Party that rules this free country are taking part in our meeting. I will speak only of that which concerns our present agenda.

Long *before* the events in Afghanistan, decisions were taken to launch a long-term build-up of the military expenditure of the United States and its allies. Similarly, decisions on a whole series of new U.S. Large-scale military programs were also taken *before* Afghanistan. *Before* the events in Afghanistan the U.S. and NATO rejected the Soviet proposal for negotiations on medium-range missiles. The sabotaging of the SALT II ratification also began long *before* Afghanistan, and the "Cuban mini-crisis" was likewise organized with this aim in mind. *Before* Afghanistan the West had virtually frozen, put into cold storage the negotiations in Vienna and rejected any joint action for a just and peaceful settlement in the Middle East in

the spirit of the decisions passed by the United Nations. *Before* the Afghanistan events the United States began its rapprochement with the Peking leaders, who continue to insist on the inevitability of a new world war, making it increasingly obvious that it was ready to establish military cooperation on an anti-Soviet basis.

These are irrefutable facts. They show that the campaign against détente began long ago.

II

The very real nature of the dangers to peace is evidenced by the *material preparation* for war which imperialism is making on the basis of a highly sophisticated modern industry and with the use of the latest scientific and technological advances.

The arms race into which the United States has drawn nearly all the countries of the world has assumed unprecedented proportions. Its monstrous fruits are the veritable mountains of stockpiled weapons with terrible powers of extermination. According to UN estimates, the arsenals of nuclear weapons now come near to one and a half million bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. Their total yield exceeds the equivalent of 50,000 million tons of "conventional" explosives. With these weapons every living thing on earth can be destroyed 15 times over.

But this is still not enough for imperialism. The United States and NATO have launched new military programs. In preparation there is a whole series of systems whose appearance in the arsenals will signify not only a further quantitative increment of military potential but also a qualitatively new spiral in the arms race. The realization of the new American programs for new ballistic cruise missiles, warheads and submarines will upset the strategic balance and thus increase the danger of "first" and "pre-emptive" strikes. The process of arms limitation talks will be made much more difficult because additional obstacles will arise in the sphere of control over observance of any agreements that may be reached. At the same time the new arms race spiral broadens the opportunities for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, for them to spread across the globe.

The United States has enmeshed the planet with its military bases. It now has 2,500 bases and strongpoints in 110 countries of the world 386 of them are near Soviet borders. A quarter of the U.S. army, i.e., half a million men, is stationed thousands of kilometres away from the United States. Apart from this there are the so-called "intervention

task forces" with a strength of about 600,000 men. As the Americans themselves write, they are intended for intervention in foreign countries and their occupation in the events of changes in the political situation.

It may be said, of course, that the Soviet Union is also a very strong military power, and that it is also arming. This is true, of course, but the whole history of the past 35 years confirms on the basis of irrefutable facts that our measures to strengthen our defense capacity have always been only in response to action by the West. This was the case with the atom bomb, with means of delivery, with the ocean fleets, with the mirving of warheads, and so on. "We," Leonid Brezhnev has said, "have been compelled to improve our defenses, and I repeat, compelled, because we are confronted with an unrestrained arms race." (Vol. 6, p. 117).

However, none of the measures that we have taken to strengthen our armed forces go beyond the limits necessary for defense, and they have only one aim — to rid the aggressive forces of any temptation to start a war against us and our allies, to defend the gains of socialism.

On the other hand, the whole American and NATO war potential is essentially, in its trends of development and its scale, not defensive but offensive in character. At American and NATO military-political headquarters no effort is made to conceal their readiness to make first use of nuclear weapons. All this entails the growing threat of global nuclear conflict, particularly as the Pentagon keeps on urging NATO to further increase its military preparations, instigating Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway and other countries to shoulder an endlessly mounting burden of armaments. Increasingly tough measures are taken to force them to share the "common" responsibility for this senseless rivalry, which even now, in time of peace places a heavy burden on the mass of the working people.

The communists of Europe cannot fail to consider yet another crucial problem that has been placed on the agenda by the aggravation of the international situation. I speak of the problem of maintaining the standard of living that has been achieved by the working people of the capitalist countries as a result of many years of class struggle.

Already the 1980s point to considerable difficulties ahead. Inflation and unemployment are mounting. Crisis phenomena are increasingly in evidence. Energy, ecological, and monetary and financial problems are becoming more and more acute and involved. But if American imperialism succeeds in pushing Europe again toward cold war, the working people's living standards will fall abruptly. The intensi-

fication of the arms race and vastly increased military spending all come at the expense of the working people. The rate of inflation and hence the cost of living will continue to soar. It has been proved that every billion spent on military instead of civilian production reduces the number of jobs available. The world economy in general and Europe's economy in particular will be badly hit by any disruption or weakening of trade and economic ties between the capitalist and socialist countries, by the reckless policy of imperialism toward countries that are rich in raw materials and oil.

All these consequences of growing tension will have a very direct effect on the vital interests of the workers and peasants, on all working people. And no one can help them better than the communists to see this danger in time and to take effective counteraction.

The most dangerous action in recent times was the decisions taken by the NATO Council at the end of last year. The dangerous significance of these decisions lies in the following:

First, they are aimed at giving NATO military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty countries, at upsetting the balance that in its time was one of the material foundations of the process of détente. The deployment in Western Europe of new missiles capable of hitting the territory of the USSR with nuclear warheads substantially increases the already massive American so-called forward-based capability. This would destroy the strategic missile parity established by the SALT II agreement because the Pershing-II and the cruise missiles deployed in Europe would be capable of hitting the same targets as the U.S ICBMs.

Second, Europe would be drawn into a fresh round of the arms race. Long before the NATO session and on the eve of that session the Soviet Union persistently proposed negotiations on the whole set of problems connected with medium-range weapons. Its initiatives were rejected. The decision was made despite the goodwill that we showed and despite the numerous protests of West European public opinion. The basis for negotiations was disrupted. If this decision is put into practice, the possibility of such negotiations will be generally blocked. And since the NATO December session Pentagon representatives have been combing Western Europe in search of sites for their new weapon.

Third, the saturation of Western Europe with an even larger number of American weapons and the new character of these weapons increases its dependence on the policy of Washington and the Pentagon. And yet the unreliability and unpredictability of the behavior of

the U.S. administration, its tendency to rush to extremes, to succumb to hysteria, to take unexpected and uncoordinated decisions, its liking for "touch measures" have all been demonstrated eloquently enough in recent times. In Brief, the Brussels decisions have virtually put the fate of Europe and the West Europeans at the mercy of a "strategy" of arbitrary or irrational action.

Our duty — the duty of communists — is to bring this truth home to every European. The mass of the people must be helped to see just how serious the imminent threat to peace has become in Europe as a result of the NATO decisions of last December. The NATO generals plan to mount their main operations precisely in the "European theatre", a term that has for long been current in NATO documents and even in the press.

As a matter of fact, the ruling circles of the United States, a country on the other side of the Atlantic which has not experienced war on its territory for more than a century, have long since adopted the policy of having other people fight their wars for them. Not to mention any earlier decisions, I will remind you only that in August 1977 the President of the United States announced his plans for the future. What they boiled down to was that since "global war" would allegedly involve to great a sacrifice for America confrontation with the Soviet Union had to be increased at the "regional level". But for Europeans such "regional war" means the destruction of everything they have — their countries, their civilization, their families and near ones, themselves. The United States (and NATO) are gambling with the destinies of the nations of Europe, are using them as expendable coin.

Yet another feature of the dangerous military and political situation that is developing in Europe should attract our special attention. West Germany has been assigned the role of the main striking force in NATO's "European strategy".

The FRG is already the main link in the "Atlantic" structure in Europe, the basic springboard for NATO armed forces on the continent. Its land forces comprise 50 per cent of NATO's land forces. The basic "tactical" nuclear potential of the United States, including means of delivery, is already concentrated in West Germany. The emphasis on strengthening the offensive component of the West German armed forces is an ominous sign. The territory of the FRG, and particularly that part of it which is close to the borders of the socialist countries, has become the scene of the biggest NATO maneuvers. Under the Brussels decision, American medium-range

missiles targeted on the USSR will also be deployed on FRG territory. Is any proof needed that this may only encourage even greater activity among the revanchists who already now constitute a pretty influential force in the FRG?

The United States is gradually involving its NATO partners in an aggressive policy that contradicts their national interests and threatens to destroy everything that has been achieved in the sphere of European cooperation since Helsinki. The frantic U.S. pressure is again fostering alienation and suspicion and creating obstacles to cultural, sporting and other ties between the peoples of our continent. Under the pretext of "Atlantic solidarity" the United States is trying to restore and reinforce its hegemony over its allies. When détente was making progress, the independence of the West European countries in the political and economic spheres, the ability to make their own sovereign decisions noticeably increased. Now with its hysterical screams about the "Soviet threat" the United States hopes to put on the bridle and once again bring the diplomacy, the foreign economic policy and ultimately the national sovereignty of its main competitor-allies under tight control.

The United States also wants to involve the West European countries in all kinds of overseas adventures, thereby extending NATO's competence far beyond the limits laid down by the treaty that created it.

Unfortunately, some of Washington's allies are going along with this dangerous scheme and seriously preparing for the so-called "role sharing" it requires, and offering their cooperation in transporting troops to distant areas, thus committing themselves to plans for the use of the notorious "rapid deployment forces". By embarking on this path the West European countries may find themselves in the role of assistants to "the world policeman".

For us communists there is a special significance in the fact that the key question of modern time — the question of war or peace — has again come so much to the fore just when the world is experiencing enormous progressive changes. This process demands of the Western ruling circles a rethinking of their policies and recognition of new realities. However, the dominant forces in the countries of imperialism are showing a lack of desire or ability to react reasonably to these irresistible changes. They are trying to stop the irreversible social processes by every means at their disposal — deception, bribery, sabotage and intrigue, and even direct armed force.

