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The Supreme Goal

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev at a Meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Dear comrade deputies,

The 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared that today the state of world affairs requires new, additional efforts to remove the threat of war, and buttress international security: to safeguard peace — no task is more important now on the international plane for our party, for our people and, for that matter, all the peoples of the world.

Considering the serious nature of the international situation, the congress put forward a concrete program for strengthening peace, a program which is now at the center of attention of world opinion. Our party and the Soviet government continue their determined effort to put it into effect.

International developments in the three months since the CPSU congress have forcefully reaffirmed the correctness of our party's conclusions.

Bellicose-minded militarist circles led by U.S. imperialism have launched an unprecedented arms race. They evade negotiations on curbing the process of armament, on eliminating hotbeds of conflict, and on the peaceful solution of international disputes. They impudently encourage acts of open aggression and international banditry by their henchmen. The situation in the world is becoming ever more dangerous. At the same time, the broad masses are increasingly aware of this danger, and the protest against the militarists' activity is mounting.

In these conditions, all peace-loving countries and peoples have an exceptionally great responsibility for frustrating the adventurist plans, preventing the irreparable, and maintaining peace.

We Soviet people are particularly aware of this responsibility. We had to fight an arduous war to

defeat the nazi aggressors, a war which began exactly 40 years ago with Hitlerite Germany's villainous attack on the Soviet Union. That was the gravest of all the wars ever fought by our people or by any other people on the Earth. We waged that sacred war against the aggressor not for the sake of glory, but for the sake of life on the Earth.

Our people will never, never forget the millions of Soviet people who fell in that struggle.

Let us stand in memory of the fallen heroes. (All rise. A minute of silence is observed.)

We all know very well: today the peace forces opposing the potential aggressor are stronger than ever before.

But we also know something else: the very nature of modern weapons is such that its use could imperil the future of the whole of mankind.

There is only one conclusion: we must now, this very day, do everything to bar the road to those who yearn for boundless armament and military gambles. Everything must be done to ensure the people's right to life. There can be no indifferent on-lookers in this matter: it concerns one and all. It concerns governments and political parties, public organizations and, of course, parliaments elected by the peoples and acting on their behalf.

That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet present for your consideration a draft address of the USSR Supreme Soviet "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World." This draft calls for vigorous action in the name of peace and international security, urging the parliaments to use their high prestige and broad possibilities for the benefit of peace and international cooperation.

Address of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, concerned about the growing military danger, about the unprecedented arms race, addresses the parliaments and peoples of the world.

This address is issued on the 40th anniversary of the attack by Hitlerite fascism on our homeland. The Soviet people bow their heads to the glorious memory of 20 million compatriots who fell in the war. The Second World War inflicted untold disasters and sufferings on the whole of mankind. We revere the memory of all those who gave their lives in the struggle against aggression, for the sake of peace on the earth.

History taught a grim lesson: the peoples had to pay an exorbitant price for the failure to prevent that war, to avert the danger in due time. A repetition of the tragedy must not be allowed. Everything must and can be done to prevent another world war.

There are already too many mass destruction weapons in the world, but their stockpiling continues and ever more sophisticated and destructive weapons are being developed. Launching pads are being prepared for hundreds of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. People are being conditioned to the criminal idea that the use of nuclear weapons is quite conceivable.

Political tensions are being whipped up. A stake has once again been made on the attainment of military superiority, and the language of threats is being used. Open claims are being made to interference in the affairs of other countries and peoples. And all this is being covered up by the crude invention about a "Soviet military threat."

The USSR Supreme Soviet solemnly declares: the Soviet Union does not threaten anyone. It does not seek confrontation with any state in the West or the East. The Soviet Union has not aimed and is not aiming at military superiority. It has not been and will never be the initiator of new arms spirals. There is no type of weapons which it would not agree to limit or to ban on a mutual basis, by agreement with other states.

The safeguarding of peace has been, is and will remain the supreme goal of the Soviet state's foreign policy. Such is the aim of the Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It embraces steps toward the reduction both of nuclear-missile and conventional weapons, contains proposals for the settlement of existing and prevention of new conflicts and crisis situations, and is permeated with a desire to deepen détente and develop peaceful cooperation between the countries of all continents. It expresses the Soviet Union's readiness to negotiate on all topical issues of peace and security, and to consider with due attention any constructive ideas from other states.

In our nuclear age, everyone is equally in need of dialogue and negotiations, just as everyone is in need of peace, security and confidence in the future. Negotiations are today the only reasonable way to settle disputes, no matter how acute and compli-

cated. Not a single opportunity should be missed. Time does not wait!

The risk of a nuclear conflict increases with each day lost without negotiations. The solution of vital problems confronting each people and all the peoples together is being put off. Time does not wait!

In our day, all those whose actions encourage the arms race and the further stockpiling of mass destruction weapons in the world, who advocate the use of force in settling disputes between states, or simply close their eyes to the dangers threatening the world today are, in effect, pushing mankind toward an abyss.

The USSR Supreme Soviet calls on the legislative bodies of all countries to come out forcefully in favor of negotiations which would help to prevent a new round of the nuclear missile race, honest and equal negotiations without any preconditions or attempts at diktat.

The USSR Supreme Soviet expects its Address to be considered with all due attention considering the paramount importance of this most burning question of our day. It is convinced that the parliaments have the necessary prerogatives and authority for effective action to curb the arms race and achieve disarmament through negotiations. The USSR Supreme Soviet, for its part, will go on working to create an atmosphere which would help to negotiate positive results.

Peace is mankind's common asset and, in our time, it is also the paramount condition for its existence. It is only through joint efforts that peace can and must be maintained and reliably ensured.

Supreme Soviet of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics
The Kremlin, Moscow
June 23, 1981

Peace and Disarmament are Supreme Goals of the Soviet Union

Below is the foreword by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, to a pamphlet called "We Are Optimists" containing the Report by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 26th congress of the CPSU and issued by International Publishers in New York.

I recommend this report first of all because it is of worldwide significance, because the deliberations and decisions of the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will have tremendous implications for the world scene in the coming period.

More important for us in the United States, I would urge a study of this document because it has profound significance for every one of us, especially the section that deals with the struggle for world peace, disarmament and détente.

It is crucial to dispel the Big Lie myths about the Soviet Union that stand as false barriers to peace and friendship between our two great peoples. Today, as never before, it is imperative to break down

these barriers because the fate, the very survival, of all the world's people literally hangs in the balance — a nuclear military balance between the U.S. and USSR that can preserve peace and prevent a holocaust that can transform our planet into a mass of nuclear ash.

I also highly recommend the report as a wonderful way for Americans to hear the voices of 300 million Soviet people, of over 100 different nationalities, living in a country so vast it covers over one-sixth of the globe and all moving together in one direction toward one supreme goal — the well-being and happiness of all. This alone makes it worth your time and interest.

As a member of the U.S. delegation, together with

123 other fraternal delegations and guests from 109 countries of all continents, I was awe-struck by the sheer size and magnificence of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, by the magnitude of the congress that reflected the vastness of the country itself.

The 26th Soviet party congress was considered the main event in the USSR's life during the current five-year period and as such it was attended by more than 5,000 delegates from all walks of life. Among them were 1,370 industrial and 877 agricultural workers; 25 per cent were women and the total delegates represented over 66 Soviet nations and nationalities.

As I listened to President Leonid I. Brezhnev deliver the report I marveled at the monumental achievement of molding a five-year plan that is to guide the lives — at work and at play — of these millions of people, a process that represented the best thinking of over 121 million people who actively participated in its preparation. The final document incorporated over 50 million suggestions and amendments.

This is the essence, the beauty and justice of socialist democracy in action at its highest level and it gave the final document a greater richness and magnitude. It is this which transformed it into a live document of a brave heroic people in the process of building a brave new world and molding a new socialist human being. A monumental and challenging task! It is a statement of the whole Soviet people proclaiming to the world their achievements and victories, their optimism and determination to continue building in a peaceful world.

Peace and disarmament are supreme goals of the Soviet Union. It could not be otherwise. Just think, within a short span of 60 years since its birth, and only about 35 years after the most devastating, destructive war in history (one which cost the Soviet Union over 20 million of its people), the USSR has emerged as the most advanced, modern industrial power in the world — second to none. It now offers its people an overall quality of life also second to none. The facts, figures and accomplishments that fill this report will demonstrate the truth of this assertion.

This dynamic document testifies to the reality that there are two opposing, contrasting worlds — two rival, conflicting social, political, economic, and ideological systems, that are confronting and competing with each other in every area of life.

The U.S. and USSR are the centers of conflict between two world systems — capitalism and socialism — competing for the minds and hearts of all the world's people. History has set them on the world stage as two showcases, the testing ground of the two systems.

Almost simultaneously there were two congresses in session. In Moscow, the 26th congress was addressed by President Leonid I. Brezhnev. In Washington, D.C., President Ronald Reagan reported to the 96th Congress on the State of the Union. And in these two reports the basic, fundamental and underlying principles and concepts of both societies stand out in bold and striking contrast.

President Brezhnev proclaimed the essence and aims of the 11th five-year plan to be "construction and peace," the "happiness and well-being of all the Soviet people," "stable economic growth, steadily rising living and cultural standards, social justice, lofty humanism and genuine democracy," — a socialist way of life whose motto is: "All in the name of man, all for the benefit of man."

On the other side of the ocean, in the capital of world capitalism, the new U.S. President stood before the U.S. Congress and reported to the American people that "our economy is in a mess," that "cuts in services, programs and the people's living standards are on the order of the day," that "more sacrifices and belt tightening" will be the heart of the administration's so-called "economic recovery program." And Reagan's budget chief, David Stockman, followed this up with a statement that exposed the very essence of capitalist ideology: the American people are entitled to no services. This was backed up by a budget that, if implemented, will result in the most massive transfer of wealth in our history — from the working and poor people to the pocketbooks of the rich and coffers of the corporations and banks, from the needy to the greedy.

The demagoguery and fakery about "safety nets" and "getting big government off the people's backs" are nothing but codewords for Reagan's "five-year plan" to create a poverty-level U.S. majority. This is and has always been the guiding principle of U.S. capitalism. But the Reagan administration represents monopoly capital in the raw, without any pretenses or coverups.

Let us take a look at some specific areas outlined in Brezhnev's report and make some real life comparisons between life in the U.S. and life in the USSR.

In the Soviet Union real wages in the last five years have increased an average of 16 per cent for workers and 22 per cent for farmers. In the United States during the same period, there has been a steady five per cent per year decline in real wages and the trend is downward.

The Soviet citizens pay about two to three per cent of their wages in taxes and the trend is downward. In the United States, workers now pay as much as 40 per cent of their wages in taxes and the rate is going up. However, the U.S. corporate share of taxes has steadily decreased to 12 per cent in 1981. And the Reagan plan will bring the big business tax rate to an unprecedented low of seven per cent of the federal budget. In the Soviet Union there are no privileged private corporations. In the United States we have 10 million unemployed. There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union.

There are no slums in the Soviet Union. Over 80 per cent of Soviet families have their own apartments or homes. And by the end of 1986 every family will have their own apartment. Rents are no higher than four to five per cent of income, utilities included. Such low rents have remained stable since 1926.

In the United States, slums are growing faster than housing construction. People are paying up to

50 per cent of their income for rent while utility rates (and profits) continue to soar. This past winter many Americans actually had to close up their homes because they could not afford the heating bills. Others, particularly elderly people, froze to death in heatless apartments.

In the Soviet Union there is now universal secondary education, textbooks are free, and higher education is available free of charge for all who can qualify academically. In the U.S., college education threatens to become a luxury only for the well-off. Student loans and subsidies are being cut and even those who can complete college are not guaranteed a job upon graduation. All Soviet graduates are guaranteed a job of their own choosing.

Health, medical and dental care in the Soviet Union are free and complete from cradle to grave. New hospitals, polyclinics and dental facilities are sprouting up everywhere. Hospital and surgical costs are free, as are drugs, physical therapy and psychiatric care. One-third of all the world's doctors are in the Soviet Union, a majority of whom are women.

In the United States health and medical costs are soaring out of reach for most Americans — and so is the ability to stay healthy or get well. In most areas the care is inadequate in quality and quantity. Hospitals are being closed. Those that remain open are overcrowded and lacking in care and facilities. In many areas there is one doctor for over 55,000 people. Medicare and medicaid are being cut. Dental care, drugs and therapy are priced out of reach for the majority.

The fear of illness is acute for most working families in the United States, but especially for the elderly who can hardly afford to eat, no less get sick.

In the Soviet Union, senior citizens, veterans, retirees and the disabled are respected and rewarded for their service to society. Men can retire at 60, women at 55. Retirement is not mandatory and most can continue working while receiving full retirement benefits. In the United States the trend is toward later retirement at 70, on social security benefits that are in most cases totally inadequate. This is a critical yardstick to measure the quality of life in a society.

In the Soviet Union, the application of advanced science and technology is a major means of increasing the well-being and leisure of the whole people, a means of making work easier, life healthier and happier, a means of raising the living standards.

In the United States, under capitalism, these same technological achievements spell disaster for the living standards and very livelihoods of workers. The "chip and robot revolution" hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of hundreds of thousands of workers. Under capitalism, the scientific and technological revolution becomes an enemy of the working class — threatening it with unemployment, poverty and misery.

In the Soviet Union the construction of whole industrial complexes, factories, plants, enterprises, towns and cities has extended to the opening of vast new regions for development.

In the United States, whole industries and regions

are sick and dying. This phenomenon of sick industries and plant closings in steel, auto, rubber and machine building exposes the criminal brutality of the capitalist system. While new regions and enterprises are opening up throughout the Soviet Union, in the United States, in one year alone, more than 1,200 plants have been closed and thousands of workers thrown out on the streets, their families impoverished. Cities and towns are dying.

Once again, racism and anti-Semitism are rampant in our land. The Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan march, desecrate, organize and terrorize with impunity — legally and openly. The policies of the Reagan administration are anti-labor and racist. They spell hard times for labor unions. And the burden of the economic crisis falls most heavily on Black and other nationally oppressed peoples.