The "Soviet threat", "communist expansion", the "hand of Mos-

cow" are all offered as justification for such attempts. This is the "keynote" of all the interpretations of revolutionary events offered by the ideologists and politicians of imperialism. Their method is extremely simple. A revolution occurs in Angola, but the whole secret lies in the "intrigues and scheming of Moscow". Revolution comes to Mozambique and again it is the "hand of Moscow". They look for the same onnipresent "hand" behind the revolution in Ethiopia and even the revolution in Iran.

It is this desire to check or even reverse social progress that has given rise to the practice of rattling the nuclear weapon, of bringing massive pressure to bear particularly in the countries and regions of the world that have quite illegitimately been declared the "sphere of the vital interests of America and the free world." This is the source of the irrational imperialist policy of the United States, which is adventuristic both in its form and content. This policy is aimed not only against the Warsaw Treaty countries, Cuba and Vietnam, but also against many other countries. The aggressive actions against Iran are particularly indicative in this respect. The latest action of the United States, its attempt to land troops on the territory of a sovereign state, in disregard of all warnings shows how arrogantly and recklessly the U.S. administration is capable of behaving.

The reasons for the build-up of the military threat that is rooted in the very nature of imperialism are thus inseparably linked with the increased influence of the most militaristic circles, the military-industrial complex on the policy of the United States and other imperialist countries. The present aggravation of international tension is an obvious resurgence of American imperialism's desire for world domination, for "leadership" that presupposes the "right" to suppress everything that may threaten the profits of the monopolies.

III

What must be done to set up a powerful barrier against the danger of war, to strengthen détente?

Opportunities for stopping the rush toward the precipice, for thwarting the ominous plans of the militarist forces do exist. The "potential of détente" is large, particularly in Europe. It is here that détente has put down its deepest roots. From the standpoint of accumulated historical experience and the level of mass consciousness there is no other region in the world where the policy of peaceful coexistence has so firm a foundation. Here there is a powerful working class with glorious traditions of anti-war struggle. Here there are

millions of peasants who have today become technically qualified agricultural workers, millions of brain workers, influential cultural, scientific and artistic forces. Here there are people who, regardless of their property status, political views and religious beliefs hate war and are capable of making a realistic assessment of the modern world. There can be no doubt that if they unite their efforts or act in parallel they can say a decisive No to those who are taking the aggressive line, are trying to torpedo détente.

But to bring this about it is not enough merely to talk of the threat that Washington's strategy presents to Europe and the planet at large. It is not enough to express regret and anxiety. It is not enough to declare one's loyalty to the policy of détente. Action is needed, vigorous, purposeful action. Initiative must be shown. In this respect the very fact of our meeting in Paris is important. Look what a stir it has caused among the enemies of détente. Listen to the lies they have been compelled to utter in order to discredit the communists, the most consistent opponents of war. And this is understandable. The communists, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism are in a better position than anyone else to assess the situation objectively. They know where the real war danger comes from and they expose any deception on this point. They are deeply interested in defending the interests of the peoples, their plans are noble and unselfish. And they can with a clear conscience, openly and for all to hear call for action that can stop the drift to war.

The communists have the full moral right, or rather the duty, to call on the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals, the trade unions, religious circles, women's, youth and other organizations, scientists and artists, members of parliament and business people to devote every effort in order to:

- thwart the dangerous NATO plans for deploying new American missiles on our continent;

- prevent a fresh round of the arms race, which may have catastrophic consequences for all mankind;

- beat off the attacks on the Final Act passed at Helsinki, prevent the torpedoing of the common cause of peaceful cooperation between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe;

- protect the structure of exchanges in the sphere of science, culture, education and sport that was built up in the 70s; remove the obstacles to the building of confidence, mutual understanding and friendship among the peoples;

- resolutely oppose Washington's intentions to impose on West-

ern Europe the role of assistant to the "world policeman", which contradicts the national interests of the West Europeans and threatens to draw them into reckless gambling far from home;

— expose the perfidious plans of the enemies of peace and détente, their military plans, and work to make the mass media serve not those who pump enormous profits out of war and the arms race, but the cause of peace and rapprochement between the peoples of Europe.

In the struggle for these and any other aims that promote the cause of peace the communists have no intention of shutting themselves up in their own circle. They have no wish to oppose their own initiatives to the proposals made by other democratic forces. On the contrary, they seek a dialogue with them, they want to find ways and forms of joint action and cooperation for the achievement of the aims common to all peace-loving forces. This is why, for example, we have taken an interest in the views of these problems expressed by the social-democratic parties, the Socialist International, at the recent meetings of social-democratic leaders in Vienna and Luxembourg. We are also following with keen interest the activities of the Working Group that is preparing the platform of the Socialist International on questions of disarmament. This does not, of course, remove the deep-going ideological differences between the communists and the social democrats. We say this directly and frankly to the social democrats, and we also say that their declarations of loyalty to the cause of peace diverge from the actual policies pursued by the states where they are in power.

A reliable barrier to the threat of war can be erected only by the united efforts of the Europeans — those who live in socialist Europe and those who live in the capitalist part of it. Peace, national security and socialism are indivisible. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, the political parties representing the working class and other working people, the trade unions, the religious and other public movements that are opposed to war, the realistically minded ruling circles in Western Europe — these are the real forces that can curb the arms race, save and further develop détente. Peace must be defended together.

IV

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, no one should entertain any doubts about the fact that in the present tense and explosive situation, as in the past, it will perform its duty, the duty of a peaceloving nation.

The Soviet stand, the stand of the CPSU in this situation has been outlined in the recent statements by Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders and in a number of official documents. It could be described in Leonid Brezhnev's words spoken on 22 February: "No one will be able to intimidate the Soviet Union. Our forces and potential are tremendous. We and our allies will be able to defend ourselves and beat off any hostile attacks. And no one will succeed in provoking us. We oppose the doctrine of war hysteria and the spiraling arms race with the doctrine of a consistent struggle for peace and security on earth".

The Soviet Union has stated on many occasions that it is in no way striving to achieve military superiority. But nor will it tolerate any military superiority over the socialist countries. We are deeply convinced that this stand is in the interest of all nations.

The Soviet Union has no need for war whether nuclear or conventional, big or small. There is no reason why we should prepare and unleash wars because we have no objectives we would like to achieve by military means. There are no classes, social strata or groups in our country which would make profits on the arms race. The very idea of exploiting others, the idea of expansion, aggression and the export of revolution runs counter to our ideology, the nature of our social system. But the policy of non-resistance to the export of counter-revolution and aggression is also alien to us.

Our country is vast. It has everything on its territory that it needs for economic progress for hundreds of years to come. We have breath-taking plans for construction and the development of our incalculable natural resources. And everything is subordinated to the task of improving the life of the people, their well-being and all-round development. Finally, there are few peoples who have experienced such appalling destruction and hardships from war as our people. For a people like ours the preservation and strengthening of peace is the most vital and important goal.

The CPSU, the USSR favor peace — a stable, democratic and just peace. They will continue to pursue their basic foreign policy, which was formulated in the Peace Program adopted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of our party. We shall stick to that course together with the socialist countries, and friends and allies, and above all — since we are on the subject of Europe — with the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization emerged as a defensive organization to counter-balance NATO six years after the latter was estab-

lished. During the 25 years of its existence it has acted exclusively as such. It would take many pages to list all the peace initiatives undertaken by WTO. But a simple comparison of the WTO proposals and actions with the decisions and practices of NATO tells us a good deal. The contrast is striking. The WTO proposals and actions are all designed to preserve and strengthen peace, to prevent a nuclear conflict and any military conflicts on the continent, and to curb the arms race. On the other hand, every NATO decision is in effect designed to spur on the arms race, provoke a confrontation, evade a serious discussion of the WTO initiatives, whip up anti-Soviet, anti-socialist feeling and poison the international atmosphere.

It is the Warsaw Treaty Organization that has come forward with the idea of dissolving the two opposing blocs or at least — for a start — dissolving their military organizations. But NATO won't hear of it.

A session of the Political Consultative Committee is to be held soon to mark the forthcoming anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty. And it will certainly set its sights on the task of strengthening peace and pursuing détente on the basis of collective and fairly shared effort.

We do not say: line up with the policy of one military alliance against the other. We put it differently: the choice is between a policy of détente or a policy of anti-détente. There is no third alternative for representatives of the working-class movement, for the genuine opponents of war. This approach does not ignore the variety of conditions in different countries. We simply want to warn against the illusion that by equating NATO and WTO one can solve problems of war and peace in favor of peace. The essence and nature of these two organizations are diametrically opposed.

The peoples must not allow themselves to be deceived because when this happens war becomes inevitable.

The tragic experience of the preparations for and unleashing of the Second World War should never be forgotten. In those days the most diehard circles in the imperialist countries also clamored about a "bolshevist threat" to divert the attention of nations from the true instigators of rearmament and the "upgrading" of armaments, from the real causes of the growing war danger. To the accompaniment of that noise they began to toe the line of those who banked on armed force, the seizure of foreign territory and aggression. They counted on channelling that aggression in one direction — against the USSR. Today, on the eve of the 35th anniversary of V-day our voices must be raised to remind everyone of this. But it is even more important to learn this lesson.

At the present time, and especially during the last few months, the misrepresentation of the purposes and motivations of the Soviet Union has again assumed an incredible scale. The myths about the "Soviet threat", "expansion", and Moscow's "hegemonistic aspirations" have been elevated to the level of state policy. They have become an integral part of the whole aggressive strategy of imperialism.