Speaking of the great Soviet victories of the past five years, President Brezhnev said: "Comrades, there are no backward ethnic outskirts today." And he proclaimed with pride: "The national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always take a determined stand against attitudes alien to the nature of socialism, such as chauvinism and nationalism, against every nationalist aberration, whether it be, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism..."

This, while in our country the ghettos and barrios grow in number and squalor every day, racist superexploitation increases. Affirmative action has become a dirty word.

In the Soviet Union, the gap between life on the farm and life in the cities has been almost completely eradicated. Modern, convenient and complete communities provide all the necessary and desirable facilities to keep young people living on the land.

In the United States, small and family farmers are living in poverty or near-poverty, going bankrupt. Agribusiness, with government collusion, is driving farmers off their land and into the impoverishment of the unemployment-ridden urban centers.

You may ask: Are there problems and shortcomings in the Soviet Union? The answer is — how can it be otherwise. As the report frankly and openly discusses, not all of the old problems are yet solved and at each new stage new problems arise for solution.

Are there mistakes and weaknesses that should be eliminated? Of course there are.

There are new problems in the field of energy. There are problems in the areas of improving work habits and work efficiency, of improving planning and management, in solving shortages of labor in many fields, in increasing the yield per acre of land, in speeding up the rate of the application and discovery of new technology and scientific achievements, in applying more advanced technology to industry and agriculture. These and more are the result of socialist progress, socialist construction. They are progressive problems that emerge as society develops to an ever higher level.

While in capitalist U.S. society most of the serious problems and crises are related to its decline and decay. The problems are chronic and permanent.

This report and the 26th congress further developed the policies and the contributions of the Soviet Union in the struggle against world imperialism and for the movements and struggles of the peoples for national and social liberation. It is infused with the principles and concepts of peace, justice, kindness and humanity toward all, together with a staunch determination to defend socialism. The essence of USSR foreign policy is peaceful competition, friendship and cooperation between all the nations of the world.

This report is a great contribution to a world outlook of sanity and social progress. It extends the hand of Soviet friendship to all nations, and especially to all progressive and peace-loving people in the United States.

Reflecting on the path ahead, Leonid Brezhnev

expressed the sentiments of the Soviet people when he said:

New life is not born easily. The road of social progress is hard and sometimes painful.

But he concluded:

We are optimists because we have faith in the power of labor, because we have faith in our country, in our people. We are optimists because we have faith in our party and know that the road it indicates is the only sure one.

This profound optimism, this unyielding faith is based on the socialist way of life, a "sure road" guided by the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

Gus Hall
General Secretary,
Communist Party USA

We Fully Identify "the North" with the Former Colonizing Countries

From the speech by Fidel Castro at the opening of the Second Congress of Third World Economists on April 26, 1981.

Our peoples have to pay an extremely high price for the opportunity to deliberate over our independence and our right to development. Thirty years ago this type of congress would have been inconceivable! No one has presented us with this right; we ourselves have won it! Our cultures have flourished; our approaches have become richer; our respective national personalities have reasserted themselves. We are ready to think for ourselves.

The United States sometimes wants to arrogate to itself the right to determine who can and who cannot participate in international events and even where to hold or not to hold a specific negotiation. Just a few weeks ago, the United States pressed allied oligarchies and dependent groups to oppose the holding of the 6th UNCTAD in Havana in 1983, as was recommended by the Group of 77 and endorsed by the 6th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

This unacceptable and extremely irrational pressure matches the consistent opposition of the United States to any proposal that does not imply subordination to the selfish objectives of its monopolies. We cannot allow the United States to impose its humiliating conditions and to establish itself as the arbiter and dictator of what we must do!

The acceptance of such a policy would lead to compromise, to concessions in matters of principle and to the loss of our decorum and the rights of our nations.

Without respect for the dignity of underdeveloped countries, no honorable, effective ways out will be found!

Taking into account the experience of all peoples who have freed themselves from imperialist domina-

tion and colonialist oppression, we must express our own thoughts and rid ourselves of the pseudo-scientific tutorship of direct or indirect representatives of transnational monopolies.

The theory of the so-called North-South dialogue emerged in the past decade. According to it the affluent North deals with the wretched, impoverished, backward South.

It is not hard to see that geographic symbols conceal the well-known phenomenon of the relations between the countries that have great riches and the dispossessed countries. It is a brief, polite way of forgetting the past, striking out the present, and sweetening the future.

Some have sought to extend the concept of North to the developed socialist countries, which neither had nor have anything to do with colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist practices. For us, "the North" is fully identified with the former colonizing countries that, generally speaking, are now neo-colonizing and imperialist and still dominate the economies of many states in Africa, Asia and Latin America — the symbolic South, of course.

The socialist countries do not have transnational enterprises, nor do they own mines, oil deposits or factories beyond their borders. Not one single socialist country exploits a worker or a peasant in another country. The truth about the North-South dialogue is that the North wields economic power that materializes and expresses itself in its almighty industry, in its vast financial reserves and in its control of advanced technologies; while the South has, generally speaking, the largest amount of raw materials and cheap manpower, and is inordinately in-

debted to financial institutions in the North.

The economic crisis of capitalism has entered an endemic stage. Since 1973 things have gone from bad to worse; there is no evidence that the problems will diminish, much less disappear.

The developed capitalist countries' economies present a picture of stagnation; their overall growth rate was a meager one per cent in 1980 in comparison with 1979. Thus they are continuing their downward cycle.

Inflation, the other attendant phenomenon, developed in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1980 at a rate of 13.9 per cent, according to their data. The same symptoms persist at present. Unemployment, both an economic fact and a social disease, has become a mass phenomenon. Thus, over five per cent of the available labor force in those countries is totally unemployed, and a large part, which is not officially recorded, works part-time or seasonally.

The repercussions of all the economic ills of the developed capitalist societies are greatly magnified in most African, Asian and Latin American countries.

Aside from cold statistical considerations, the number of unemployed is perhaps more than 20 million in this group of countries. In the United States alone, over eight million men and women willing to work cannot make an honest livelihood. This situation affects that country's youth and the Black and Latin American population even more.

This bleak panorama sharpens the political and moral crisis in those countries and provokes the increase of crime and other social problems.

We labeled the panorama in the developed capitalist countries as bleak, but when dealing with the colossal problems of the underdeveloped countries, tragic might be the most appropriate adjective.

The repercussions of all the economic ills of the developed capitalist societies are greatly magnified in most African, Asian and Latin American countries. There is no reasonable correspondence between economic stagnation and retrogression, rampant inflation and growing unemployment, and what is happening on the other side. The capitalist crisis has sharpened the permanent features of underdevelopment that all of us know so well.

By contrast, the transnational monopolies keep increasing their dividends and achieving impressive financial accumulation. Let us take some figures from the official international literature, in this case from UNCTAD. For example, during the 1970-78 period, the total flow of these monopolies' direct investments in underdeveloped countries amounted to 42 billion dollars. During the same period, the transnational enterprises remitted 100.218 billion dollars in repatriated profits to their home countries. This means that, during the period under discussion, for every new dollar invested in underdeveloped countries, an average of about 2.4 dollars was withdrawn in repatriated profits.

During the same period, U.S. investments in the Third World amounted to 8.701 billion dollars, and 39.685 billion dollars were repatriated to their

sources as profits. This represents an average 4.5-dollar income into the U.S. balance of payments for each new dollar invested in the underdeveloped countries.

As may be seen, the lion's share going to the U.S. transnationals nearly amounted to 40 per cent of total monopoly profits. What's more, the effectiveness of U.S. capital was virtually double that of capital coming from similar enterprises in other nations.

Transnationals exert impressive control over trade commodities. They market 50-60 per cent of sugar and phosphates; 70-75 per cent of bananas, rice, rubber and crude oil; 75-80 per cent of tin; 85-90 per cent of cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, cotton, jute, timber and copper; 90-95 per cent of iron ore and bauxite.

Marketing these products provides huge profits, tens of thousands of millions that are sucked into the transnationals' coffers, dispossessing and decapitalizing underdeveloped countries even more.

The intensification of the concentration, centralization and internationalization of transnational capital in the past 20 years has produced an extraordinary strengthening of state monopoly capitalism, that is, the fusion of the huge monopolies with the state apparatus of developed capitalist countries. The general policy of those states, and economic policy specifically, is formulated on the basis of those monopolies' interests.

An outstanding example is the prices set by these monopolies for basic commodities in the underdeveloped countries, thus deepening unequal trade, the main cause of those countries' indebtedness. The underdeveloped countries are further plundered by this unfair trade. On the other hand, industrial products sold by the developed capitalist countries to the Third World, besides adding to inflation, also transfer to it the growing costs of energy. Such trade relations represent a vicious cycle from which there is no escape under the present circumstances.

Credit orientation is another aspect showing the hand of transnationals, since the governments that represent them and the private companies subordinated to them follow the policy of conditioning such credits to complementary investments in imperialist countries, thereby blocking any legitimate development. Credits are nearly always politically conditioned to favor the metropolises. This policy leads to the loss of access to technology beneficial for development, that is, the technology that liberated states need and ask to be provided with.

On the other hand, the underdeveloped countries' industrial products are discriminated against through the establishment of quotas and high tariffs that prevent their being sold in developed markets.

As if this were not enough, a calculated and persistent policy prevails aimed at winning over scientists, technicians and skilled workers from underdeveloped countries. It is particularly aimed at those people with the highest scientific qualifications, and it is widely known as the "brain drain."

The chronic shortage of specialists and technicians in the underdeveloped countries has become

more acute. According to United Nations data, in one year alone, for example 1967, the United States welcomed 5,189 scientists, engineers and physicians from abroad, mostly from underdeveloped countries. That same year, of a total of 100,262 foreign students in the United States, 70 per cent came from the underdeveloped world. Of this 70 per cent, 42.6 per cent remained in that country after finishing their studies. The most dramatic effects of the "brain drain" are seen in the field of medicine. During that same period, there were already 20,000 foreign doctors in the United States. The growing demand for physicians from the Third World, and especially from Latin America, is accountable for the fact that nearly 10 per cent of the graduates (usually the most capable) from all the schools of medicine in Latin America go to that country.

This deprives the Third World of the possibility of managing its own development and reproducing its skilled manpower.

It is within this framework of pressure and plunder that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund operate. These institutions, dominated by the metropolises, unscrupulously manipulate the monetary and financial crisis which particularly affects the Third World. The way the International Monetary Fund operates has been exposed and condemned even by public figures and institutions alien to the Third World who have seen, in the burdensome political conditions IMF imposes, the danger of mass rebellion and of the system's total bankruptcy. The International Monetary Fund sets itself up as a gendarme of the transnationals and their governments to deepen the international crisis and underdevelopment.

Although the exact data are not known, the underdeveloped countries' foreign debt stands at or exceeds the fabulous and almost incredible figure of over 500 billion dollars. Furthermore, their industries are scarce and their productivity generally low; they are chiefly producers of intermediate goods or foodstuffs and light industry articles, and generally belong to the labor-intensive category. Non-oil producing countries are in the worst position of all, for they lack the fuel they need, spend a good many of their few resources importing it and, consequently, do not compensate this drain with the sale of their products.

The public debt of the underdeveloped countries grew at an average annual rate of approximately 21 per cent during the 70s. For debt servicing alone, our countries paid 44.2 billion dollars in 1979.

It is easy to see that this is bankruptcy. The unbearable burden of the debt and its servicing unsettles the life of Third World nations and ties them more and more to the owners of financial capital. The greater part of humanity is hungry and is in need of clothing, housing, schools, hospitals, factories in which to work, and means of agricultural production.

It is true that a small group of underdeveloped countries have great financial wealth for the time being by virtue of their rich oil deposits. The oil producing countries have used those resources to

help developing countries in proportions greater than those devoted to that end by developed countries, but nevertheless, they are still outrageously insufficient. On the other hand, large financial surpluses derived from oil are put into purchasing shares of transnational companies or deposited in transnational banks, through which the neocolonial objective of the latter is reinforced.

South-South cooperation is still insufficient, and the surpluses created by oil exports can and must play a more active and important role.

The arms race is a suicidal policy. If it continues, the weight of it will worsen the international economic crisis incalculably.

One of the main factors in the crisis, and which serves to aggravate it, is the unbridled arms race, which is hitting the whole world hard.

Experts on this topic have estimated that this year war expenditures will amount to over 500 billion dollars — taking into account direct arms budgets and other related expenses. This figure is comparable only to the foreign debt accumulated by all the underdeveloped countries put together.

If a substantial part of what is wasted on arms were used for development, it would have a sizable effect on the economy of all states; it would ease tensions and open prospects for rational understanding on new bases.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of state monopoly capitalism is the so-called military-industrial complex. Production for war provides its promoters with substantial profits. It employs hundreds of thousands of the best talents and millions of technicians and skilled workers.

The arms race is a suicidal policy. If it continues, the weight of it will worsen the international economic crisis incalculably. The arms race leads inevitably to war; and war, under the present conditions, will be a holocaust.

In the circumstances I've described we cannot think of dialogue on an equal footing unless the underdeveloped countries close ranks and apply a consistent policy of solidarity among themselves.

In recent years the need to establish a new international economic order has been taking shape, although opinions are not unanimous as to all aspects of it. The essence of this new order should be, however, to enable our countries to achieve real economic independence and to create material and spiritual conditions which would raise the living standards of the population in keeping with present-day scientific and technological achievements. Since we reject the model of hypertrophic societies, known as consumer societies — which are intrinsically superficial, wasteful and absolutely inapplicable to the Third World — it is to be concluded that we must build our own societies on the basis of work and social equity.

I think we all agree that, in the first place, our countries' natural resources must belong to the nation and serve the people.

Second, in trading with developed capitalist countries, the sale or exchange of these resources and their industrial results must be carried out on fair

terms which would prevent unequal treatment and trade, that is, halting the present deterioration of the terms of trade.