Anti-sovietism and anti-communism have been fashioned into an instrument for accelerating the arms race, an instrument for pressuring public opinion in the West an instrument of struggle not only against the communists but also against all democrats, patriots, against all opponents of war. It is being used to mislead anti-war opinion, to whip up chauvinistic sentiments and to encourage all kinds of neo-fascist and other movements, including terrorist movements. In this climate of anti-sovietism and anti-communism the right-wing and outright reactionary parties are gaining ground. And ever new militaristic programs inflating the military budgets out of all proportion every year are being pushed through parliaments.

For this reason, comrades, vigorous exposure of the slander and misinformation spread by bourgeois propagandists and politicians is a serious political and ideological problem, and unless it is solved one cannot expect to succeed in the struggle for a lasting peace and curbing the arms race.

What actually is the Soviet stand?

Unlike the policy of the aggressive reactionary circles the Soviet Union proposes that all states should strive to preserve détente as a dominant trend in international relations and make real progress in the field of military détente in the eighties.

The Soviet Union is prepared to limit or ban any type of weapon on a basis of reciprocity and not prejudicing anyone's security.

The USSR and other socialist countries have put forward a system of measures to cover all aspects without exception of the problem of ending the arms race and of disarmament. These include in the first place the problems of nuclear, chemical, and radiological disarmament, prohibition of development and production of new types of mass destruction weapons, limitation of conventional weapons and armed forces, confidence-building measures, and reduction of military budgets, to mention but a few.

We propose that all negotiations in this field which were initiated at various international forums and on a bilateral basis but which were adjourned or postponed, should be resumed and continued.

The entry into force of the SALT II Treaty would be of paramount importance for the quantitative and qualitative limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear armaments. Not only the USA and the USSR but all other countries need this treaty. One year ago, on 13 May 1979, President Carter used the following words: if the USA, he said, after signing the SALT II Treaty refused to ratify it, it "would be put in the role of . . . a warmonger who refused even to participate in an equitable restraint on the most destructive weapons on earth". The peoples remember this statement and they will indeed condemn as warmongers anyone who torpedoes an agreement which is of vital importance to mankind.

It is well known that the USSR has expressed its readiness to begin negotiations on the medium-range weapons in Europe on the basis of rigorous adherence to the principle of equality and equal security. But for a start it is necessary to break the deadlock over this problem created by NATO's decisions of last December.

The Soviet Union is still doing everything it can to lift the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe out of their impasse, although we must say in so many words that the Western stance at these negotiations makes the achievement of this task very difficult.

The USSR is preparing in earnest for the Madrid meeting and striving to ensure that it should result in real progress on all sections of the Helsinki Final Act and in convening a conference on détente and disarmament in Europe.

We attach great importance to this conference, which our Polish comrades proposed holding in Warsaw. It may encourage the discussion of questions across the whole spectrum of military détente.

Our country calls for the signing of a treaty on the non-use of force between all states and as a first step in this direction signing an appropriate agreement between all participating states of the Helsinki Conference.

It must be made known to the peoples that the "Soviet war threat" simply does not exist. The USSR harbors no plans for or intentions of attacking either West European or any other countries. Quite the reverse, the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all peace forces in the historic struggle for peace, against the war threat, and for saving Europe from the disaster of war.

The peoples of Europe can and must do everything to prevent a new war, to make the ruling circles of the capitalist countries abandon the arms race and begin reducing armaments, to continue détente and

ensure that international relations develop in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding.

The "Appeal" which we are to adopt at this meeting is imbued with the need for a broad unification of all anti-war forces — communists, socialists and social-democrats, and other political parties and public movements, including the Christian. Peace is our common heritage, and we have always been and continue to be prepared — without any preliminary conditions and long-winded preparations — to sit around a "peace table" with all those who are willing to do the same. As Leonid Brezhnev has said, "any road is acceptable and desirable for us if it leads to a stable peace."

From the point of view of the CPSU this "Appeal" reflects the aspirations and positions of all communist parties, including those, whose representatives for some reason or other are not present at this meeting. Naturally, each party itself determines the ways and forms of its struggle to suit the prevailing conditions. You will recall however that even during the Berlin Conference representatives of many parties suggested holding, if necessary, short working meetings of communist parties that do not need much preparation, and adopting short political documents, resolutions or appeals on one, particularly urgent current problem. This Paris Meeting is precisely of this kind.

At the same time I should like to emphasize that this meeting, discussing as it does what should be done, what methods should be employed and what directions should be taken in the struggle for a Europe of peace, security and cooperation, may well become an exceptionally timely, good starting point for further collective action by the fraternal parties of the whole of Europe. We are also prepared in a constructive way to consider proposals concerning preparations for a conference of all the fraternal parties of Europe on problems of struggle against war danger, defending peace and consolidating détente. We communists, who bear a great responsibility for the destiny of humanity, should not get involved in arguments at a moment when we must sound an alarm and throw ourselves into work for peace enlisting the participation of all those who are opposed to war, serving as an example of practical concrete actions.

We have learned from experience that anti-communists are constantly trying to isolate forces that are capable of making a massive contribution to the struggle against war — the communists, the socialist countries. Today this is one of the major elements in the strategy of imperialism. On more than one occasion all our parties have spoken of the need to strengthen international cooperation, solidarity

and jointly frustrate the enemy's efforts to split our ranks. And today we shall act in the same spirit.

Allow me to express my conviction that the exchange of views that has taken place, our "Appeal" and our joint work will contribute to the achievement of the goals we have assembled here to promote.

**SUMMING-UP SPEECH
BY ANDRZEJ WERBLAN,
MEMBER OF THE CC POLITICAL BUREAU
AND CC SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY**

Esteemed Comrades,

Our meeting is coming to an end. We have a good right to say today that it was fruitful and that it has yielded good results in every respect.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of unity and free and fraternal consultation, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideas, in the spirit of the communists' historical mission.

As the result of the fraternal exchange of views and consultations, we have formulated a clear-cut class assessment of the present difficult and complicated moment in international development. We have indicated the origins and the causes of the growing tension and worsening of the international situation. These causes lie in the aggressive policy of imperialism, which is responsible for the continuation and expansion of the arms race, for the growing danger of war and for the violation of the principles adopted at Helsinki.

We have all expressed our will to defend détente, our will to struggle for disarmament. We have expressed the profound conviction that it is necessary above all to get NATO to revoke its decisions on the manufacture and deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe or an actual suspension of these decisions for the purpose of starting, in conditions of equality and equal security, effective negotiations on the matter of medium-range missiles, which would help to continue the cause of détente and to effect positive changes in the international situation, especially on our continent.

Our party is especially grateful to all the fraternal parties for their

support of the Polish proposal on the question of convening a conference in Warsaw on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

Our common consultations were highly constructive, and we came out unanimously to have them continued in new initiatives and meetings. All these ideas are clearly reflected in the call which we unanimously approved.

I should like once again to emphasize that the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, the organizers of the meeting, did everything that was necessary to ensure the possibility of participation in the meeting by all the fraternal parties of Europe. Here, in the course of our work, we jointly also did everything to have our call remain open for accession by all the communist parties not taking part in the meeting. We hope that that is how it will be.

We have addressed the broadest political, social, religious and other forces interested in a joint struggle for peace, for disarmament, for resisting the danger of war, and for improving the international situation. One can assume that the meeting has created a good basis for such cooperation.

SPEECH BY GEORGES MARCHAIS, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FCP, AT A RECEPTION FOLLOWING THE MEETING

I am happy to welcome here all those who accepted our invitation and especially the participants in the Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties for Peace and Disarmament.

This meeting, organized on the initiative of the Polish United Workers' Party and the French Communist Party, has just been successfully completed, having fulfilled the clear and positive task which its initiators set before it: that a major force like the communist and workers' parties of Europe should make its contribution to the noble and humane cause of peace and disarmament. Considering that the destiny of détente in Europe is simultaneously the destiny of our nations, we held that it was not only our right but also our duty to publicly express our view on this vitally important matter; to address to the nations of our continent a call to take into their own hands the struggle for peace, détente, peaceful coexistence and friendship

among nations; to call to unification all the forces seeking to attain concrete and constructive goals in this direction.

The two-day fruitful discussion which has just ended reaffirmed that the communist and workers parties, steadfastly abiding by the principles of absolute independence, equality and non-interference, on which our relations are based, and despite the differences existing between us on some matters, are capable of playing a fruitful and special role in this battle for a peaceful Europe.

We have no intentions other than to advance in the front ranks of those who set themselves a task for whose fulfilment no efforts can be spared. We sincerely want others to take part in this with the same resolve and consistency, so that these efforts would produce the necessary cooperation among all those who, like us, want to work for détente and cooperation.

Indeed, we do not in any sense contrast national initiatives with international initiatives, initiatives by the communist and workers' parties with joint initiatives with socialists, social-democratic and Christian forces aimed to achieve goals that meet the interests of the nations.

In this spirit, the Appeal contains well-considered and realistic slogans capable of stimulating the unfolding of the broadest activity in the individual countries and on the European scale.

Formulated in the same spirit was the proposal to come out in the near future with an initiative for peace and disarmament that could be open for all the peace-loving and democratic forces, communists, socialists, social-democrats and Christians. Such an initiative, whose goals, forms and procedures of implementation still need to be discussed, should help to carry out the broadest comparison of views and the broadest discussion, and also to promote the successful preparation of the forthcoming Madrid meeting on security and cooperation in Europe.

Everyone will appreciate for himself the importance of such a proposal which is free from any sectarianism or bias: those who truly want to act to remove the existing dangers must want to promote its successful implementation.

Consequently, as we intended from the outset, our meeting is a starting point, a spring-board for the further unfolding of joint action.

We communists are fighters for peace. We advocate unity. And we declare our readiness to consider any proposal on constructive action, whatever its origin, provided only that it meets the requirements of the existing situation.