On a previous occasion I said that there won't be peace without development. This means that the struggle for peace is the struggle for development and that there cannot be peace or development without an era of large-scale cooperation among all nations on the basis of respect for the free determination of every people in choosing the social regime in which they want to live. In the memorable words of Benito Juarez, a great Mexican who deservedly won the title of Worthy Son of the Americas, "respect for the rights of others is peace." For our part, we have confidence in the laws of history, and we are convinced that, sooner rather than later, the peoples will choose an increasingly democratic social organization and finally opt for a system with no exploiters or exploited.

In October 1979, when I addressed the 34th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in order to report on the agreements of the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, I made a proposal to be included in the strategy of the decade beginning in 1980. I expressed the imperative need for an additional contribution of no less than 300 billion dollars (at 1977 real values), to be distributed right from the beginning in yearly installments of at least 25 billion dollars for investments in underdeveloped countries. This assistance should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits. That figure possibly amounts to about 400 billion dollars today. What we asked for in 1979 was equal to military expenditures; but those expenditures have now increased by about 100 billion dollars.

In that Assembly we said, and today reiterate, that:

"Unequal exchange is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!

"The imbalance that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive; and it should be abolished!

"The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient; and should be increased!

"Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development!

"The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt; and should be replaced!

"The debts of the least developed countries and those in a disadvantageous position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be cancelled!

"Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically; and it should be relieved!

"The wide economic gap between the developed

countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be closed!

"Such are the demands of the underdeveloped countries."

However, no constructive decisions have been reached in the North-South dialogue or in any other forums; and we are already in the second year of the decade.

All these problems, of course, are now more serious, and a realistic approach to this staggering situation is not in sight. Moreover, international political and economic relations have seriously deteriorated. A cold war atmosphere is emerging; détente is vanishing; and U.S. threats against the countries that do not toe the line predict a further worsening of tensions and the danger of war.

The period comprising the next two decades has been considered by many as a stage of vital significance for the future of mankind.

Without dramatizing or sharing in catastrophic notions, we can conclude, in view of facts and figures, that should the present course be maintained, the future is uncertain and fraught with catastrophes. These catastrophes will be infinitely worse for the poor of the Earth, but the countries of the wealthy North will certainly not escape their terrible consequences.

The world of today has changed its appearance. National-international links have become indissoluble. No country is exempt from this relationship; no issue in this sphere can be examined from a purely national viewpoint. The economy has become internationalized and continues this trend at a quick pace. In the immediate future, and ever after, solutions will not be found if this premise is ignored. This is the truth, and it is being gradually accepted by those who deal with socio-economic and political problems.

Ours is an era of democratic struggle within the context of universal cooperation among nations. There is no other valid and rational choice. Any policy opposed to it leads to world war, whose foreseeable aftermath is the annihilation of thousands of millions of inhabitants of the planet and the destruction of most centers of civilization and contemporary productive forces. Science fiction writers might well figure out how mankind would live after these developments. That is why we believe that the solution to present evils affecting the Third World cannot be partial. Appropriate and comprehensive measures must be taken. Problems are not exclusively monetary or financial, commercial or related solely to energy, population or ecological and environmental factors, etc.; nor are they only caused by socio-economic and political changes. They make up an integral whole that should be taken into consideration as such. This whole must also be seen within the framework of economic and political relations with the rest of the world.

This is the dilemma of our time, which we must all help solve. Clarifying concepts, discussing ideas, formulating adequate theses and theories represent a very effective way to blaze the path to progress.

As we have stated on other occasions, the recognition of the difficulties we face will never weaken our deep-rooted and profound optimism. The problems may be immense, but greater still is our determination to seek and find solutions. If we all unite, if

we succeed in promoting international cooperation so urgently needed, we are certain to overcome any obstacle and move forward.

Abridged from *Granma Weekly Review*,
May 10, 1981

In the People's Interest

William Kashtan

In a report prepared for delivery at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, June 5, the party's General Secretary, William Kashtan, dealt in particular with Canadian-U.S. relations, and the growing urgency of independent Canadian economic and foreign policies. We offer here a brief excerpt from his report.

Increased U.S. imperialist aggressiveness internationally finds expression in increased pressures on Canada. This pressure is many-sided. It is seen in U.S. opposition to Canada's National Energy Policy, the constitutional proposals with which resources are interlocked, and the U.S. call for a North American Accord. They include proposals that Canada increase "defense" expenditures. U.S. imperialism is using the fisheries treaty, acid rain, the Garrison Dam project, the auto pact, the demand for Canada's water resources, the Law of the Sea, and western separatism which it stimulated as bargaining points with the Trudeau government. It may be prepared to make some concessions on some of these questions providing Canada supports U.S. imperialist aims and changes the National Energy Policy.

U.S. imperialism is out to create an empire on the North American continent via a North American or common market. In this way it would be able to utilize the huge natural resources and energy of Canada and Mexico in the U.S. "national interest," and in its drive for world domination.

For Canada, the perspective is one of being swallowed up by U.S. imperialism, or striking out as an independent force in the world, buttressed by: an independent foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament, trade, scientific and cultural relations with the socialist countries; support for a new international economic order; an economic policy directed to achieve independent economic development through nationalization of the multinational branch plants, energy and natural resources.

ACUTE CONTRADICTIONS

The ambivalent policy of the Trudeau government toward the U.S. administration, that of opposition on one hand and retreat on the other, reflects the sharpening contradictions between Canadian and U.S. imperialism. These contradictions are likely to become more acute as U.S. imperialism and its government undertakes protectionist policies to advance the interests of the U.S. transnationals at the expense of Canada.

However, Canadian capital is asserting itself. It is determined to wrest economic control out of the hands of foreign ownership. Canadianization is an important part of that struggle. In this situation the Liberal government, sensing the mood of the majority of the Canadian people in support of measures to curb U.S. domination over the Canadian economy, and their growing fear of U.S. foreign policy, is trying to appear as the party of Canadian nationalism — the party dedicated to Canadianization and an independent Canada. It may undertake the Canadianization of manufacturing. This may be the essential character of its industrial strategy which does not exclude the undertaking of mixed enterprises, directed to strengthen Canadian monopoly, and the formation of Canadian transnationals to face up to the growing competitive struggle in the capitalist world market. Canadianization of the constitution is part of the same process. As is the movement toward strengthening of a Canadian identity and Canadian culture.

However, the Trudeau government, expressing the interests of dominant sections of monopoly in Canada, strives to limit Canadianization to transfer ownership from the transnationals to monopoly interests in Canada. At the same time it is compelled to move toward state ownership as in Petrocan, and may be compelled to undertake increasing state intervention in other sectors of the economy. Mr. Lalonde* made clear what is government policy when he declared in Winnipeg on May 13 that "we make no apologies for wanting greater Canadianization of the energy industry, or for wanting to derive more benefits from its operations and profits than we have in the past. We are for *Canadianizing not nationalizing*. We do not seek to drive away foreign investors, indeed we welcome them as *partners* in energy projects."

CANADIANIZATION

While the Liberals under Trudeau have picked up the banner of Canadian nationalism, the Tories on the other hand, have moved to the right federally,

*Minister in the Trudeau government. — Ed.

and have become the party of the transnational oil corporations, the party of big business, the party of U.S. imperialism in Canada, prepared to accommodate themselves to the pressures of U.S. imperialism. For its part, the New Democratic Party has been squeezed into a corner by the Trudeau government, its Canadian nationalist banner having been taken out of its hands. It must either become an appendage of the Liberal government or move to the left, and together with the Communist Party, the trade union movement and other democratic forces, strike out for nationalization under democratic control of the key sectors of the Canadian economy.

Our party gives critical support to measures of Canadianization insofar as they limit or end U.S. control over key sectors of the economy, seeing in this a form of struggle against U.S. imperialism and the transnationals. For our party, the working class and democratic movement, the truly national and patriotic forces in Canada, Canadianization has a different content, namely, that of nationalization under democratic control, not that which the government and monopoly want to give it.

In the final analysis only an anti-monopoly government can give assurance that the people, not monopoly, become the prime beneficiaries of Canadianization. Moreover Canadianization should not be limited to economic measures only. It must include foreign policy, culture, mass media and communications.

Canadianization must include airspace as well. Canada must become a nuclear-free zone. Reports that U.S. nuclear devices are stored on Canadian territory emphasizes this. Without taking away our support for the "peace is everybody's business" petition, and for Canada to speak up in support of a summit meeting, our party demands that Canada be declared a nuclear-free zone; and that Canada call upon both the USA and the USSR to respect that decision. The USSR has declared more than once that it will never use nuclear weapons against other countries that renounce the manufacture and acquisition of such weapons, and do not have them on their territory. Canada should conclude an appropriate agreement with the Soviet Union on this matter.

Canadian Tribune, June 8, 1981

Statement by Communist and Workers' Parties of Arab Countries

A meeting of representatives of communist and workers' parties of Arab countries was held in April-May 1981. Printed below are excerpts from the meeting's statement.

Representatives of the communist and workers' parties of Arab countries have met to discuss the present situation in their countries and the tasks facing their parties in the complicated and dangerous situation which is taking shape for the Arab national liberation movement in an atmosphere of threats from Israel and the United States to mount aggression against Syria, to devastate the south of Lebanon, and to strike out at the Palestinian resistance movement.

Developments in the Arab countries and the Middle East are proceeding in the context of a sharpening struggle in the international arena between the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace, and the forces of imperialism, aggression, war and the suppression of the people's freedom. This struggle ranges over the political, ideological and economic spheres.

World imperialism, led by the United States, seeks to halt the tangible progress attained in favor of relaxing international tensions, peaceful coexistence, liberation of the peoples and their advance along the road of social progress. It is ever more actively seeking to increase military expenditures, deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe, set up military bases in many regions of the globe, and exacerbate relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist-community countries, something that

has markedly aggravated the international situation and seriously increased the danger of another war.

Imperialism has intensified its interference in the peoples' internal affairs, promoting the export of counter-revolution and seeking to justify its aggressive acts against the national-liberation movements by claiming that these movements constitute "international terrorism" backed by the Soviet Union. Imperialism has stepped up its efforts to establish control over the sources of raw materials and profits, intensified the exploitation of the peoples, and blocked the establishment of a new and just international economic order. It has found the Chinese leadership to be a true ally in executing its plans.

This line of U.S. imperialism has become even more aggressive with the growth of the general crisis of capitalism and has been markedly toughened up under the Reagan administration. This is a grave threat to world peace and creates the danger of triggering a devastating nuclear war.

The Soviet Union has resolutely opposed this policy, contrasting it with its policy of peace, détente, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The decisions of the 26th CPSU congress have reaffirmed the Soviet Union's intention to continue implementing its Peace Program, to back it up with new initiatives, and to continue further its invariable policy of supporting the peoples' liberation struggle, resisting the

export of counter-revolution, and resolutely opposing any interference in the affairs of the socialist community states.

The Soviet Union has proposed the continuation of negotiations as the alternative to the policy of strength conducted by imperialism, believing that this is the only rational way for settling controversial problems. This exposes before the peoples the true nature of imperialist policy, lays bare the true intentions of imperialism and mobilizes the peoples everywhere, including the capitalist countries, for the struggle for détente and against the danger of war. The Soviet peace initiatives have met with wide response in the political and public circles of Western Europe and other regions of the world. Our parties, voicing their support for these proposals, urge the broadest Arab public circles to rally in support of these proposals.

The working class of the capitalist countries has scored many victories in its struggle against the monopolies, in defense and extension of its political and economic gains. The world national-liberation movement has scored major successes in various regions of the world. Its social content has deepened. These successes were most visually manifested in the consolidation of the revolutionary regimes in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Angola, and Mozambique, in the victory of the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua, in the overthrow of the racist regime in Zimbabwe, and in that country's rise to independence.

The Iranian revolution, despite all the complexities and difficulties it has to face, has promoted a change in the balance of forces in this region in favor of the national-liberation movement and has given much support to the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people.

The Arab national-liberation movement has achieved important successes. The progressive regime in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has been consolidated, the role of the Palestinian resistance movement has grown and its prestige in the international arena enhanced. The role of the communist and workers' parties, of the progressive forces, of the working class and its trade-union organizations in the Arab countries has also grown. The influence of the ideas of scientific socialism has spread, while the sphere of reactionary and chauvinistic ideas has shrunk. The ties of friendship and cooperation between the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union has deepened. One of the most vivid manifestations of this process in the recent period has been the signing of Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union on the one hand, and Syria and Democratic Yemen, on the other. Within the framework of the national-liberation movement, however, there are also some difficulties and sometimes also retreats which have turned some national regimes into renegades.

World imperialism, led by the United States, proceeding from its overall strategy and responding to the successes achieved by the world socialist system, the international working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national-

liberation movement — the three component parts of the world revolutionary process, successes which are reflected positively in the development of the whole international situation, has started an offensive against world socialism, forces of national liberation and social emancipation, including the Arab national-liberation movement.

In our region, this offensive is aimed to establish U.S. domination by wiping out the Palestinian revolution, the political and socio-economic achievements of the national-liberation movement, and the establishment of a network of military bases and alignments subordinated to U.S. strategic interests, elimination of the revolutionary forces, erosion of Arab-Soviet friendship, the ending of the blockade of the Sadat regime which is in isolation, and its rehabilitation, the marshalling of the forces of Arab reaction into blocs catering for the plans of imperialism.

The main tasks of imperialism are to establish control over oil and gas deposits and supply routes, the oil ports and marketing outlets, to step up the plunder of these and other resources, to maintain imperialism's oil profits, so as to help it ease the grip of the sharpening economic crisis, and to effect plans for economic and political penetration of the countries in this region. While this offensive has achieved some results, it has not managed to attain all its goals.

The Camp David accords are the chief manifestation of the imperialist offensive. They are designed to build up an aggressive military bloc; to eliminate the Palestine problem for the benefit of Zionism by converting it into a problem of "administrative autonomy" and killing its main content, which is the realization of the rights to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state; and to occupy more Arab territories and to annex them to Israel.

These agreements paved the way for imposing on the region the military and economic domination of imperialism, for fanning religious, community and territorial differences, for dividing the Arab peoples, spreading anti-communism and efforts to keep the Soviet Union from participating in a settlement of the Middle East crisis, so depriving the Arab national-liberation movement, especially the liberation movement of the Palestinian people, of this solid and reliable support for their just struggle.

Despite the dangers of the Camp David accords, whose implementation has led to Egypt's switch to the camp hostile to the Arab national-liberation movement, despite the feverish efforts by U.S. imperialism, which has assigned roles to many of the protagonists, including the rulers of Israel, Sadat, the West European countries, the reactionary Arab leaders and the Socialist International, the Camp David accords have reached an impasse. They have run into resistance from the Arab people's masses. The progressive patriotic forces of Egypt have opposed them from the outset. Opposition to them has been growing from day to day. The Arab people of Palestine on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has come out against the plot aimed to establish what has

been designated as "autonomy." Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national-patriotic movement have resolutely rebuffed the Camp David line. The National Orientation Committee and the Palestine National Front on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip have had an important role to play in organizing action by the Arab Palestinian people in the occupied territories. In Israel itself, sharp condemnation of the Camp David accords came from the Communist Party of Israel, which has played an outstanding role in supporting the Palestinian people's struggle.

Resolute condemnation by the Arab peoples of Sadat's traitorous line was the establishment of the All-Arab Peoples' Congress, which brings together various contingents of the Arab national-liberation movement.

On the official level, the Camp David accords were at once condemned by the patriotic anti-imperialist regimes of Syria, Libya, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which began to coordinate their positions within the framework of the National Front for Steadfastness and Resistance. Under pressure from the Arab masses and under the influence of the National Front for Steadfastness and Resistance, a majority of the Arab states have come out against these decisions, and this was reflected in the Baghdad and Tunis summit conferences.

In the international arena, the Camp David agreements were condemned by the socialist states, by all the other contingents of the international revolutionary movements, and also by the conference of the leaders of the nonaligned countries in Havana and by the 24th session of the UN General Assembly.

However, that does not at all mean that the threat coming from the Camp David accords has already been eliminated, that none of the dangerous goals of these accords have been attained, or that U.S. imperialism has given up its plans for eliminating the Palestine problem. On the contrary, it has pressed forward to attain its goals by means of new methods, seeking to take Camp David out of the impasse and to involve other countries in implementing it.

All of this has complicated the situation in the Middle East and has made it even more explosive, as it is today. This bears out that a just solution of the Middle East problem is possible only through a liberation of all the Arab territories occupied as a result of the June 1967 aggression, by ensuring the rights of the Arab Palestinian people, especially of its right for a return to its homeland and the establishment of an independent national state on its own soil under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The proposal which Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, put forward at the 26th congress of the CPSU for the convocation of an international conference to discuss and settle the Middle East problem on these principles and with the participation of the parties involved in the

conflict, notably the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people, is highly important. It is a check on imperialism and Zionism and ensures the rights of the Arab Palestinian people and the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries declare their support for this proposal. They demand that the various Arab forces and states also support this proposal and act toward its practical realization.

The main line in the activity of U.S. imperialism since the conclusion of the Camp David accords has been to build up in the Arab countries a ramified and wide-ranging military structure, including bases and other military privileges.

The Persian Gulf area is of exceptional importance in imperialist plans, in the build-up of the network of imperialist military bases and springboards. This area is a major producer of oil, with the largest deposits in the capitalist world. Through the Persian Gulf runs one of the key sea routes. This area is of great strategic importance. The imperialist powers began to concentrate their armed forces in the Persian Gulf area in the early 1970s.

The U.S. imperialists, holding forth on the Persian Gulf and declaring it to be a "sphere of their vital interests," seek to continue the exploitation of its wealth, oil in particular, and to maintain their important strategic position. They seek to eliminate the revolutionary movements in this area, and have issued threats, notably against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. This was recently expressed in the joint U.S.-Oman exercises and Oman's military provocations along the eastern borders of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Following the victory of the Iranian people's revolution and the democratic revolution in Afghanistan, imperialism started a propaganda campaign against an allegedly increased "Soviet threat" to the oil fields and supply routes, and has been making loud noises about "the Soviet Union's urge to have a warm water outlet." The imperialists have concentrated large naval and air forces in the Persian Gulf area.

The war (between Iran and Iraq — *Ed.*) has inflicted tremendous manpower and material losses on the Iraqi and the Iranian peoples, and has provided the imperialists with a pretext for building up their military presence in the Persian Gulf area, and has increased tensions in the region.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries condemn this absolutely senseless war. They demand an end to the war, and a return of the armed forces of both sides, without any preliminary conditions, to the initial positions held before the start of the war on September 22, 1980, and the settlement of all controversial issues by peaceful means through negotiation.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries believe that the main danger for the peoples of the Persian Gulf area, for their security and freedom of navigation in the region comes from imperialist domination and military presence. They believe that Leonid Brezhnev's proposals on the

Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean are in line with the will and interests of the peoples of the region, and their urge for peace and security, and declare their full support for these proposals. They also support the proposals of Democratic Yemen's President Ali Nasir Mohammad on the convocation of a conference of the heads of state of the Persian Gulf area, the Arabian Peninsula, the Horn of Africa and other interested parties to discuss the question of eliminating the military presence of imperialism.

The establishment of military blocs and bases cuts across the interests of our peoples, because it signifies the elimination of national sovereignty and national independence. It is a means for imposing imperialist domination. According to the schemes of imperialist strategists, our peoples are also to pay for the cost of setting up this imperialist military structure at the expense of their living standards, and reduced potentialities for their economic, social and cultural development. In the 1950s, our peoples succeeded in inflicting a defeat on imperialist military blocs and doctrines with their military bases, like the Baghdad Pact, the Eisenhower Doctrine, etc. This cost them thousands of lives. Today, they are also capable of liquidating the new bases, preserving independence, and preventing our countries from becoming springboards for an aggressive nuclear war, from being involved in a fight against the Soviet Union, their great friend.

The participants in the Arab national-liberation movement now have to work harder than ever before to mobilize the broadest masses in each Arab country and in the inter-Arab arena as a whole for the struggle to eliminate the military presence of imperialism for the sake of defending national sovereignty and national independence.

Our struggle for peace is a national struggle for the interests of our peoples, of future generations. It is a part of the struggle of the peoples of the world to avert another world war.

What imperialism has managed to achieve in the course of its offensive was largely due to the difficulties, complexities and retreats which the Arab national-liberation movement has had to face. The most noticeable of these is the reneging of some regimes, with withdrawal from the anti-imperialist and anti-Israeli front and switch to the enemy camp, their conversion into a base for struggle against the national-liberation movement in the Middle East, in Asia and Africa, and open alliance with reaction, and their pursuit of a policy of repression and hostility to their own people. They put the imperialist enemy and the friendly Soviet Union on the same footing. Arab reaction has encouraged these regimes to renege and promoted their coalescence with the imperialist circles.

The dangers to which patriotic regimes have been and still are being subjected spring mainly from the social stratification within the ruling strata resulting in some of them being linked up with the private capitalist sector, notably the parasitic bourgeoisie, so constituting a socio-economic basis for reneging. This leads to conciliation with reaction at home and in the inter-Arab arena, to bargaining with the West,

the tying of the national economy to the world capitalist economy, anti-democracy, action against the organized people's movement, especially the working class, to a predominance of proprietary trends, and the conduct of a policy of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Syria has become an objective of the imperialist offensive. Owing to its patriotic course aimed against the Camp David accords and other capitulationist decisions, owing to its struggle against the plans of U.S. imperialism and Zionism, Syria has become the main state resisting this offensive. As a result, it has become an objective of pressure both from inside and from outside in diverse forms. An attempt to intimidate Syria is being made by the United States and Israel, which threatens aggression against it and strikes against its troops in Lebanon. It is also being subjected to economic pressure.

The Palestinian resistance movement has steadfastly stood up to Israel's ceaseless attacks in the south of Lebanon. It has rejected capitulationist tendencies and resolutely opposed pressure from imperialism, declaring that the Palestinians alone have the right to decide their own future, and has taken steps to strengthen Palestinian national unity.

There is growing support from all the peoples of the world for the heroic struggle which the masses have been waging in the occupied territories, on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip, against the Israeli occupation, so as to enable the Palestine Liberation Organization to remain the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people both in the Arab and in the international arena. The Palestinian Communist Organization has a leading role to play in this struggle.

The national-patriotic forces of Lebanon resolutely resist the Zionist-imperialist plot aimed to dismember the country, to split national unity and to eliminate Lebanon's Arab character, and to convert it into a base hostile to the Palestine resistance movement and Syria. The Lebanese national-patriotic forces have put up heroic resistance to Israel's aggressive acts, opposing isolationist-fascist plans, and working for Lebanon's unity and national independence, for the maintenance of its Arab character and democratic development.

At the present stage, Syria's alliance and solidarity with the Palestinian resistance movement and the Lebanese national-liberation forces are the chief factor in beating back the imperialist offensive. This solidarity acquires special importance in view of Israel's mounting aggressiveness, its threats to strike out at the inter-Arab forces in Lebanon, to devastate the south of the country and to create a dangerous hotbed of war in the region. In the face of this threat, our parties reaffirm their full support for Syria, the Palestinian resistance movement and Lebanon's national-patriotic forces. The alliance of these forces with the USSR is of crucial importance in the struggle against the plot of U.S. imperialism and the Israeli militarists, for removing the threat of a devastating war in the region.

The national-patriotic movement in Egypt is in the forefront of the struggle against the Sadat regime,

thereby helping to change the balance of forces in favor of those who are working for the establishment of a national-democratic regime under which Egypt would rejoin the Arab anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front.

The activity of progressive, national-patriotic forces in the countries of the Arab Maghreb to attain their socio-economic goals, and their support of the anti-imperialist struggle, notably the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, promote the efforts aimed to invalidate the Camp David accords. By their broad mass action, the peoples of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula zone are making an important contribution to the struggle against the U.S. military presence.

The Arab peoples' struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary parties and forces to frustrate the imperialist offensive against the Arab national-liberation movement, against the attempts to wrest the initiative from their hands, require activation of the National Front for Steadfastness and Resistance, realization of its decisions, and establishment of effective inter-Arab solidarity for the support of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, in face of the moves by imperialism and Zionism, the Camp David deal and any capitulationist decisions, that is, solidarity in resisting attempts by Arab reaction to cover up its support of Sadat and to rehabilitate him.

The main and most important task is to conduct a resolute national-patriotic line against imperialism and Zionism. At the same time, life has confirmed the fact that the maintenance of continuity and consolidation of this line requires a corresponding internal situation, a situation that would itself provide the basis for its further development.

Democracy for the masses is the most effective and indispensable weapon in containing the forces of imperialism and reaction. The absence of democracy and the deprivation of the masses of the liberties belonging to them create the conditions for the continuance in power of reactionary classes and mercenary strata. That was the main factor which facilitated the degeneration and fall of a number of national regimes, a fact borne out by the Arab peoples' experience over the past few years, for instance, in Egypt.

The struggle against the subversive acts of imperialism, Zionism and reaction requires that democratic liberties should be made available to the masses. That is why there is a need to work for freedom of speech, the press, assembly, political and trade-union activity for the working class and its parties, and for all the other anti-imperialist parties and social strata. There is also a need to work for the establishment of constitutional institutions elected in a truly democratic way, and the construction of a state apparatus on a democratic basis with the establishment of popular control over it. There is a need to put an end to the attempts to suppress the masses and their initiatives.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries declare their solidarity with the Iraqi

Communist Party and the other national-patriotic forces in Iraq, with the Communist Parties of the Sudan, Egypt, and also with the progressive patriotic parties and forces of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula countries. They urge solidarity with them on the part of the democratic forces in other Arab countries and throughout the world.

An important role belongs to class and political alliances between the national-patriotic and revolutionary forces. They are necessary in the fight against imperialism.

The experience of the long struggle shows that the victories scored by the national-liberation movement are connected with alliances, with joint activity by anti-imperialist classes and social strata and their combat contingents, with their urge to take such action. At the same time, the difficulties and temporary retreats of this movement have been caused by divisions within the national ranks, by struggles between some of its contingents. The alliances which we seek are embodied in the establishment of the national front in each country and on the scale of the Arab world as a whole in accordance with the national-democratic program mobilizing the masses for resolute struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for democracy and social progress, and for strengthening cooperation with the international revolutionary forces led by the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries. Temporary alliances can also be established for the attainment of limited goals.

The working class has the chief role to play in the achievement of such alliances, in ensuring their successful action, because it is the class which is most capable of carrying the process of national liberation to the end, and to express the interests of broad masses of people.

An anti-imperialist national-democratic front must be based on mutual respect for the political, organizational and ideological independence of each participant, and be an effective political and organizational instrument embodying the alliance of its participants in each mass association. If a national front is to fulfil its role when exercising the functions of the organ of political power, there is a need for it to determine the country's overall policy and to take the relevant decisions, while respecting the role and activity of constitutional institutions, and without substituting for them or imposing its tutelage on them.

Failure to observe these principles, experience shows, tends to weaken the front, to shackle its political, ideological and organizational activity, to convert it into a formal superstructural organ out of touch with the masses, and this eventually results in its break-up.

An alliance of the Arab national-liberation movement with the USSR is a necessity which has a profound objective basis and which stems from our people's concern to consolidate national independence and achieve social progress, and to ensure international peace and security. Such an alliance is a real barrier to the implementation of the schemes of imperialism and Zionism.

Imperialism and its henchmen seek to weaken and undermine Soviet-Arab friendship. Action in this direction has been especially intensified after Sadat's betrayal. Nevertheless, these efforts have proved to be futile thanks to the consciousness and struggle of the Arab peoples, their understanding of the great importance of an alliance with the USSR, and their urge to safeguard and develop Soviet-Arab relations.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries sincerely greet the great Soviet Union, the bulwark of struggle for peace throughout the world, for the independence of the peoples, for democracy and socialism. Voicing the feelings of the progressive, patriotic forces of the Arab countries, and of broad masses of people, our parties address words of the most profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and its glorious party for the extensive and diverse assistance which they have given and continue to give to the Arab peoples in their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

The struggle against Arab reaction is a component part of the struggle to frustrate the imperialist and Zionist plot, and to ward off the imperialist offensive.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries voice serious alarm over the mounting tensions in the Arab Maghreb. They resolutely condemn the schemes and moves by imperialism in this region, which are supported by Arab reaction in various forms. Our parties call on the peoples and all the anti-imperialist forces to display vigilance, to intensify their efforts to frustrate the imperialist plots, and to seek peaceful solution for existing problems.