Many, like us, are convinced of the urgent need to halt the arms race, and to cut short the adventurist escapades that are being undertaken instead of a search for a just political solution through negotiation, action to destabilize young regimes and boycotts, i.e., all the acts which encroach on the valuable gains of the recent period.

We say to them: in this struggle there is a need for trust. In this world, which is changing for the better from day to day, there are conditions and forces capable of imposing again and again retreats on those who rattle their nuclear missiles, being incapable of providing answers to the major problems facing mankind in national liberation and social emancipation, development and democracy. We are sure that in so doing we are acting in the spirit of internationalist solidarity, which unites us with all the peace-loving, progressive and revolutionary forces, whose struggle, assuming the most diverse forms, is the mark of our world.

This fraternal meeting has enabled us to obtain many ideas and inspiring experience. Relying on its successful results, we in France can unfold even more broadly our own struggle for peace, for having our country play a fitting role in European and international security and cooperation by pursuing a policy of non-alignment and coming forward with its own initiatives.

In putting forward numerous constructive proposals in this direction, our party starts from the French people's deep feelings, which are expressed with such force that no political leader can dare to ignore it.

This was, in particular, demonstrated in December of last year by 80,000 Parisians, who staged a manifestation against NATO's decision to deploy U.S. strategic missiles in Western Europe. We intend to continue this action, which was taken in response to a joint call by 14 organizations, and we will do our utmost to extend it in the forthcoming period. We shall also promote other initiatives along this line, like the popular consultation proposed by the peace movement.

You may be sure that the French communists intend, more than ever before, to turn the struggle for peace and disarmament into the main line of the battle which they have been carrying on in the interests of their own working class, of their people, of their nation.

I ask you to convey, upon your return to your countries, fraternal greetings on this May Day to all our comrades and to assure them of our internationalist solidarity.

FOR PEACE IN EUROPE

*Press comments on the Paris Meeting of European Communist
and Workers' Parties*

L'HUMANITE: MAKE THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR DÉTENTE, PEACE AND DISARMAMENT EFFECTIVE

The alignment of world forces goes on developing in favor of the champions of peace, socialism and social progress. Imperialism is trying to resist reality. It is carrying on a counter-offensive but cannot achieve the results it seeks. At the same time it is faced with a worsening crisis.

In Europe imperialism has long since taken a stand against détente. It wants to question the gains of the Helsinki conference. It is trying to block the preparations for the Madrid meeting. Late last year there came the extremely dangerous decision to deploy new U.S. strategic missiles in Western Europe. Carter's recent military venture in Iran was indicative of the dangers that may threaten peace.

This tendency comes up against popular resistance, which takes the most diverse forms in Europe. In France our party has advanced numerous initiatives to help defeat the Atlantic warmongers' plans and contribute to the success of the cause of disarmament and détente.

This situation affects the peace forces of our continent, and hence the communists. Therefore it is natural and useful that the communists should hold their meetings . . .

We are not fighting to draft documents for archives but to achieve results, to change existing reality.

It was in this spirit that after the latest international meeting we declared ourselves for livelier, more flexible and, consequently, more effective forms of relations and cooperation between communist parties.

The task in this case is to resist the arms race in Europe so as to make it easier for each party to fight on in its own country, and help pave the way for broader unity open to other forces.

Today delegates will sit together from parties which are in power and are building socialism in their countries, from parties of capitalist Europe that have only just emerged from clandestineness or are fighting in difficult conditions, and from parties which hold numerous seats in parliament or even participate in government.

Not all these parties are at one on every issue. There are differences of opinion among them and they disagree on some problems. The very fact that they are holding the meeting is evidence of their resolve to contribute to the effort to end the division of Europe into blocs. There is no doubt that the meeting will result in the expansion of fruitful actions by the peoples of Europe for détente, peace and disarmament.

L'Humanité, April 28, 1980

**RABOTNICHESKO DELO: REAL PROGRAM
OF STRUGGLE IN THE INTERESTS
OF ALL PEOPLES**

Peace is a primary task of the communists, but if the struggle for these radiant goals is to be as effective as possible the communists must be joined by all who treasure peace, irrespective of political convictions. The meeting is a new spur for optimism and for more vigorous peace efforts by the masses, and as for the program of struggle implicit in the Appeal of the meeting, it is realistic and meets the vital interests of all European peoples.

Rabotnichesko Delo, May 2, 1980

**DIE WAHRHEIT: UNITE ALL PEACE FORCES,
END THE IMPERIALIST POLICY
OF CONFRONTATION.**

The meeting of European communist and workers' parties which has just ended in Paris has achieved the goal set by its sponsors, namely, making a further important contribution to the defense of the noble cause of peace and disarmament. Speakers at the meeting showed clearly how very dangerous the NATO strategists' plans are, especially their intention to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

Being consistent supporters of the policy of détente, the communists are aware of their great responsibility for the destiny of peace. They consider it necessary to stress the serious threat presented to Europe by the adventurist policy of involving West European countries in the U.S. government's imperialist policy of confrontation.

The responsibility for peace and international détente is also realized by the European communists who for one reason or another were unable to attend the Paris meeting. They are well aware of the

need to do all in their power to stop the imperialists juggling with nuclear missiles.

The outcome of the meeting shows that the communists are willing to join in any talks and united actions at any time with whoever is concerned with achieving durable peace. This goal should bring together all peace forces — communists and socialists, Christians and people of other religions. It is not accidental that the communists' appeal to the peoples of Europe stresses: "Peace is our common heritage!"

Die Wahrheit, May 2, 1980

**TRYBUNA LUDU: COMMON GOAL OF THE PEACE
FORCES OF THE PLANET.**

Socialism has become the decisive force in all international affairs. Thanks to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, Europe has lived without war for more than 35 years now. With the imperialists trying to hamper détente, throw the world back to the cold war and step up the arms race, the voice of European communist and workers' parties in support of peace rang out strongly once again at the Paris meeting.

Trybuna Ludu, May 1, 1980

**UNSERE ZEIT: THE COMMUNISTS ARE READY
FOR A BROAD DIALOGUE WITH ALL
DEMOCRATIC PEACE FORCES**

The Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties ended yesterday by adopting the "Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the European Countries for Peace and Disarmament". The communists are ready for a dialogue with all democratic forces and propose holding a meeting for peace and disarmament. The participants expressed condemnation of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, which is out to aggravate the international situation, and called for continuing the policy of peace and disarmament, strengthening the national security of various countries and resisting the hegemonist policy of the United States.

Unsere Zeit, April 30, 1980

**RUDE PRAVO: THE COMMUNISTS OF EUROPE ARE
DETERMINED TO PERSEVERE IN THE EFFORT
TO SAFEGUARD PEACE.**

The significance of the meeting lies in the fact that communist and workers' parties have not only called on the peoples of Europe to fight

for peace, détente and disarmament but decided on further concrete steps toward convening the most representative forum of spokesmen of European public opinion on implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of the conference for security and cooperation in Europe.

Rude Pravo, May 1, 1980

NHAN DAN: A NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AGAINST WAR AND THE ARMS RACE.

The meeting of European communist and workers' parties for peace and disarmament proved to be an important event in the political life of that continent and the world. It marked the beginning of a new stage in the struggle for peace, against the growing war menace and the arms race, against attempts by the USA and imperialist forces to revive the cold war atmosphere.

The meeting discussed in detail the tasks of the communists of Europe in today's conditions. It emphatically condemned the activity of the USA and its NATO bloc partners who are stepping up the arms race and stationing new nuclear weapons in the heart of Europe. This activity, speakers stressed, poses a grave threat, above all, to the peoples of West European countries.

The meeting exposed the reactionary substance of the so-called Carter doctrine. The doctrine, it pointed out, is spearheaded not only against the Soviet Union, a dependable bulwark of world peace, against the Warsaw Treaty countries, against Afghanistan, Iran, Vietnam, Kampuchea and many other countries fighting unrelentingly for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It also spells untold suffering for West European peoples. The real purpose of the doctrine is to undermine the gains made by the cause of peace and progress since World War II. By urging support for the United States in everything, the Carter administration is trying to put pressure on West European governments and drag the peoples of Western Europe into new dangerous ventures that are likely to entail dire consequences.

This is why the meeting appealed to the peoples of Europe and the world to intensify their struggle for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements, against an upturn in the arms race and U.S. attempts to turn Western Europe into an instrument of its reactionary foreign policy.

Vietnam's communists hail and support the decisions of the meeting. They are certain that its initiatives will draw a broad response and

that the vanguard role of the communist and workers' parties in the fight for peace will gain in importance day after day.

Nhan Dan, May 1, 1980

**THE VAST PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE
AND DISARMAMENT — RESPONSE
BY WORLD DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC OPINION.**

An editorial in the *People's World* (San Francisco) describes the results of the meeting of European communist and workers' parties for peace and disarmament as a blow to the forces of war and militarism, a blow meeting the interests of all peoples. Whereas the U.S. government was looking for allies to carry out an aggressive policy, communists had directed to the peoples of Europe and all men of good will a rousing appeal to step up their fight for peace.

The Appeal adopted by European communists pointed to the need to seek the repeal of the NATO decision on the manufacture of new U.S. missiles and their deployment on the continent and to fight for real progress at the Vienna talks and for a cut in armed forces and armaments. By stressing that peace was our common heritage, communist and workers' parties of Europe had reaffirmed that their policy, which met the noblest aspirations of mankind, was based on a continuous struggle for lasting peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties, said Andreas Fantis, deputy General Secretary of AKEL (Cyprus), in an interview with *Haravghi*, was most timely and in keeping with the urgent tasks of the communists and all peace forces. It was timely because the threat to peace arising from the reckless, adventurist policy of imperialism was growing from day to day. The U.S. imperialists wanted to poison the atmosphere of détente and force the world back to cold war days. They were pushing the world toward nuclear catastrophe as they built up an arsenal of deadly weapons.