In order to resist successfully imperialism and reaction and to bring about national and democratic transformations, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries have increased their attention to the struggle of the working class and all the other working people against capitalist exploitation. Inflation and the growth of prices, the housing crisis and the low level of public health services in the countries where local and foreign capital operate are having a serious negative influence on the living standards of workers, peasants and other categories of working people. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries are working for the realization of the working people's vitally important demands.

In the past decade, economic development, which has run a different course in the various Arab countries, has produced a phenomenon like the migration of labor from some Arab countries in which the laws of the capitalist mode of production operate into the oil-producing states where the demand for labor has grown. This migration is having a negative effect on the development of the working people's class consciousness. Some forces in the countries with reactionary regimes have used it to undermine the unity of the working class. The same danger arises from the fact that the immigrant workers are deprived even of the limited political, social and trade-union rights which local workers have won.

All the progressive forces and organizations, and also the trade unions in the Arab countries have the task of safeguarding the workers' unity in struggle and their common rights and interests, irrespective of their nationality.

Broad social strata, including political movements with Islamic slogans, are being involved in the struggle against imperialism, dictatorship, social oppression and corruption, and for the maintenance of national independence. That is not a new phenomenon. Even in the past, patriotically-minded religious leaders have made a positive contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries have worked in the past and continue to work today to unite and coordinate efforts with these movements for the attainment of common goals. They resist the moves by imperialist and reactionary circles, which are trying to cause dissension between these and other patriotic movements.

While giving a positive assessment to this social phenomenon, our parties warn that the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces use the reactionary strata and movements camouflaged with religious activity in order to undermine national unity, to implant anti-communism and hostility for any social progress, and to fan religious and confessional struggle. In this way, these strata and movements serve the purposes of imperialism and reaction. That is precisely what is happening in Syria, where the Muslim Brotherhood clique operates.

It is necessary to say that the reactionary strata camouflaged with religious and confessional slogans are provided with fertile soil in the absence of democratic liberties and where there are curbs on the activity of the revolutionary parties and organizations, especially the communist parties, and where they are persecuted.

The stand with respect to the national minorities living in the Arab countries is also of importance in unifying all the forces in the great struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The Kurdish national-liberation movement, together with the national-liberation movements of the Arabs, came out for independence and national sovereignty, for national liberation and national rights. The task of the Kurdish people's national liberation is inseparable from the struggle for democracy.

Accordingly, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries declare their support for the Kurdish people's right to self-determination. They support the way it has chosen in Iraq, of alliance and joint struggle with its brother Arab people against imperialism, Zionism and reaction through the use of its right to autonomy under a democratic regime that would hold to the national minorities rights in administration and culture.

The basic tasks for whose fulfillment the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries are working in the present political situation, are the following:

— Struggle to ward off the imperialist offensive, to

frustrate the Camp David accords, and to prevent other capitulationist agreements.

— Struggle against military bases, blocs and every other form of imperialist military presence.

— Support for Syria in the face of pressure from U.S. imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

— Support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for a return to their land and self-determination, for the establishment of an independent state on the territory of its homeland under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative.

— Assistance to the national-patriotic movement of Lebanon, fighting for the unity of its country, for its national independence, its Arab character and democratic development, beating back Israel's attacks and standing up for the Palestinian resistance movement's right of presence on Lebanese soil.

— Solidarity with the Egyptian national-patriotic movement and the Egyptian Communist Party, its vanguard contingent, in the struggle against the Sadat regime and the Camp David accords.

— Support for the Communist Party of the Sudan, for all the national-patriotic and democratic forces of the Sudan in the struggle against the dictatorial military regime and for the liberation of all political prisoners.

— Support for the national-patriotic forces of the Sudan, Oman and Somalia in their struggle against the rulers of their countries, which have established relations with the Sadat regime in defiance of the will of the Arab masses, and of the decisions of the All-Arab People's Congress and Arab summit meetings.

— Invigoration of the activity of the National Front for Steadfastness and Resistance, and assistance in the fulfillment of its decisions. Mobilization of the Arab masses and their organizations for the fulfillment of the decisions of the All-Arab People's Congress.

— Solidarity with the struggle of the Algerian and Libyan peoples against imperialist threats, and for a continuation of the anti-imperialist social and political transformations.

— Effective solidarity with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Socialist Party for the completion of the national-democratic revolution and advance to the building of socialism in that country, unification of the two parts of Yemen by peaceful means on a democratic basis and a resolute resistance to the plots of imperialism and reaction.

— Solidarity with the struggle of the Iraqi people and the Iraqi Communist Party to do away with every form of oppression, repression and national, communal and religious discrimination.

— Solidarity with the masses in the occupied territories — the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip — promotion of their struggle and assistance to the Palestinian National Front and the National Orientation Committee. Support for the Jordanian national-patriotic movement in its struggle against the Israeli aggression and the expansionist greedy aspirations of the Zionists.

— Solidarity with the struggle of the Yemeni people in the Yemeni Arab Republic under the leadership of the National Democratic Front for national sovereignty, democracy and Yemeni unity. Solidarity with the struggle of the Omani people under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman, with the struggle of the national-patriotic and democratic forces in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait and other Persian Gulf countries against the imperialist military presence in the region, for democratic liberties.

— Assistance to the Tunisian Communist Party, and all the national-patriotic and democratic forces of Tunisia in the struggle for a consolidation of democratic liberties and for the pursuit of a socio-economic policy in the interests of broad masses of people.

— Assistance to the struggle of the Moroccan people and its progressive forces led by the Party of Progress and Socialism for the liberation of Seuta and Melilia from control by Spanish colonialism, for the liberation of the country from the shackles of dependence and backwardness, for broader democracy and social justice.

— Stronger cooperation and alliance among all the progressive, patriotic forces in each country and on the all-Arab scale in the fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

— Struggle for the proclamation and extension of democratic liberties for the masses and their progressive forces, for an end to the persecution of communists, progressives, and all patriots coming out against imperialism and the Camp David accords in Egypt, the Sudan, Somalia and the Persian Gulf states, and for the release of all imprisoned patriots.

— Struggle for independent economic development, for the development of productive sectors, in defense of the state sector against subversive action, and for having this sector serving the interests of the masses. More vigorous efforts to put an end to the activity of various groups of the parasitic bourgeoisie and to prevent it from undermining the national economy.

— Struggle for implementing the economic and social demands of the masses, against the rise of prices of the prime necessities and housing, and for ensuring the rights of the working class, and the peasantry and all the other working people.

— Participation in the struggle for peace throughout the world, against the threat of a world thermonuclear war. Support for the Soviet Union's proposals concerning disarmament measures, limitation of the manufacture and use of strategic nuclear weapons, and also for the Soviet proposals on the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

— Strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party, and with all the other countries of the socialist community. Exposure of the activity of imperialism aimed to erode the socialist system in the Polish People's Republic, and solidarity with the Polish communists in the struggle to keep Poland socialist.

— Solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Kam-

puchea and Laos in the struggle for the preservation of their gains and the building up of their homeland, and against the Chinese leaders' intervention in these countries' internal affairs.

— Solidarity with the Cuban revolution in the struggle against U.S. aggressive encroachments, with the revolution in Nicaragua, with the Salvadoran people's struggle for freedom, and against the dictatorial military junta, and U.S. armed intervention directed against the Salvadoran revolution.

— Solidarity with the revolutionary regimes in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Angola, and Mozambique in their development along the road of social progress and socialism.

— Solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia and the people of South Africa against apartheid and racial discrimination, and for national independence.

— Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and imperialism, for national independence, democracy and social progress.

— Struggle for the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries call on the Arab peoples, on all the progressive patriotic forces, on the Arab workers, peasants and intellectuals to work for the broadest militant alliance of all patriots and progressives so as to defeat the bloc of imperialism and Zionism and to frustrate its plans. They are sure that the Arab mas-

ses, with the working class and the toiling peasantry as their vanguard, the masses which have always fought against imperialist occupation, military blocs and bases, for independence, social progress, socialism and Arab unity, which have made many sacrifices in this struggle, that even today these Arab masses are capable of frustrating the new plans of imperialism by their vigilance and unity of will.

The communist and workers' parties, which have always been in the front ranks of the national struggle, will continue to play the role which is dictated to them by their sense of national duty, will honestly fight for the cause of the people and their homeland.

Let us unite, therefore, in a broad national democratic front aimed against imperialism, Zionism and reaction! Let us go forward united, shoulder to shoulder, for the sake of victory in our great national and social battle!

Jordanian Communist Party
National-Liberation Front of Bahrain
Tunisian Communist Party
Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria
Communist Party of Saudi Arabia
Communist Party of the Sudan
Syrian Communist Party
Iraqi Communist Party
Lebanese Communist Party
Egyptian Communist Party
Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco

April-May 1981
Abridged

Brezhnev on Nuclear-Free Zone in Northern Europe

Leonid Brezhnev's replies to questions put by a correspondent of the Finnish newspaper "Suomen Sosialidemokraatti" are published below.

Q. The idea of establishing a zone free from nuclear weapons in the North European countries has lately been discussed extensively in that region. What is the Soviet Union's attitude to the possibility of establishing such a zone?

A. We regard with understanding the striving of the peoples in various parts of the world to set up non-nuclear zones in order to strengthen their security and to shield themselves to a certain extent from the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war in case it cannot be averted.

The Soviet Union has already stated its positive attitude, too, to the specific proposal on setting up a non-nuclear zone in Northern Europe. There, as distinct from Western Europe whose population today is living on a nuclear volcano, so to speak, these deadly weapons have not so far been deployed. Of course, it would be a good thing if Northern Europe's non-nuclear status is sealed and legally

formalized in an appropriate way.

The Soviet Union for its part is prepared to assume an obligation not to use nuclear weapons against the North European countries which will participate in the non-nuclear zone, that is, will renounce the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and their deployment on their territories. This guarantee of the Soviet Union could be formalized by concluding either a multilateral agreement with its participation or bilateral agreements with each of the countries participating in the zone. We, I repeat, are prepared to do this at any time. It stands to reason that the importance of establishing such a zone for the participants in it would be greater if similar guarantees were given to them also by the NATO nuclear powers.

Q. During the discussions in Scandinavian countries about their entry in a nuclear-free zone, the idea was expressed that the Soviet Union's consent to

assume certain additional obligations with regard to the part of its territory adjoining the zone would promote the establishment of such a zone. Can this be counted upon?

A. The guarantee of non-use of nuclear weapons against countries included in the zone is the main and undoubtedly the most important one for these countries, obligation that the Soviet Union is pre-

pared to assume. But this does not preclude the possibility of considering the question of some other measures applying to our own territory in the region adjoining the nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe. The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss this question with the countries concerned.

Pravda, June 27, 1981

On the 60th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China

The first congress of the CPC was held in Shanghai on July 1, 1921, marking a new stage in the revolutionary movement started in China under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the 60 years since then, the CPC has travelled a long and difficult road, a road both of glorious victories and serious defeats.

A specific feature of the CPC's history was that from the very beginning it was the scene of a struggle between two lines: a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist, internationalist line, represented by such prominent revolutionaries as Li Tachao, Tsui Tsyupo, Wang Ming, Kao Kang, Peng Tehhuai, Chu Teh, Lin Potsui and others, and a petty-bourgeois, great-power chauvinist line, which was most clearly manifested in the activities of Mao Tsetung and his supporters.

In the early 1930s, when the Kuomintang reaction imposed a reign of terror on the country, the CPC found itself in an extremely difficult situation. Mao Tsetung took advantage of that. In January 1935, at a so-called "enlarged meeting" of the CPC Central Committee's Political Bureau in Tsunyi, where most of its members were absent, he took over the leadership of the party and the army. Mao and his supporters carried out numerous purges within the party, persecuted the internationalist forces, and aimed to substitute "Mao Tsetung thought" for Marxism-Leninism.

In spite of that, the Chinese people's revolutionary enthusiasm, the selfless struggle of internationalist-minded communists, and international assistance helped the party to stay within the stream of revolutionary struggle and lead the Chinese people to victory over the forces of reaction.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism and militarist Japan by the Soviet Union was very important for the future of the Chinese revolution. In liberated Manchuria, to which the center of the Chinese revolution had now shifted, the necessary conditions were created in 1945-1949 for a successful completion of the struggle for China's socialist perspective being waged by the popular masses under the CPC's leadership.

The Soviet communists, like all the other progressive forces in the world, pay tribute in memory of and gratitude to the Chinese communists, the hundreds of thousands of China's heroic sons and

daughters who gave their lives for the victory of the revolution, for the cause of socialism in their country.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the CPC and the country entered a new stage. The majestic task now was to overcome China's age-old semi-colonial backwardness and build a new society.

The Soviet Union, true to its internationalist duty, came to the aid of the young republic. The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, signed in Moscow on February 14, 1950, and other documents, envisaged broad development of political, economic and cultural cooperation between the USSR and the PRC.

The eighth congress of the CPC in 1956 reaffirmed the party's general line of socialist construction in close alliance with the USSR and other socialist-community countries. It set the task of raising the people's material and cultural standards through a development of production, pointed out the need for a further extension of democracy in the country, and mapped out some important measures in the field of party construction. It noted the need for scrupulous observance of the principle of collective leadership and for a struggle against the personality cult, and all mention of "Mao Tsetung thought" was deleted from the formulation of the party's basic ideological and theoretical principles.

Mao and his supporters saw that they were losing ground in the party and the state and launched an offensive against the gains of socialism in China, seeking a revision of the decisions adopted by the eighth congress of the CPC. In 1958, they proclaimed the adventurous policy of the "great leap forward," which brought the Chinese people immense suffering and did irreparable damage to the PRC's economic, social and cultural development.

Great-power aspirations also prevailed in the CPC leadership's foreign-policy line. A slander campaign was launched against the CPSU and fraternal parties, with a stake on aggravating international tension and forming a bloc with the reactionary, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist forces.

In the 1960s, the most conscious section of the working people, the party and state cadres loyal to Marxism-Leninism were bound to feel a growing

anxiety over the state of affairs in the country, realizing that further pursuit of Mao Tsetung's line would lead the PRC into a blind alley.

It would seem that the CPC leadership should have looked around, taken a sober view of the situation, and heeded the advice being given both by Chinese communists themselves and by the true friends of the CPC and China in other countries. But the Maoists launched the so-called "cultural revolution," which amounted to a counter-revolutionary coup aimed to establish a military-bureaucratic dictatorship by the Mao Tsetung group. The consequences of that tragedy are well known: they have now been recognized — as it was once again noted at the sixth plenary meeting of the eleventh Central Committee of the CPC — by the Chinese leaders themselves.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his report to the 26th congress of the CPSU: "The experience of the social and economic development of the PRC over the past 20 years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism in home and foreign policy leads to."

China has entered the 1980s in a complex and contradictory atmosphere of internal political development, a grave economic situation, a failure of Maoist slogans, and a sharpening struggle for power. The regime has suffered an obvious failure in its attempts to find and implement in practice a so-called "Chinese model" of social development and to overcome the present crisis in the country proceeding from a "modernized" Maoism.

The Chinese leadership is heading for an anti-Soviet alliance with bellicose imperialist circles, seeking to undermine détente, step up the arms race, and push mankind toward a thermonuclear catastrophe. This playing with fire is deeply inimical to

the cause of peace in the world, and is also at odds with the basic interests of the Chinese people.

Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the CPSU's class analysis of the processes going on in the CPC and China, showing that the conclusions on Maoism as a doctrine hostile to Marxism-Leninism are timely and principled. Maoism engenders ever new social antagonisms, for the Maoist doctrine is incompatible with the true requirements of the PRC's development and socialist construction in that country, it cuts across the aspirations of the whole Chinese people. Nevertheless, the recent plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee declared that "Mao Tsetung ideas" remain "the party's guiding ideas."

As Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "the Soviet Union has never sought, nor does it now seek confrontation with the People's Republic of China. We follow the course set by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, and would like to build our ties with that country on a good-neighbor basis. Our proposals for normalizing relations with China remain open, and our feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people have not changed."

On the 60th anniversary of the CPC, the Soviet communists express their firm conviction that the Marxist-Leninist teaching, scientific socialism will ultimately win out in China as well. Our people are confident that the Communist Party of China, the Chinese working people will ultimately be able to overcome the historical zigzag imposed on them and go back to the road of building their life on the basis of scientific socialism, rejoining the united ranks of the fighters for communism, the radiant future of the whole of mankind.

I. Alexandrov
Pravda, July 1, 1981

documents

Plenary Meeting of the HSWP Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in plenary session on June 18, 1981. Below is an extract from the plenum's resolution dealing with international problems.

The Central Committee considered urgent international issues and declared that the international situation is still being adversely affected by the imperialists' urge to achieve military superiority by stepping up the arms race.

All the peoples of the world are interested in international détente, stronger mutual security, and further peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. This calls for an end to the

dangerous arms race, which is a great burden to the whole of mankind, for an elimination of local hotbeds of war, negotiated settlement of disputes, and measures to maintain and multiply the achievements of détente. With these aims in view, all the peace forces must take vigorous action.

1. The stand and constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states serve to relax the tensions in present-day international

relations. The Central Committee once again voiced its conviction that to preserve universal peace and curb the arms race it is necessary to continue the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms limitation and to start real negotiations on medium-range missiles to be deployed in Europe, and also on U.S. forward-based nuclear forces.

2. In the present international situation, bilateral and multilateral meetings aimed at strengthening the policy of peaceful coexistence are particularly important. Our country is interested in ensuring that the Madrid meeting of the representatives of 35 states yield concrete results which would help to realize the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act, and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic is working toward this goal. For the states that took part in the Helsinki Conference, for the peoples of the whole world it is important to ensure that the Madrid meeting comes to an agreement on the convocation of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. If it is to be done, every participant must work toward an understanding with a sense of responsibility, in a constructive spirit, and with due regard for mutual interests.

In its bilateral relations with other countries, based on the time-tested principles of equality and mutual benefit, our country has always sought to maintain détente and develop political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other ties with capitalist states.

3. In view of the imperialists' urge to suppress the peoples, and speaking on behalf of the Hungarian communists, of the whole Hungarian people, the Central Committee once again expresses its solidarity with the struggle being carried on by the progressive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation and social progress.

The CC supports the initiative of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea for a regional conference to discuss the way to achieve peace and stable security on the basis of respect for the equality and sovereignty of the participating states. Our government has resolutely rejected the plan for a so-called international conference on Kampuchea. At the fourth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, our delegation declared that the Hungarian people is in solidarity with the Kampuchean people's struggle for its further existence, for independent development, democratic transformation of the society, and close friendship with the other peoples of Indochina.

The CC noted that our people are following with justified anxiety the dangerous situation that has taken shape in the Middle East as a result of imperialist intrigues and Israel's aggressive moves. This jeopardizes not only the security of the peoples of the region, but also universal peace. Expressing the standpoint of the country's public opinion, the Hungarian government has officially denounced the Israeli air raid on Iraq. The growing tension and military danger have made it even more obvious that the Middle East crisis can be reliably and justly settled only through negotiations involving all the

parties concerned. The Hungarian People's Republic supports any effort in this direction.

We denounce South Africa's acts of aggression against independent countries in the region, and support the struggle being waged by South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) for an end to the policy of racism, for the freedom and independence of the Namibian people.

The visit to Hungary by the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhadj Shehu Shagari has made a considerable contribution to the cooperation between our two countries and peoples. That was a fresh expression of our solidarity and readiness for cooperation with the African peoples that are fighting for cooperation to strengthen their national independence and are building their own states.

The peoples of Latin America are carrying on, at the cost of great sacrifices, a struggle against imperialist interference, against fascist dictatorships, and for social progress. We support the people of Nicaragua, which has won and is courageously defending its country's independence and the gains of the revolution. We are in solidarity with the patriotic forces of El Salvador, which are fighting against terror and oppression, for real democratic rights.

4. The recent congresses of the BCP, the CPCz, the SUPG and the MPRP were important events in the life of the socialist community. Apart from the urgent questions of internal construction, much attention was devoted at these forums to matters of cooperation among the socialist countries and the struggle for détente, peace and social progress.

5. A friendly visit to our country by Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of Czechoslovakia's Council of Ministers made a useful contribution both to the all-round development of bilateral relations and to the fruitful cooperation between our peoples serving the interests of the whole socialist community.

6. The official friendly visit to our country by Lazar Mojsov, Chairman of the Central Committee, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has helped to strengthen the good-neighbor relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia. In the course of the talks, the parties expressed their mutual interest in the further development of cooperation between our countries, of the friendship between our peoples on the lasting basis created over the years by joint effort.

7. The information on international issues received by the CC also related to the situation in Poland. Since last August, our party has repeatedly expressed in its official statements and has now once again reaffirmed its solidarity with and understanding of the aspirations and struggle of the Polish communists, Poland's true patriots, aimed at finding a socialist solution for the country's problems, that have accumulated as a result of earlier mistakes. At the same time, we have expressed our people's concern over the activities of the counter-revolutionary anarchistic forces, which imperil the Polish people's socialist gains, and over the subversive activities of the imperialist circles backing them.

In the recent period, the hostile forces have stepped up their attacks aggravating the threat to the very foundations of the Polish state.

In these conditions, the CC regards the CPSU Central Committee's comradely letter of concern to the PUWP Central Committee as a justified, fundamentally correct and timely act. We state with satisfaction that in its resolution the 11th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee agreed with the assessment of the situation made by the Soviet comrades, and with the need to take resolute action against the anti-socialist forces. The Hungarian communists, like all true friends of Poland, hope that the Polish communists will close their ranks and, together with all those who are loyal to socialism, will bar the way to the counter-revolutionary tendencies and ensure the development of socialism. This is demanded by the interests of the Polish people, the socialist community, universal peace and security.

8. The CC gave a high assessment of the talks with the representatives of communist parties in the capitalist and the developing world, which were held in a spirit of international solidarity and comradely cooperation.

The talks that took place in Hungary with the general secretaries of the Communist Parties of Portugal and Lebanon, and also with the delegations of the Communist Party of Spain, the Congolese Party of Labor, the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, and the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, the visit by an HSWP delegation to Belgium, and the participation of HSWP delegations in the congresses of the fraternal parties of West Berlin, Finland and the FRG have helped to develop bilateral ties and achieve common goals.

In the past period, the HSWP's ties with socialist and social-democratic parties have been further developed. Our representatives took part in the congress of the Italian Socialist Party. The General Secretary of the Chilean Socialist Party visited Hungary, and our delegations held talks with the leaders of the socialist (social democratic) parties of Belgium, Finland and West Germany. These meetings have helped us get a better understanding of each other's positions with respect to the tasks of the struggle for peace, international security and general progress.

Nepszabadsag, June 20, 1981

To the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends the communists of Costa Rica its fraternal greetings on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the People's Vanguard Party.

For more than half a century, the People's Vanguard Party — the party of Costa Rican communists — has headed the struggle of the country's working class against the sway of U.S. monopolies and the local oligarchy. Your party, steeled in class battles, has become the recognized Marxist-Leninist advance contingent of the Costa Rican working people. It has consistently come out for the masses' vital interests, in defense of the homeland's national sovereignty, for democracy and social progress.

The communists of Costa Rica are known for their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, their solidarity with socialist Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua, with the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and other Latin American countries against the reactionary pro-imperialist dictatorships. The Soviet communists highly appreciate your firm stand with respect to any manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, your active support for the new peace initiatives put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU and aimed to improve the international situation and curb the arms race.

We wish you, dear Costa Rican comrades, fresh

successes in strengthening the party, enhancing its influence, and consolidating all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country in the struggle for the vital interests of the Costa Rican people.

Long live the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica!

May the friendship between our parties, between the Soviet and Costa Rican people strengthen and develop!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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Joint Statement by the Communists of Colombia and Panama

On April 28 and 29, a delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the Colombian Communist Party consisting of comrades José Cardona Hoyos and Hernando Hurtado, who arrived in Panama on the invitation of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama, met in Panama City with comrades Miguel Porcell Pena and Luther Thomas, representatives of the PPP Political Bureau.

The conversations that took place during the visit were held in the spirit of cordial and comradely frankness that is characteristic of the relations between our fraternal parties, and reaffirmed the identity of views on all the questions considered.

The delegation of the Colombian Communist Party informed the Panamanian communists in detail on the progress of the implementation of the decisions taken by the 13th congress of the CCP, on the party's activity in defense of the working class' economic demands, democracy and human rights in view of the ever more aggressive policy of the reactionary circles, which are seeking to impose an anti-democratic regime on the fraternal country and to eliminate the elementary rights of the Colombian people.

The delegation of the People's Party of Panama gave a high assessment of the Colombian communists' efforts to maintain and defend democratic rights, and also their urge to apply skilfully Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of their country.

The delegation of the People's Party of Panama gave its guests a detailed account of the struggle being carried on by the communists and the whole Panamanian people in defense of the gains they had made in the course of the liberation process unfolding in the country since 1969, primarily the results of the talks on the Panama Canal, which marked the beginning of the process of our country's ultimate decolonization.

Both delegations welcomed the conclusion by the legislative organs of Colombia and Panama of the Monteria Treaty,* which has reaffirmed the traditional friendship between the two peoples, and also their desire to develop broad democratic cooperation as an instrument in resisting the hostile moves and intrigues on the part of the powerful U.S. economic and colonialist circles.

The two delegations denounced the anti-Cuban campaign encouraged by U.S. imperialism and carried out by the most reactionary military and civilian forces in Colombia, a campaign epitomized by breaking relations with the heroic Isle of Liberty, undertaken in a futile attempt to start a new process of isolating the Cuban revolution to suit the sinister

interests of the USA's militarist and colonialist policy.

Both parties denounced the treacherous move of Ecuador's military command, which, in violation of the right of asylum, handed over to the Colombian military authorities a group of young people seeking asylum in Ecuador, among whom there were also Panamanians who are now being subjected to arbitrary treatment by Colombia's Military-Penal Court.

Both delegations declared their full determination to fight for peace in the whole world, and once again came out in support of the Soviet Union's peace policy and the realistic program presented by comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU. At the same time, the two parties condemned the policy of war and tension which the Reagan administration is trying to impose on other peoples. This policy, which enjoys the criminal support of the Chinese leadership, poses a threat to peace and stability in the world and imperils mankind's very existence.

Both parties once again voice their complete solidarity with the heroic Cuban Revolution and welcome the Cuban people's successes in building the new society.

Both delegations saluted the victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, and once again declared their resolve to maintain a high spirit of solidarity with the fraternal peoples of these countries in order to defend their right to build a new society in accordance with their will.

Both parties expressed their militant solidarity with the Latin American peoples that are fighting in difficult conditions against the reactionary oligarchy and imperialist oppression. They also voiced militant support for the peoples of the Caribbean countries, especially the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, who are fighting against the Pentagon-backed dictatorial governments.

Both parties came out in support of the Belize people's inalienable rights to self-determination and independence, and denounced the attempts of Guatemala's reactionary circles to seize a part of the territory of that small Central American country.

Considering the fact that the socio-political changes that have occurred on the continent since the latest conference of the communist and workers' parties of Latin America and the Caribbean have resulted in new conditions, which call for a collective analysis, both parties supported the initiative for the convocation of a new conference.

Colombian Communist Party: José Cardona Hoyos
Hernando Hurtado

People's Party of Panama: Miguel Porcell Pena,
Luther Thomas
Panama, May 1981

Voz Proletaria, May 21, 1981

*The treaty, signed in the Colombian city of Monteria, envisages the restoration of Colombia's right of transit for its vessels along the Panama Canal.