The peoples of Europe, who had gone through the horrors of World War II, were deeply concerned about the destiny of peace. Their concern had increased in view of the decision adopted by the NATO Council under pressure from the Pentagon to manufacture new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and to deploy them in Western Europe.

The Paris meeting, held in keeping with the documents of the 1976 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (Berlin), was a response to the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Europe and the world.

**PRAVDA: JOIN FORCES AGAINST THE WAR MENACE,
SAY EUROPE'S COMMUNISTS.**

The communist parties of Europe have gained vast experience in struggles against war. The communists are consistent fighters against war. Proceeding from the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, they are more capable than anyone else of making an objective assessment of the situation. Their endeavors are aimed at defending the interests of the peoples; their goals are noble and disinterested. This is why the communist parties of the continent can call with a clear conscience, openly and loudly, for action capable of stopping the drift to war . . .

The appeal for peace and disarmament adopted by the meeting is inspired by the realization of the necessity for broad-based unity of the forces opposed to war. Communists say to the peoples of Europe: Peace is our common cause, and our common struggle can ensure the triumph of this cause.

Communists urge the peoples of Europe to press for the repeal of the NATO decision on the manufacture of new U.S. missiles and on their deployment on the continent, as well as for the early ratification of SALT II. They declare for the convocation of the Madrid meeting on security and cooperation in Europe in 1980 and appeal for support of the proposal to hold a European conference on military détente and disarmament in Warsaw and for struggle to bring about decisive progress at the Vienna talks and a reduction of armed forces and armaments. In fighting for peace and disarmament, communists are ready for any dialogue, any talks, any joint actions with any forces in Europe that are resolved to proceed in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The peoples of Europe can and should do all in their power to make the rulers of capitalist countries stop the arms race and set about reducing armaments, assure continued détente and progress in international relations toward cooperation and mutual understanding. . . .

A solid barrier to these schemes and to the war threat can only be raised by the concerted efforts of peoples. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, political parties representing the interests of the working class and all other working people, trade unions, religious and social currents opposed to war, and realistic-minded people in the West are a real force that can curb the arms race, save the cause of détente and carry it forward.

Pravda, May 3, 1980

FROM THE PRESS

RACISM — 1980s, WORSE THAN “MORE OF THE SAME”

Gus Hall
General Secretary, CPUSA

For the Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American Indian and Asian-Pacific peoples — for the 50 million Americans who suffer because of racial and national oppression the decade of the 80s is starting out worse than “more of the same”.

The late 50s and 60s were a period of hope and promise. The Black and other racially and nationally oppressed peoples made a number of important gains. They won the right to vote, to be elected to public office, to attend integrated schools. Transportation, restaurant and other public facilities were desegregated in many places.

But the 70s ushered in a decade of disappointment and frustration. Many of the rights won in struggle were weakened in practice and sometimes all but nullified. Tricky re-divisions of voting districts were used to reduce the impact of the nationally oppressed peoples' vote. The establishment of private schools and other devices were used to hold back school desegregation. In many parts of the North segregation actually increased. There was an increase in cross-burning and other forms of intimidation in areas where Blacks moved into previously all-white neighborhoods.

The biggest failure, however, has been in the key area of economics. The failure to solve the problems of jobs, upgrading, housing, health care and the like stands as a formidable roadblock to all social progress.

OFFICIAL POLICIES OF RACISM

Take the job situation. Last year, according to government figures, the rate of unemployment among whites averaged 5.1 per cent, while for the category “Black and other”, it averaged 11.3 per cent. And these official figures lie because they do not include those workers who are not “actively seeking” work because they no longer have any hope of finding any. The true rate of unemployment among the

oppressed peoples, and especially among the Black people, is closer to 20 per cent and for Black teenagers in some areas the figure is a catastrophic 50-75 per cent. For oppressed peoples unemployment has been at the depression level of the 30s for many years.

In the 70s the courts set up legal barriers to affirmative action as well as desegregation of schools.

Carter's 1980s corporate-profits-first economic policies have a sharp racist edge. They call for a reduction in the standard of living and quality of life for all of us. But these policies hit with special force the oppressed peoples whose standard of living is already at rock-bottom. So all the terrible economic burdens they are already reeling under will get worse. They are nothing but *official* policies of racism.

At this juncture — more than ever before — an effective attack on the super-exploitation and oppression of Afro-Americans and other oppressed peoples requires a clear understanding of the problem. It requires that there be clarity about the true causes of racism, about who benefits from it and who is hurt, about who the enemy is and who the allies of the oppressed peoples are, or can be. It requires a strategy that can bring about progress not only in civil rights and civil liberties, but in jobs, housing, health care and other economic areas.

What are the basic causes of racism? Historically, racism in this country originated with slavery. Only with a racist ideology, bigotry and prejudice, could the slaveholders attempt to justify and rationalize such a monstrous, inhuman institution. Today the basic cause of racism is monopoly capital — the giant corporations that dominate the economy, the government, the media and educational institutions of our country. It is the corporations who mainly benefit from racism — who maintain it, stir it up, and use it for making huge super-profits and to divide-and-rule.

The corporations make billions each year by paying artificially low wages to racially oppressed workers. Job classification systems are deliberately manipulated to define certain jobs as worth less than others — not because they require less skill, but simply because they are mainly occupied by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed groups. White workers must understand that keeping down the wages of racially and nationally oppressed workers also keep down the wages of white workers.

WHITES' SELF INTEREST

Landlords, real estate interests and the banks make billions by deliberately fomenting racism in housing. They use racism to divide

the housing market into compartments. People's freedom to choose where to live is severely limited and redlining* is rampant. Not only are Blacks forced to pay outrageously high prices for miserable ghetto housing because they can't go anyplace else, but the rents of other Americans are kept high in this way.

In a plant racism is used to pit one group of workers against another. It is an instrument of dividing the trade union and labor movements and to hold back the whole working class movement. It is an instrument of class rule. Racism is the main weapon of big business to control the country, politically and economically.

It is absolutely crucial for the solution of the pressing problems of our country that white Americans recognize their self-interests in fighting racism — that they too are losers. Racism is an obstacle to a better life for all, to social progress generally.

The overwhelming majority of white people — those not tied to corporate interests — do not benefit from racism. This becomes especially clear in time of economic crisis like the present. The people of the U.S. are suffering from inflation that is out of control. Unemployment is high and on the rise. The real spendable earnings of workers are less now than they were 15 years ago. Last year alone they fell by 7 per cent. The government has been announcing regularly that the standard of living of all working people has to be reduced.

What racism does is divert attention from the real problems, from the true causes of these problems, and therefore from the necessary solutions. What racism does is to divide people so they are unable to mount an effective fight-back.

CLASS SOLIDARITY

All this does not mean that a white worker may not gain some particular, immediate advantage from discrimination against a racially oppressed person. But in most cases this advantage is obtained at the cost of sacrificing bigger, more fundamental interests.

For example, some white construction workers may gain some immediate advantage in obtaining jobs as a result of discrimination against racially oppressed workers. But how much does this help, especially in a situation like the present, when the government is deliberately choking the construction industry and building trades

*Redlining — the practice of banks and insurance companies in the U.S. of discriminating against Afro-American and other minorities and impoverished people by marking off in red ink the areas in which they live to either deny them loans and insurance or make it extremely costly to secure them. — Ed.

unemployment is soaring? *The true interests of white construction workers lie not in discriminatory practices, but in fighting for the economy to be run in such a way that there are enough jobs for everyone.* Racism has greatly weakened the building trades unions and workers have been forced to take wage cuts.

The problem is basically one of class solidarity. Scabbing can bring a person immediate advantage. However, historically, scabbing is despised by most workers. Gaining an advantage from discrimination is like scabbing. It sacrifices the interests of the whole class for monetary, individual, selfish gain. What we need is to build up a tradition against benefiting from racial discrimination that is as strong as the tradition against scabbing.

Just as it is crucial for white people to recognize the racist poison for what it is and to fight against it, it is important for the racially and nationally oppressed to know who their potential allies are, who the enemy is, and what stands in the way of further progress at this point.

To begin with, there is the question of solidarity between Black and other oppressed peoples. The ruling class works tirelessly to sow division among Black and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, etc. They shrewdly use, among other weapons, differences in historical background and customs. But regardless of such differences, oppressed peoples are all in the same boat in this country. They are all trying to make a living and all confront the same oppressor. Pride in one's background is natural, but it should not be allowed to serve as a means of disunity.

The Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-Pacific and all other nationally oppressed peoples in the U.S. total more than 50 million people — over one-fourth of the total population. Strongly and solidly united they can become a potent, major force in the U.S.

But even solid unity among the oppressed peoples is not enough. Unity with white people and above all with white workers is indispensable. This is especially true in the current situation.

Basic economic progress for oppressed peoples, progress in improving their economic situation in jobs, wages, housing, health care, requires turning the priorities of the whole country around. It requires slashing the military budget, reversing foreign policy and cutting into corporate profits. Without these changes there can be no economic progress.

BROAD COALITION NEEDED

But reversing these policies is a job that cannot be done except by a

broad coalition of the great majority of the people. The basis for such a coalition already exists in embryonic form. What is needed is to broaden and strengthen it. The basis for this coalition exists in the developing of mutual self-interests. It is in the self-interests of the racially and nationally oppressed — and working people generally — to seek these overlapping self-interests. The ruling class promotes the contradictory features of these relationships. *In order to wipe out the effects of racism it is necessary to take some special steps of affirmative action, especially in hiring and upgrading. Once this is done the workers in a shop can unify and fight for cutting down speedup, reducing work hours and for wage increases.*

Among the working class of all races and nationalities there are overlapping self-interests; while there are ONLY irreconcilable, basic antagonisms between all exploited sections and big business.

Taking on monopoly capital is a big job. But there's no way around it. Without an all-out united fightback against the monopolies there's no way the problems can be solved. The job can be done and will be — precisely because there's no other way. The people of our country are not going to sit back and watch things get worse and worse. More and more they're going to unite and fight. And unity requires first and foremost mounting a determined fight against racism and discrimination wherever and whenever it rears its ugly head.

Daily World, April 10, 1980

THE CUBAN PEOPLE'S VICTORY, A VICTORY OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Fidel Castro's Speech at a May Day Rally in Havana

A great May Day rally held here and attended by more than one million men and women was addressed by Fidel Castro, First Secretary, CP Cuba Central Committee, Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic.

This rally, he said, will go down in the country's history as vivid evidence of the Cuban people's loyalty to their homeland and the cause of the revolution. We have gathered here to show the enemy that one cannot trifle with such a people, that one should not play a

dangerous game with such a revolution. We must show that such a people cannot be abused, that it cannot be threatened with impunity. The imperialists may have thought that our revolution has weakened, but it is here that they can see our true revolution.

Fidel Castro gave a detailed analysis of the events in Cuba in the recent period. You are all aware, he said, that our party and government are engaged in solving economic problems. We have started a resolute drive to enhance discipline and the efficiency of production and to overcome backwardness. We are tackling problems arising from the sugar-cane and tobacco blights, from the swine fever which has "mysteriously" appeared in our country.

We are making preparations for the party's second congress. Our attention is concentrated on these matters.

He then dealt with the incident at the Peruvian embassy in Havana and the subsequent developments, and emphasized that such a situation did not arise accidentally at all. Nor was it an accident either that similar events had already occurred precisely at the embassies of Peru and Venezuela. Everyone knows that for a long time now the imperialists have tried to worsen relations between Cuba and Peru, and Cuba and Venezuela.

In recent months, the United States has repeatedly incited Cuban citizens to illegal departure from the country. Those who hijacked our ships and sailed them to Florida were welcomed as heroes. Through diplomatic channels and in public statements we have repeatedly warned the United States about the possible consequences of this policy.

Considering further the anti-Cuban campaign mounted by Washington, Castro noted that its component part was the decision to stage U.S. military exercises with a landing at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo, a part of Cuba's national territory illegally held by the United States.

The U.S. government, he said, has continued its anti-Cuban policy, which is becoming ever more aggressive. This policy did not appear overnight. It became perfectly clear even in the period when the sixth conference of the heads of states and governments of the non-aligned countries in Havana was in session. At that time, under the invented pretext about the alleged appearance in Cuba of "Soviet combat units" imperialism sought to inflate an international scandal. We do not deny, Castro said, that we have Soviet military specialists who have now been in Cuba for 17 years. But Washington raised a hue and cry over this in order to use it to create its own special troop com-

mand in Key West, Florida. It set up a mixed forces operational command and began to threaten Cuba openly. Last year, the United States staged military maneuvers at the base in Guantanamo. This year, they have planned much larger "maneuvers". And that is already an open challenge to Cuba, something that we could not allow. That was when the decision was taken to alert our troops.

One must not forget, the Cuban leader went on, that the United States has been conducting its criminal policy of blockading Cuba for over twenty years, banning the sale even of medicines, and that it has sent its most modern spy planes to fly over Cuba. Others have already spoken here, he went on, about Giron, Escambray, the crimes in Barbados, the conspiracies and plans for attempts on the life of our leaders, about the sudden flare-ups of blights in our agriculture. One could also include here the provocations with the Peruvian embassy.

Today, Castro went on, the news agencies reported that the naval landing at Guantanamo has been called off. By the evening an official spokesman of the U.S. authorities confirmed that the U.S. military maneuvers at the base at Guantanamo have been cancelled. If that is truly so, then that is a victory for the Cuban people and for international solidarity.

If that is truly so, the government of Cuba suspends the military maneuvers announced a few days ago. But the decision to stage a popular demonstration remains in force, because this demonstration is against maneuvers, against the base at Guantanamo, against the spy flights over Cuba. If the United States announced that they are lifting the blockade, returning our territory to us, and prohibiting over-flights by spy planes, we shall call off the demonstration. They must realize, at long last, what Cuba is, and they must learn to respect Cuba. The United States has cancelled its maneuvers, but it has not given up the prerogatives of staging them at any other time. On Saturday, May 17, a demonstration of many millions will be held across Cuba.

We have scored a big victory, but this success should not cause us to relax. We must not lost our vigilance. The enemy is still strong, and the blockade continues. What is more, we are already on the brink of a cold war and the arms race. That is why, he emphasized, instructions have been issued to set up a new corps of territorial troop militia to include those who are able to fight but who are not in the regular armed forces reserve. If the imperialists dare attack us they must know that they will be confronted not only with a conventional war, but also a people's war, that we will be able to defend every foot of our terri-

tory. Our revolution is a popular one, and the enemy must know what is in store for him.

The danger of aggression on the part of the United States remains, Fidel Castro said. That is why it is important to show our people's strength. One could say that today all of us have won the battle for our homeland's territorial integrity.

In the course of the manoeuvres, the United States planned to mine the approaches to Cuba. One of the candidates for the post of U.S. president even declared that he favors a plan for a naval blockage of Cuba. Of course, it will be difficult to effect these schemes today, but we must be prepared for it. That is why we have begun to work out plans of action in the event of a total blockade. They must know that Cuba will never retreat, that the Cuban people will never surrender. It is not our fault that there is no peace in the Caribbean. That is the fault of those who maintain their base at Guantanamo, who threaten Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. We must work for the development of cooperation among the peoples, but we shall never fall to our knees before the imperialists.

Referring to the U.S.-Iranian conflict, Castro declared: a true revolution has taken place in Iran, and it is our duty to display solidarity with it. If the United States wants to starve 35 million Iranians, the OPEC countries have the right to decide to stop supplying it with oil. This is the hour of trial for OPEC, for the non-aligned countries and for the so-called "third world".

Referring to the situation in El Salvador, Castro said: the killings of patriots in that country must be stopped. El Salvador needs the broadest international support in order to stay the hand of the United States. That is why our forthcoming demonstration will be in support of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, all the countries of Central America, all the fighting peoples of the continent.

DOCUMENTS

A TURNING POINT IN THE GLORIOUS HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY THESES OF THE CC PDPA ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN

Excerpts

1. The victorious revolution accomplished on Saur 7, 1357 (April 27, 1978) under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) according to the will and with the support of the Afghan people by patriotic officers and men was a turning point in the glorious history of our country.

A natural result of the people's struggle over a long period for real freedom from the tyranny of exploiters and the shackles of despotism and backwardness, the April Revolution is a national democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. This means that it pursues the following general democratic goals: ending all feudal and pre-feudal survivals in social and ethnic relations, restricting big land-ownership, allotting land to landless and land-hungry peasants and farm hands, advancing the economy, raising the standard of living, promoting education, abolishing illiteracy, developing the ethnic cultures of the peoples of Afghanistan, and democratizing socio-political life.

Being anti-imperialist, the revolution is also thoroughly national, for it reflects the ethnic specifics of the peoples of Afghanistan, their deep-rooted religious sentiments, and distinctions in tradition between ethnic groups and tribes. Achieving the goals set by it will meet the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

2. As a national democratic revolution, the April Revolution is creating a new type of state power in Afghanistan. This power is based on a worker-peasant alliance backed by and involving all other working people, all real patriots and true sons and daughters of our

country — intellectuals, officers and men of the revolutionary armed forces, handicraftsmen, nomads, patriotic ulema (theologians), employers, traders, and other national patriotic forces.

In defending, representing and expressing the interests of the masses and the progressive forces of the country, the PDPA and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan consider the Patriotic Front the most suitable form of political and social organization of the masses at this stage. The Front is in the making now.

3. The victory and progress of the April Revolution was made possible primarily by internal conditions. The revolution also owes its sources to notable foreign political factors, above all a change in the general balance of forces in favor of social progress, peace and security, to an upturn in the national liberation and social movement of peoples, a deepening of the crisis of imperialism, the disintegration of the colonial system of oppression, the rise of new, developing states, their growing role in world politics, the historic progress of world socialism, and gains in the policy of peace and détente.

The April Revolution is part and parcel of the great revolutionary process going on in the contemporary world and begun in 1917 by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

By carrying out the revolution, the peoples of Afghanistan showed the world that they had resolutely and irrevocably chosen the path of democracy and social progress, the path of non-capitalist development, the path of building a new and just society in our country.

4. The April Revolution and the political, economic and social changes effected in our country over the past few years are inseparable from the leading role and activity of the PDPA. Being the party of the working class and other working people of our beloved country, the PDPA has since the early days of its existence advocated under its program the need to thoroughly transform the political basis of Afghan society and meet the general democratic and national aspirations of the masses while respecting the finest traditions of our people.

After winning political power, the PDPA concentrated on attaining the goals set in its program and effecting social and economic changes in the working people's interest. In the face of fierce resistance from the overthrown exploiters aided by imperialism and the reactionaries of some foreign countries, and in spite of its own mistakes and deviations aggravated by Hafizullah Amin's criminal activity, the party was able to cope with its role as leader and organizer of Afghan society. What has been done for our working people in these years is most important.

Though a split weakened its ranks, the party ultimately became steeled in hard trials. Now at the new stage of the revolution, all prerequisites have been provided for the full restoration of the atmosphere of confidence and revolutionary loyalty to principle in the party, the achievement and consolidation of complete organizational and ideological unity in the party ranks, and the rallying of all party members around the Central Committee and its Political Bureau headed by Babrak Karmal.