Against the North American Accord

Statement by the Communist Parties of Mexico, Canada and the USA

Representatives of the three parties, disturbed over U.S. President Reagan's proposal for a North American Accord, and its threat of swallowing up Mexican and Canadian resources, met and agreed upon this joint statement. Similar meetings of the three are planned for the future.

U.S. imperialism is stepping up its offensive against the peoples of Central and Latin America and against the people of North America in its efforts at achieving world domination. What it is out for is complete control of the natural resources and energy of North America, in the first place, of Mexico and Canada.

This is the meaning of President Reagan's call for a North American Accord.

U.S. imperialism sees Canada and Mexico as secure sources of supply for its insatiable war machine. It therefore opposes any and all measures taken by the Portillo government of Mexico and the Trudeau government of Canada which strengthen the sovereignty and independence of these countries.

It is no secret that the Reagan administration, at the behest of the U.S. multinational oil corporations, is pressing the Canadian government to move away from its policy of Canadianization of energy resources. The Reagan administration is likewise interfering in the internal affairs of Mexico and is demanding that it increase the sale of petroleum to the USA irrespective of the vital interests of Mexico and its trading relationship with other countries. It is striving to prevent or hinder the development of technology in Mexico.

Despite the pressures of U.S. imperialism, the governments of Mexico and Canada, backed by the majority of their peoples, are pursuing a course which leads to strengthening the independence and sovereignty of these countries.

It can be expected however that the Reagan administration, reflecting the interests of U.S. imperialism and the U.S. multinationals, will step up its pressures on Mexico and Canada with the aim of imposing neocolonialist ties on these countries, thereby hindering their development as fully independent, industrially developed countries with full control over their resources.

The working people of the USA have a great responsibility here, to ally themselves with the working people of Canada and Mexico as well as with the truly national and anti-imperialist forces of these countries and stay the hand of the Reagan administration. As against a North American Accord, whose aim is to strengthen U.S. imperialism at the expense of other countries and people, policies are called for which advance the cause of peace, independence and social progress. A North American Accord does not only go contrary to the best interests of the people of Mexico and Canada, it goes contrary to the best interests of the people of the USA as well.

The Communist Parties of the USA, Mexico and

Canada call upon the peoples of their countries to oppose the North American Accord.

They demand that U.S. imperialism, and the Reagan administration representing it, not interfere in the inalienable right of countries to develop their own resources as they see fit, including their nationalization.

They demand that the Reagan administration stop interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, be it in the Caribbean, Central America or elsewhere including El Salvador. The peoples must have the right to determine their own destiny free of outside imperialist interference.

The Communist Parties of the USA, Mexico and Canada call upon the working class and democratic forces, including the truly national and anti-imperialist forces of their countries to unite their efforts against economic, political and military intervention by the Reagan administration against other countries and people, and for peace, independence, sovereignty and social progress.

Such unity can stay the hand of U.S. imperialism and lead to new advances for the cause of peace and social progress.

Canadian Tribune, June 22, 1981

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George Morris

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Unity: a Requisite of Victory for the Revolution

Theses of the Brazilian Communist Party

On May 8, 1981, the weekly *Voz da Unidade* published a supplement containing theses for the Brazilian communists' forthcoming discussion of the need to bring about the legalization of the BCP and economic, social and political changes in the country.

In view of the political importance of the theses, we reprint here some of their main points.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The fundamental contradiction of our epoch is developing increasingly to the detriment of imperialism and the policy of anti-détente and local wars systematically provoked by the more reactionary imperialist forces.

This contradiction manifests itself as something more than competition and confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems. It expresses itself chiefly in a struggle between two development paths involving all countries, peoples and social classes directly or indirectly, and determines the main trend of world history, a trend indicating that the balance of forces is becoming less and less favorable to reactionaries and warmongers.

The world capitalist system is weakening. The fight against imperialism is gaining ground everywhere. The imperialist policy of containing the revolutionary movement of dependent peoples with the aid of dictatorial regimes is falling through.

The economic crisis, which accounts for an increasing deterioration of the general crisis of capitalism, produces important changes in foreign policy and prompts a modification of the political structures of Latin American countries.

Conflicts break out between U.S. imperialism and industrial countries of Latin America. The Reagan administration would like to reverse the progressive trends under way on our continent. The U.S. imperialists persist in their international policy of aggression and provocation although the opportunities of defeating this policy are greater now.

Socialism is not free of serious difficulties and mistakes. Moreover, the imperialists try again and again to undermine the development of socialist countries.

However, the appeal of socialism is growing in the eyes of working people. The development of socialist countries serves to meet the requirements of the masses. The Soviet Union is laying the material and spiritual foundations for communism; the socialist countries of Europe are building an advanced economy; Cuba is making major gains in building socialism on our continent. Barring a few cases in which mistakes gave rise to passing economic, social and political difficulties in this or that country, the socialist countries are exempt from the evils which inevitably plague capitalist countries.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN BRAZIL

The development of capitalism in Brazil, a process whose salient feature is economic dependence on imperialism, has transformed the country into a medium-level industrial-agrarian country. But the "controlled industrialization" being carried on under the direction of imperialism keeps the country dependent.

Foreign capital has made large-scale inroads into Brazil's production sphere and has become its dominant economic force. Monopolization of the economy has resulted in the concentration of economic might in the hands of a few domestic, foreign and state financial groups. State interference in the economy leads to changes in its functions and serves monopoly capitalist interests, but it can also be used for independent and democratic development.

The "economic miracle" of the 1968-73 period was based on overexploitation of the working class and ensured by the regime's fascist elements. The "modernization" of Brazilian capitalism which the dictatorship is effecting has deepened the structural crisis of the country.

Transnational capital controls the more dynamic spheres of the Brazilian economy. The regime adapts actively to the imperialist strategy of ending the economic crisis through a new, neocolonialist international division of labor. The economic crisis caused by the cyclical character of capitalist accumulation is going from bad to worse. The structural crisis in Brazil can be overcome solely through far-reaching social and political changes.

The financial oligarchy is the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie; it enters into conflicts with foreign capital. The non-monopoly part of the bourgeoisie, which has grown as a result of capitalist development, upholds its interests more and more actively. The rise of a rural bourgeoisie helps it strengthen its positions. In spite of a modernized agriculture, the latifundium owners still play a big role in national life. Those sections of the bourgeoisie linked with imperialism show indecision, and the strength of the working-class movement can influence their political posture.

The bourgeoisie and proletariat are the two principal classes of Brazilian society. A growing manufacturing industry has brought about changes in the social composition of the proletariat, that is, the majority of the economically active population. As a

result of differentiation, workers employed in the private monopoly sector have become its most advanced contingent. The influx of people from the countryside is no longer the main factor for the growth of the proletariat. The political positions of the working-class and trade union movement have helped the masses launch a struggle for democracy.

The urban middle strata, mostly wage workers, adhere to a progressive political position. Recent years have seen civil society grow stronger.

Capitalist development in rural Brazil has sharply reduced the proportion of traditional peasants and ruined them, giving rise to a large body of agricultural workers who make progressive demands, including the demand for an agrarian reform.

Our struggle, with the working class in its forefront, is aimed at establishing socialism as a historical necessity that will assure the liberation of the country and bring about economic, social and political democracy.

We are fighting for socialism. By introducing social ownership of the principal means of production, ending the exploitation of man by man and eliminating class contradictions, socialism provides conditions for the complete national and social emancipation of the Brazilian people, the unhampered development of their productive forces, a rising standard of living and the development of democratic pluralism and culture. As a result of abolishing under the leadership of the proletariat (the only consistently democratic social force), the power of the class of exploiters and oppressors, socialism will create real conditions for the integration of economic, social and political democracy and the continuous application and extension of democratic freedoms and the inalienable rights of every citizen.

Socialism is by no means a pious wish of the communists or exponents of other ideological currents. It is a historical necessity arising from the development of capitalism in Brazil; it is the definitive solution of the fundamental contradiction of the country's socio-economic system, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. In other words, this necessity arises from processes shaking the world capitalist system.

The fundamental contradiction of Brazilian society today manifests itself as a contradiction between the people and imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

In view of the structure of capitalism at this stage of its development in our country, the fundamental contradiction of Brazilian society is primarily that between the people and the alliance of imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism, and home reaction, which supports it. This alliance of domestic and foreign reactionaries is the main obstacle to social progress and the main source of the political oppression of our people.

The current stage of the revolutionary process in Brazil, a process pointing to socialism, is national democratic.

The Brazilian revolution, which is oriented to socialism, is following a national democratic road, a

road requiring the complete democratization of society, the removal of historical obstacles to national progress, and the abolition of imperialist domination on the part of monopolies and latifundiums. The social forces which can carry out these revolutionary changes are the proletariat and its main allies, the peasants and urban middle strata, who normally include some sectors of the bourgeoisie backing national democratic demands. However, the principal condition for the transition to socialism is the leading role of the working class.

Victory of the revolution depends on the unity of the forces fighting — with the proletariat in their vanguard — against U. S. imperialism and its Brazilian accomplices.

To achieve victory, the revolution must bring about the greatest possible isolation of the chief enemy, U.S. imperialism and its Brazilian allies, by taking advantage of inter-imperialist contradictions and the internal contradictions of the ruling classes of the country.

Winning and extending political democracy are necessary to both the present stage and the future of the Brazilian revolutionary process.

The joining of the millions of working people in the revolutionary process, a close alliance between the exploited classes and strata and the working class, and the assumption of the leading role in the revolution by the working class are requisites of the transition to socialism. It is only mass democracy in a strengthened civil society that can ensure the success of progressive forces. The Brazilian revolution may well achieve its goals without armed struggle, insurrection or civil war.

In the conditions prevailing in Brazil and the world, it is possible to attain the goals of the revolution by methods excluding armed struggle, insurrection and civil war.

Ever since 1974 there have been growing trends toward democratizing national politics; the working class has been coming to the fore while the regime has been compelled to adapt and to give itself a semblance of legitimate authority. Past experience suggests that only struggle by the masses can pave the way for the overthrow of the dictatorship. Brazilian foreign policy has undergone positive changes reflecting the changes that have occurred in the country since 1974 and the decline in imperialism's hegemony over capitalist countries.

The present political situation is unstable and transitory. It is at variance with the immediate goals of any one of the forces active in the country. They all want to alter it in one way or another. Brazil may therefore be said to be passing through a period of instability and flux. The extreme right seeks the restoration of curbs and arbitrary practices. Its aim is political retrogression, for it considers the changes that have come about unnecessary, opposes any further liberalization of the regime and favors a return to restrictions, arbitrary rule and a monopoly on political power by the top military. In an effort to win support among the masses, the government is pursuing a policy of controlled liberalization.

The struggle for a democratic Brazil and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly demands that the opposition evolve a political, economic and social program whose fundamental provisions should be borrowed from the experience of democratic resistance and approved by the people.

The demand for direct elections and adherence to election schedules plays an important part in the struggle for democracy. The defense of national integrity and nationhood, both of which are threatened by imperialism, is inseparable from the struggle for democracy. A democratic system implies legality for the Communist Party. Internationally, the democratic forces of Brazil have a stake in the policy of détente and peace.

The working class must play the chief role in the fight against the dictatorship. Its actions against the dictatorship couple the fight for socio-economic demands with the fight for political freedoms.

In view of the domination of the Brazilian economy by transnationals, trade union activity at the international level is more important than ever. The trade union movement needs unity to ensure that the opposition's democratic alternative prevails and that the working people move into their rightful place in national politics. The disunity of trade unions makes for division in the movement as a whole.

The peasants react to the regime's agricultural policy by organizing themselves. Their effort for organization based on unity and joint demands should be encouraged. The main goal of agricultural workers and peasants is an agrarian reform. It is necessary to support the movement that is mobilizing agricultural workers and to combine it with the movement in the towns.

In fighting the dictatorship, it is essential to follow a correct policy toward the urban middle strata: the intellectuals, students and young workers.

The movement of the urban middle strata has shown itself to be a notable factor in the fight for democracy. This fight makes it necessary to stead-

fastly combat racial prejudice. Defense of the lands and culture of the indigenous population should be part of our people's struggle against monopoly and the rural oligarchy.

In the course of the struggle against the dictatorship, the Catholic church has made an important contribution to the strengthening of Brazilian civil society brought about in the recent period. In a democratic society, participation of the military in national politics is a matter of importance.

LEGALIZE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

After 1964 the communists preserved their organization in the face of continuous and brutal persecution and followed a correct policy in fighting the regime. They contributed in decisive measure to the fight against the dictatorship imposed on the country in 1964 and have been fighting for democracy and social progress ever since. Their resistance is evidence of the strong positions they hold in society. Their activity, while positive as a whole, was not faultless. Class illusions in the form of underestimation of fascism were the decisive reason for the setbacks of 1974 and 1975. For a number of years, dogmatism was prominent among the communists' political shortcomings. As regards political activity, the communists' shortcoming lay in a penchant for revolt and in evils engendered by the personality cult . . .

Today's political trends are favorable to the struggle for the legalization of the BCP. A legal BCP should be a broad-based national democratic party. The domestic political situation created with the communists' participation and characterized by an upturn in the struggle of the working class and its allies offers new opportunities for communist activity and new possibilities of campaigning for a legal BCP.

With due regard to these favorable aspects of their political practice, the communists are doing their best to make the BCP a party with still deeper roots among the working class, a democratic and legal mass party.

Statement of the Communist Party of Turkey

The court case opened against the fascist, blood-spilling and terrorist Nationalist Action Party (NAP) was followed by a new anti-communist campaign of lies and slander against the Communist Party of Turkey and other progressive forces. It had been no secret to the progressive-minded circles that such a campaign would soon be launched. The Communist Party of Turkey had warned the public that the most reactionary circles were preparing to retaliate by every means in response to the court case opened against the fascist Nationalist Action Party. Thus, nowadays hundreds of progressive-minded workers and other working people, members of the intelligentsia and the youth are being rounded up in many

cities of our country on the pretext of "the communist threat." The detainees have been subjected to most inhuman tortures in many provinces, above all in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Bursa. They are accused of crimes which they did not commit, particularly the terrorist acts, their admission is sought by way of compulsion. During the interrogations the detainees are being threatened with death in order to force them to bring false charges against the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), the unions affiliated to it, the Progressive Youth Organization (IGD), the Progressive Women's Organization (IKD), the Association of Rural Cooperatives (Köy-Koop), the Teachers' Associa-

tion (Töb-Der) and other trade unions. Thus, they attempt to obtain false evidence to bolster up unfounded charges brought, one after another, against these organizations. As a result of cruel tortures many democrats who had courageously rejected the false charges directed against them are lying unconscious in military hospitals, in the wards and cells of the political police. Who stands behind this anti-communist onslaught and these barbaric practices, and what are their aims?