However, real unity does not express itself in mere declarations. It emerges primarily in joint action and is determined by participation in a common, concerted effort. The best way to eliminate all remnants of earlier differences is to work for common goals and ideals.

5. The two years that have passed since April 27, 1978 may be divided into two clear-cut stages. At the beginning of the first stage, the country set out to effect important progressive social, economic and political changes in line with the PDPA program and the "Fundamental Lines of Accomplishing Revolutionary Tasks" (May 9, 1978). That was when the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the DRA government under Noor Muhammad Taraki was formed.

Steps were taken to cut prices and improve the supply of necessities, employ jobless school leavers and college graduates, and send thousands of children, whom the regime under Muhammad Daoud had deprived of the right to continue their studies, back to school. A Revolutionary Council decree eased the heavy burden of debts which millions of peasants owed to usurers. A democratic land reform was drafted. The republic began to build new schools and mosques and combat illiteracy, an age-long scourge of our people.

6. Shortly after the revolution, however, mistakes were made and there were deviations from the right path. They were due to a variety of causes. Afghanistan, one of the world's most backward countries before the revolution, lacked an experienced working class tried and tested in class struggles. Over 90 per cent of the population were illiterate and at every level there was a lack of executives and specialists combining devotion to the revolution with professional and theoretical competence. The party lacked proper experience of managing state affairs, the economy and culture. It still lacked a sufficiently solid tradition of collective leadership and democratic centralism, a shortcoming which had negative consequences. Many important decisions were taken without adequate preparation, in the absence of a proper knowledge of society, and without regard for the people's

traditions and customs or the provisions and principles of the holy religion of Islam. There were manifestations of subjectivism, discrepancies between words and deeds, between theory and practice.

Enormous damage was caused to the revolution by the criminal activity of Amin, that CIA agent, who contrived through intrigues and fraud to make his way to power and delivered a telling blow to party unity, the revolution, the state and the armed forces of the republic. Under Amin the authorities ignored the traditions and religious convictions of our industrious people, applied impermissible methods in carrying out highly important changes, such as the land reform or the literacy campaign — methods distorting the progressive nature of these changes — grossly violated revolutionary legality by arresting thousands of innocent people and detaining them without trial or investigation, and by physically eliminating bona fide party members devoted to the revolution, and adopted large-scale repressive measures against the population.

The exploiters and traitors whom the April Revolution had stripped of power were also a source of serious difficulties. With lavish support from imperialism, the Peking hegemonists and the reactionary forces of the region and certain Arab countries, they set out shortly after the revolution to form subversive and terrorist groups in Pakistan, carry out acts of sabotage, kill people and intimidate the population. Backed and assisted by their foreign patrons, they mounted a vast misinformation and slander campaign against the goals and ideals of the revolution, against the PDPA. This misinformation led astray some illiterate, downtrodden, politically inexperienced people.

7. The criminal plans aimed at undermining, misinterpreting and strangling the revolution ended in failure. On December 27, 1979, the sound patriotic majority of the PDPA, Revolutionary Council and armed forces, acting on the Afghan people's firm resolve to save the revolution, removed the criminal Amin regime. The revolution entered a new, second stage.

8. At this second stage, which the working people call the "stage of saving the country, the revolution and the people", the CC PDPA and the government of the DRA set themselves the following home policy objectives:

- defend the gains of the revolution and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of our beloved country, Afghanistan;
- build up the unity and fraternal friendship of all the peoples and tribes of Afghanistan, big and small alike;

— strengthen party unity and the cohesion of the party around its Central Committee and Political Bureau;

— promote democracy on the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism; extend participation of the working people and their organizations affiliated to the Patriotic Front under the party's leadership in government on the basis of revolutionary loyalty to principle;

— raise the fighting capacity of the glorious armed forces of the republic, defenders of the party, state, country and revolution;

— advance the economy; improve the living standards of the people, of every family and every working man or woman;

— gradually end inequality in economic, social and cultural development between various ethnic areas of the country;

— help organize and gradually introduce on a voluntary basis collective forms of labor, public and cooperative forms of management in industry, the handicrafts, trade, transport, crop-farming and stock-breeding;

— help advance the national private sector in light industry, the handicrafts, trade, transport, crop-farming and stock-breeding; assist businessmen active in the national private sector and protect them from competition on the part of imperialist monopolies and foreign capital;

— improve the working and living conditions of the workers and other working people; help employ the jobless and persons lacking permanent jobs; devote special effort to the employment of youth;

— guarantee the Muslims of Afghanistan all the requisite conditions, freedom and dependable protection in the performance of religious rites established by the holy religion of Islam; assist the patriotic uléma in doing their duty and meeting their obligations;

— stop and rule out all discrimination against Afghan citizens on account of ethnic, linguistic, racial, tribal or religious distinctions, origin, education, sex, nomadic way of life or property status;

— root out survivals of the past that are incompatible with the goals and ideals of the April Revolution, such as lawlessness, arbitrary rule, corruption, red tape, embezzlement or chauvinism;

— perfect the functioning of agencies responsible for public security and order with a view to ensuring revolutionary order and security and providing conditions for the people's peaceful life;

— raise the educational, cultural and professional standards of the masses;

— preserve and promote the best and most valuable elements of the great cultural heritage of the peoples of our country;

— always see to the provision of proper conditions for the creative effort of all Afghan intellectuals.

9. The CC PDPA and the government of the republic will work continuously to strengthen the armed forces and make them a reliable, thoroughly devoted and courageous defender of the national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of our country. The party and the government see a major task in steadily raising the efficiency of the courageous army of Afghanistan, inspiring all its men, NCOs and officers with deep patriotism, unqualified devotion to the country and the goals and ideals of the April Revolution, and with fraternal friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, for all the peoples fighting for their happiness, freedom and independence.

10. The CC PDPA and the government of the DRA are convinced that the way to economic progress and a rising standard of living lies through planned, dynamic and mutually complementary development of the state, mixed, cooperative and private sectors of the economy.

The state sector in the sphere of capital goods production, manufacturing, light industry, the extractive and power industries, transport and communications will be developed by making proper use of the country's resources, widely applying the achievements of modern science and technology and using the advantages provided in the economic field by state planning.

Our people know well that the rise and development of the state economic sector were made possible by the all-round, comprehensive and disinterested fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. The more than 62 years' experience of Afghan-Soviet relations warrants the conclusion that mutually beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union is a most important factor for the economic progress of our country.

The party and the government, which appreciate the big contribution to the country's economic development made by the national private sector, declare their firm resolve to provide conditions for increasing consumer goods production. They will contribute to the revival and development of folk crafts, the modernization of handicraftsmen's enterprises and their voluntary association in cooperatives.

To bring about permanent constructive and businesslike cooperation with the national private sector, the Council of Ministers of the DRA will set up a consultative economic council of members of the

state administration and businessmen. This agency will discuss all planned government measures relating to home and foreign trade, crediting, industrial production and transport.

11. The party's agrarian policy has always proceeded from the assumption that only by abolishing the feudal system is it possible to release the productive forces and establish an order enabling the peasants to enjoy the fruits of their labor and increase productivity.

None but a democratic land reform will deliver a devastating blow to the social and economic foundations of feudal relations in rural Afghanistan. It was only through a stage-by-stage implementation of the reform that the April Revolution could accomplish the following important social, economic and political task:

- an effective and equitable distribution of land and water to make it possible with state assistance to radically transform agricultural production and ensure that it contributes to the social, economic and cultural progress of rural working people and the prosperity of our country;

- all-round consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance to defend the revolution and carry it forward.

The poorest peasants — about 300,000 families — were allotted land at the first stage of the land reform.

However, hostile activity by opponents of the reform, the resistance of home reaction and the lack of an elaborate and realistic agricultural development plan prevented the advantages of the reform from proving their worth in the past year. This being so, the party and the government at the second stage of the revolution drew up and began implementing effective programs for the advancement of agriculture. As a first step, they raised the purchasing prices of cotton and sugar beets by 20 to 30 per cent. Aid to the peasants in the form of feed, fertilizer and implements is being increased. They are granted credits and supplied with food products.

The land reform does not abolish private property in land. A judicious restriction of land owned by one person is aimed solely at creating conditions in agriculture that will accord with social justice and the canons of the holy religion of Islam. The state guarantees the right to own land and will encourage effective farming and increasing output of marketable products by everyone.

At the same time, the party and the government will help peasants to associate in various agricultural cooperatives on a strictly voluntary basis.

The agricultural program that have been drawn up provide for the

establishment of machine-renting stations for state farms and peasants to use at moderate rates.

Changes in land tenure are intended to achieve a key goal of the April Revolution, which is to liberate the noble labor of the peasants, make it fruitful and beneficial to the entire Afghan people.

12. An important objective of the revolution is to guarantee genuine equality to all the peoples and tribes, big and small. To achieve this objective, the CC PDPA and the government of the DRA intend to grant and guarantee all the peoples of the republic, big and small alike, both formal and actual equality: various opportunities to develop their economic life, their languages, traditions and literatures, and their ancient, rich and distinctive cultures, including education in their mother tongues. The Central Committee and the government will make a special effort for the speedy development of the socially, economically and culturally backward areas of the republic populated by national minorities and tribes.

13. The Pathan tribes inhabiting the southern and south-eastern areas of our country contribute in large measure, now as in the past, to the defense of the freedom and independence of Afghanistan. The party and the government deeply and sincerely respect the Pathan tribes' traditions, customs and way of life and pursue in regard to them a policy of trust, peace and cooperation setting itself the following important objectives in accordance with the ideals of the holy religion of Islam and the goals of the April Revolution:

- establishing and maintaining peace and security in the Pathan areas;
- restoring and intensifying the activity of the Jirga on the basis of the program of the Patriotic Front;
- defending the honor, security, personal immunity and inviolability of the property of every family and every inhabitant of the tribal areas;
- raising the standard of living and improving the living and working conditions of all Pathan tribes and of every family and every inhabitant of the tribal areas;
- improving pastures, distributing them equitably among the tribes, and provide better transportation facilities for the migrating nomad tribes;
- respecting the noble traditions and democratic customs of the Pathan tribes; assuring good-neighborliness, brotherhood and friendship between the tribes and the peoples of the republic.

14. The thoroughly national and democratic April Revolution is a

powerful expression of the will of the Muslims of Afghanistan to establish real social justice.

The DRA guarantees complete freedom to profess the holy religion of Islam and the performance of all religious rites and rituals by every Muslim. It is only the enemies of Afghanistan's faithful Muslims that are trying to set Sunnites and Shiites against one another and sow discord in the common family of Muslims, thereby injuring their honor and dignity and subverting the unity of our country.

In line with the principles and objectives of the April Revolution, the Central Committee and the government formally declare again that the DRA guarantees Muslims and devout ulema as patriots of our country every right and freedom. All religious institutions, ulema and believers are guaranteed government support in everything that concerns their religious activity and their desire to bring about social justice and equality for all Muslims in the social, economic and cultural spheres.

The DRA shows constant concern for mosques and other religious institutions, sees to the protection of places sacred to Muslims, guarantees ulema freedom of activity, helps Muslims go on pilgrimage to Mecca and other cities sacred to Muslims, and ensures the observance of all religious holidays and remembrance days.

In accordance with the sacred principles of Islam, our country also provides complete freedom to other religions that are not at variance with the principles of humanism and love of man, nor threaten the security of our Islamic society.

However, to the great indignation of the faithful, there still are in our country enemies of the people and religion, agents of imperialism and reaction, who hypocritically invoke Islam to fight against our people's revolutionary gains. They want to deceive working Muslims into fighting against the lawful government — to which end they exploit their illiteracy and political inexperience — and to re-establish the power of feudal lords and the regime of absolute monarchy and royal oppression linked with imperialism. Every Muslim should learn to expose the treachery of these hirelings, no matter how refined.

The working Muslims, ulema, mullahs, imams, muezzins, khatibs and kadis are patriots of our country. The PDPA and the Revolutionary Council of the DRA call on you in the name of Allah to defend actively, as true patriots, the gains of the April Revolution from encroachments on the part of its enemies, expose hostile slander and propaganda and build by joint effort a just society based on equality.

Released by the Bahtar News Agency

ON SETTING UP A PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION IN LEBANON

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party

The Jordanian Communist Party has for decades been playing a historic role in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The JCP's activity reflects the best elements of the struggle carried on by the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian communists who after the 1948 catastrophe and the forcible partition of the Palestinian people have been carrying high the banner of the struggle for the common destiny of the fraternal Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, having united organizationally with the Jordanian communists in the framework of the Jordanian Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party,
taking into account the political changes in the Arab countries and the whole world and the development of the Palestinian problem in the light of these changes;

proceeding from the changed conditions, attitude and methods of the struggle conducted by the Palestinian people;

and taking into consideration the JCP's intention to continue playing its historic role in the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their national rights

Decides:

In order to step up our party's struggle for the cause of the Arab Palestinian people, to assure their inalienable national rights in accordance with the relevant international documents and resolutions and the demands of world public opinion;

taking into account the existence of the many initial bases of the struggle of the Palestinian people and their fighting forces both on the occupied territories and in other regions, and the existence on the occupied territories of our party's branch — the Palestinian Communist Organization of the West Bank of the Jordan — which plays a leading role in the resistance to the occupationists and their plottings, and fighting side by side with other forces;

proceeding from the fact that by virtue of the status quo and the

commonly known historical reasons, the center of the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and a considerable part of Palestinians and their patriotic organizations and forces of different political and ideological orientations, are based in Lebanon;

the JCP organization operating in Lebanon shall be named the Palestinian Communist Organization in Lebanon and act as a branch and organic part of the Jordanian Communist Party. This organization shall implement our party's present-day and future policies approved by its competent official organs.

As is known, our party's policy with regard to the problem of the Palestinian people has proved correct, is backed by the sound and patriotic Palestinian forces and accords with the main provisions and directives of the political program adopted by the PLO in recent years. This policy is based on the struggle carried on by various means against Israeli imperialist aggression and occupation, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, for a return of Palestinian refugees and those who were driven away from their homes, for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and creation of an independent national state on their land.

This struggle should continue on the basis of ever stronger national unity in the framework of the Palestine Liberation Organization which is made up of all the patriotic forces of the Palestinian people and is the only legitimate spokesman of the Arab people of Palestine.

This struggle rests on the growing alliance with the Arab national liberation movement, with its patriotic and progressive forces in all Arab countries, on the alliance with the world forces of peace, liberation and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, the true friend of the peoples. This struggle is backed up by the forces opposed to imperialism and Zionism and their aggressive expansionist schemes.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party is confident that this organizational measure will serve as a fresh impetus in the struggle against imperialist Israeli aggression and enhance the role and effectiveness of the progressive forces in the struggle carried on by Arabs and Palestinians.

Jordan, end of February, 1980
Central Committee, Jordanian Communist Party
*Al Muqawemeh el Shaabiya** No. 1,
beginning of April, 1980.

**Al Muqawemeh el Shaabiya* (People's Resistance), organ of the Palestinian Communist Organization in Lebanon.

IN BRIEF

CUBA

The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba is to be held in December of this year, according to an announcement issued by the CP Cuba Central Committee on May 2. The commission for preparing the Congress is headed by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CP Cuba Central Committee.

At their forum, the Cuban communists are to discuss the results of the work of the party and the whole of society in fulfilling the decisions of the First Congress of the CP Cuba, which was held in 1975. Also on the agenda is approval of the guidelines for the country's economic and social development over the coming five-year period (1981-1985).

FRG

On April 19, the German Communist Party held a pre-election congress in Cologne. It was attended by communists nominated as candidates for the Bundestag elections on October 5.

In his report, Herbert Mies, GCP Chairman, said that the communists were carrying on their electoral campaign being guided by the ideals of the struggle for peace, and the working people's social and democratic rights. The GCP is working to have the FRG play a positive role in international affairs, developing, in particular, its relations with the countries of the East. The working people of the FRG do not want a return to the cold war period.

The GCP Chairman noted the need for invigorating the struggle for peace and disarmament, and against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on West European territory.

The delegates unanimously approved the GCP's electoral program, which stressed that the communists want lasting peace on the basis of détente and disarmament.

The congress adopted an address to the FRG public entitled "Ensure Lasting Peace, Stop the Arms Race!".

GDR

The SUPG and the FCP regard lasting peace as their primary goal, says a joint statement on the results of an exchange of views held in Berlin at the end of April by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of

the SUPG Central Committee, and Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP.

The SUPG and the FCP believe that the struggle for peace requires a stronger unity of action and solidarity of all the progressive and revolutionary forces.

The two parties are unanimous in the view that implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as a single whole continues to be the most important goal in ensuring lasting peace. They believe that the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe poses a grave threat to the nations.

The statement says that détente and social progress are closely bound up with each other. The communists of the GDR and France declare their international solidarity with all the fraternal parties and all the liberation movements. Both parties express their solidarity with the peoples fighting for independence, equality, against neo-colonialism and racism, and for their right to self-determination, the right freely to dispose of their natural resources.

The SUPG and the FCP have reaffirmed their resolve to do their utmost to turn the 1980s into a period of détente, including military détente, into a period of disarmament and the establishment of lasting peace.

GREECE

Charilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the CP Greece Central Committee, has resolutely condemned the plans of imperialism once again to involve his country in NATO's military organization. The aggressive purpose of such intentions is obvious, he declared in an interview with *Die Wahrheit*, the newspaper of the West Berlin communists.

Florakis said that the government of Greece does not rule out the possibility of the country's returning to the bloc's military organization, regarding the step as a kind of price to be paid for entry into the Common Market. He warned that in the event such a decision were taken, Greece would have to face new demands affecting its independence and integrity. The overwhelming majority of the population want Greece to conduct a policy of neutrality, Florakis emphasized.

PORTUGAL

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, which discussed the political situation in the coun-

try and international problems, ended in Lisbon on May 4.

Its main resolution says that the policy of the Sa Carneiro government and the rightist parties supporting it in parliament, which have mounted a frontal offensive on the main gains of the April 1974 revolution, is meeting with growing resistance on the part of the masses which has reached unprecedented proportions.

The foreign-policy resolution describes the attempts by imperialism to stem the revolutionary process of the nations' social emancipation and national liberation, to solve the problems arising from the sharpening general crisis of capitalism at the working people's expense and to curb democratic rights and freedoms as a grave threat to peace.

"The wild anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign started under the pretext of the events in Afghanistan," the resolution says, "is an attempt to cover up the aggressive strategy of imperialism and hostility to the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente. The recent U.S. action against Iran, which was a resounding flop, shows once again how far the most aggressive circles of imperialism are prepared to go in their adventurous and provocative policy".

The PCP Central Committee emphasized the tremendous importance of the Paris meeting of the European communist and workers' parties for peace and disarmament and the documents it adopted.

SOVIET UNION

On May 5, Andrei Kirilenko, CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, CPSU, and Boris Ponomaryov, CC Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary, CPSU, met with A. Baazib, CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, Yemeni Socialist Party.

The representatives of the CPSU and the YSP emphasized their parties' resolve to continue, in accordance with the Soviet-Yemeni Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, to do their utmost in promoting the extension and deepening of relations between the Soviet Union and democratic Yemen, including relations on the party level, which meets the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, the tasks of strengthening international peace and security and the struggle against the moves by imperialism and reaction in the Middle East.