The real forces behind this onslaught directed against the working class, the working people, the members of the intelligentsia and the youth are the most reactionary elements inside the military regime and their extreme right-wing supporters among the civilian circles. They are the fascist enemies of the people inside the state apparatus, who hope that the most reactionary generals would gain the upper hand inside the junta. They are the agents of the CIA, who have infiltrated all levels of the state apparatus. In the present dangerous situation obtaining in the world, in our region and in our country, such an onslaught against the progressive forces can only benefit these circles.

Soon after the court case which was initiated against the fascist NAP the public witnessed a noteworthy event. This court case made the reactionary forces so desperate that they went so far as to provoke armed clashes — as was the case at the Headquarters of the Tank and Artillery Division in Edirne.*

Why do some groups in the army and in the junta, who claim that they are against terrorism and fascist organizations, participate in and approve of this anti-communist onslaught? And why are they yielding to the most reactionary circles? Probably in so doing they hope to alleviate the internal contradictions. But this is a very dangerous maneuver, for every concession given to the reactionary circles, to the fascists, every attempt to utilize the weapon of anti-communism in order to placate them, undermines not only the workers' movement, but also all democratic forces, including the Kemalist circles inside and outside the army. Such attempts strengthen the positions of the anti-popular forces and the agents of imperialism, pave the way to those who desire to drag our country into adventures.

What do the most reactionary circles, who launched an onslaught on the progressive forces, seek to achieve? First of all, they try to disprove the judgment of the military prosecutor who opened the court case against the NAP, which says that "NAP is a gang which committed murders, hiding itself under the mask of saving Turkey from a communist onslaught." They are trying to prove the existence of the so-called "threat of communism", thus seeking to justify the murders committed by the NAP and

to save Türkes* and his gang from the gallows.

Second, those circles who are using the talk of "the communist threat" as a smoke-screen, are serving the aims of U.S. imperialism, which wants to drag the world into a thermonuclear confrontation. They are throwing anti-communist dust into the eyes of the masses and trying to prepare the ground in order to be able to drag our country into adventures following in the wake of U.S. imperialism, to secure the allocation of bases for the rapid deployment force on the soil of our country. They seek to sabotage the relations maintained by the Ulusu government with the Soviet Union. With this end in view, they attempt to charge the communists, who have consistently and unceasingly waged an ideological and political struggle against terrorism of every hue, with terrorist acts. Moreover, on the instructions of the Pentagon, they are trying to smear the Soviet Union with the lie that it is "giving support to terrorism."

Third, through this onslaught these circles are trying to provoke a showdown with and suppress the protests of millions of workers, peasants, civil servants, small shopkeepers and artisans who are carrying the burden of the deep economic crisis. The sole reason for accusing the trade unions of being "the front cover-up of the Communist Party of Turkey," is to keep the overwhelming majority of our people in the tight grip of unemployment, spiralling prices, thirst for land and increasing pauperization. All this is being done to secure the profits of and plundering by a handful of local and foreign monopolies, four or five banks and of a tiny number of big landowners.

Such is the true face, these are the aims of those who are hiding behind "the threat of communism" lie.

The communists declare their militant solidarity with all the progressives who have been arrested. The Communist Party of Turkey will do everything in its power to organize the fight of the working class and the toiling masses against the imperialist diktat, the exploitation of the monopolies and the onslaught of reaction.

Freedom to all political detainees, except the fascist and Maoist terrorists!

End the persecution of the democrats!

The practice of torture should be put to an end and the life of those who are under detention should be guaranteed!

The detainees should have access to legal counsel and be brought before a judge without delay!

All the non-commissioned officers and officers come out for the national interests, all forces who do not side with fascism! Together with the people, let us give a fitting rebuff to the onslaught of those who seek revenge against the NAP case!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Turkey
June 15, 1981

*After a military exercise in early June 1981 in Edirne, north-western Turkey, a major-general murdered a colonel, wounded three officers and then reportedly committed suicide. The official communiqué issued by the authorities presented the "incident" as a case of instant hysteria and madness due to the extreme heat.

*The NAP leader. — Ed.

Imperialist Intrigues in the Caribbean

Statement by the
People's Progressive Party of Guyana

Imperialism, particularly U.S., is strident again in the Caribbean and Latin American region. The Reagan administration is increasing spending to U.S.\$92.6 million in outright military aid for 21 Latin American countries in the October 1981-October 1982 period: a 60 per cent increase on the \$58 million allocated by the Carter administration. \$26 million will be going to El Salvador, in addition to \$25 million supplementary appropriation already granted the junta.

U.S. money for El Salvador is to keep alive an oppressive and repressive military clique in power and to oppose the struggle for national liberation.

In the Caribbean, "cold war" tactics have been imported: considerable sums of money have been and will be spent to intensify pressures on progressive governments, or governments which display a tendency to "step out of line."

The USA is giving what it calls "Foreign Military Sales" (FMS) credits, and "International Military Education and Training" (IMET) funds: the Bahamas will be getting \$1 million and .06 respectively; Barbados \$2 million, and .1 million; the Eastern Caribbean \$5.5; Jamaica \$1 million and .075, with smaller sums to Guyana, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Surinam. In addition, \$20 million is being made available to the Eastern Caribbean from what has been called an "Economic Support Fund" (ESF).

The USA, true to former President Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy, is arming and equipping some Caribbean countries to fight against other Caribbean countries and is strengthening their economies to enable them to do so. Recently, the U.S. Ambassador to Guyana, George B. Roberts declared that "Washington had no intention of giving economic aid to countries indulging in social experiments" and pointed to South Korea and Taiwan as "models of development." Manley was squeezed in Jamaica, but Seaga is being given aid lavishly. Grenada is squeezed, but Guyana is helped.

This is an explicit rejection of the wish of progressive Caribbean leaders for the region to be a "zone of peace." It is the old "carrot and club" policy with much the same clumsiness of a few decades ago. So U.S., British and French warships and other naval craft are moved around in the Caribbean; naval maneuvers are carried out at Guantanamo, and an emergency Joint Task Force is stationed at Miami. And now, delving deeper into economic warfare the U.S. administration has instructed the Caribbean Development Bank not to channel any funds to Grenada.

In Guyana, the self-inflicted screws have been tightened. Those who do the paying (the IMF) are calling the tune. There is no more talk about "Guyana having chosen its own path to development, with which America has no quarrel" (Terrence Todman, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, in 1977).

From the Carter to the Reagan administration, there has been a decisive shift. The new team in Washington, particularly U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jean Kirkpatrick claim that the old policies emphasizing human rights and ideological pluralism were inimical to U.S. vital interests. The emphasis has shifted from poverty, which was before regarded as the root cause of the Latin American and Caribbean problem, to Cuba as the agent of so-called "Soviet expansionism" and communism.

And the old fallacious "falling dominoes" theory used in Southeast Asia has been revived. The Reagan administration claims that if El Salvador goes, Guatemala and Central America will go; and if Central America goes, U.S. security will be threatened.

The decisive shift in the world balance of forces after World War II in favor of national liberation and socialism caused imperialism to launch the cold war in 1947 and the CIA in 1948.

A similar shift during the second half of the 1970-80 decade, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean, the U.S. backyard and "third border," has caused consternation in reactionary circles. Thus an attempt to sabotage détente, peaceful co-existence, disarmament and the gains made during the early and mid-1970s, and to reactivate the cold war.

Fortunately, the world is very different today from what it was in the 1950s; times have indeed changed. Despite its might and cunning, imperialism's options are more limited. It is encountering serious resistance everywhere, even in its own bases.

The People's Progressive Party urges Caribbean leaders and governments to press for the Caribbean to be declared a "zone of peace;" to call upon the U.S. to cease its military and other assistance to the oppressive junta in El Salvador and elsewhere, and its intrigues aimed at destabilizing progressive governments.

Strengthen the struggle against imperialism! Fight for peace!

June 27, 1981
Mirror, June 28, 1981

For Democracy, National Sovereignty and Socialism

Statement of the CC, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has published a statement on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the party. Following are excerpts from the statement.

Fifty years ago, on June 16, 1931, a group of workers and students, taking a decision of tremendous historic significance, founded our party, the People's Vanguard Party, the party of Costa Rica's communists.

From then on the social and political struggle in our country assumed a new character in that a vanguard of the workers and people came into being and the first step was taken toward combining the ideas of scientific socialism with the Costa Rican labor movement. Thus our struggle came to accord fully with the substance of the contemporary epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism throughout the world.

In this way there emerged a party which brought about the abolition of the political monopoly of the oligarchy and imperialism and demonstrated that the working class was sufficiently developed to be independent both politically and ideologically and contest the ruling classes' "right" to lead society.

BIRTH OF THE PARTY: A HISTORIC NECESSITY

The birth of our party was a result of the operation of the following basic factors: the development of class struggles in our country, the impact of the October Revolution, the irresistible worldwide offensive of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the labor movement, which was inspired primarily by the existence of socialism in the Soviet Union. A further factor was the consequences of the deep economic crisis of the 1929-33 period.

The program, policy line and everyday struggles of the PVP are indicative of our party's thoroughly national character. A careful and unbiased study of Costa Rican history confirms the fact that the founding of a communist party met first and foremost, the pressing objective needs of the social and political struggle in our country.

The party came into existence after more than three decades of organized struggle by the young working class and other sections of the people. The early years of this century saw various attempts by the working people to form an organization of their own. It was a period of advances and setbacks, a period in which new solutions to existing problems were searched for and experience of organization and struggle was gained, a period which raised the class consciousness of the masses to a new level and so paved the way for founding the party.

HARMONIOUS COMBINATION OF PATRIOTISM AND CONSISTENT INTERNATIONALISM

Throughout the past 50 years we have been doing our best to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the world revolutionary movement to the realities of our country. We have invariably focused attention on ascertaining the distinctive aspects of the Costa Rican people's struggle for liberation. However, we have not for one moment lost sight of the fact that our struggle was part of the world revolutionary process wisely and firmly led by the Soviet Union. We have always remembered that the community of interests of the workers and peoples of the world fighting against imperialism and capitalism also imposed definite obligations on our people and party. These principles have always underlain our revolutionary activity. This explains why we have never given in and never will give in to the pressure of the enemy, who makes believe that there is an insurmountable contradiction between patriotism and one's internationalist duty. We are convinced that loyalty to our people and their fundamental interests is entirely in harmony with consistent internationalism.

STRUGGLE FOR BROAD DEMOCRACY

Our party gives their due to the democratic principles and traditions existing in our country and adheres to the more advanced ones in its political activity. In turn, it has contributed its share to the promotion of democracy.

The establishment of people's rule in Costa Rica, the solution of increasingly urgent democratic and anti-imperialist problems and the subsequent transition to socialism would clear the decks for introducing the broadest democracy under which the people would really be able to exercise their sovereignty and all the democratic gains won earlier would be carried forward.

Our party will play a vanguard role in the implementation of the far-reaching changes defined by its program as a "democratic and anti-imperialist revolution paving the way for socialism."

A requisite for accomplishing this revolution is unity of all the classes and social groups objectively interested in it. This unity will find concentrated political expression in a Democratic Front, which will also serve as the instrument of achieving it. The actual characteristics of the Front will be suggested by struggle and experience.

STRENGTHEN AND EXTEND THE UNITED PEOPLE COALITION

The formation of the United People Coalition is an appreciable and promising contribution to the arduous effort to set up a Democratic Front. In spite of difficulties and differences among the three main member parties of the coalition, it has already become a pole whose political and ideological force of attraction is growing.

The United People should unite more and more new forces and groups and bring into its ranks those who are disillusioned with the oligarchic parties, have withdrawn from them and are now searching for a path to real social and political change.

Our party will direct all its efforts toward strengthening and extending the United People Coalition; it will also search for new forms of unity envisaging the unification of other forces as well. Unity is the key to victory. Sustained struggle for unity is an unmistakable quality of a truly revolutionary party.

TERRORISM: AN ABSOLUTELY WRONG FIGHTING METHOD

Our party has used diverse forms of struggle throughout its history. It has switched from one form to another according to our people's democratic traditions and depending on the political situation.

The conditions prevailing in our country today are favorable to the development of unarmed revolutionary struggle. Our party sees one of its duties in doing all in its power to ensure that this process of change goes on without recourse to arms and that the use of force is minimal. However, it must be prepared to resist likely attempts on the part of the ruling classes to frustrate by force of arms political and social changes needed by the country.

Well knowing Costa Rican realities and being loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles and closely linked with the masses, our party has always combated both right-wing opportunism and ultra-left adventurism; we consider that both play into the hands of reactionary forces. The PVP rejects terrorism as an absolutely wrong fighting method.

GROWING ANTI-COMMUNISM AND REPRESSION

Our country is again passing through a severe economic, social and political crisis; this is the case now, when our party is celebrating its 50th anniversary, and was the case when the PVP was only just being formed. Credit is due to our party for revealing with scientific accuracy the sources of the crisis and its disastrous consequences for the people and the development of the country. The crisis is a reflection of anachronistic socio-economic structures perpetuating the backwardness of the country and the poverty of its people and bringing out more clearly than ever the oligarchic parties' inability to propose a realistic solution for the problems facing the nation.

Reformist solutions have essentially exhausted their potentialities. Indeed, it is perfectly clear now

that those who advocated these solutions, particularly the National Liberation Party, are to blame in large measure for reducing the country to its present state of decline and crisis. The leadership of this party has swung even farther to the right.

In view of the crisis and their own inability, the leadership of bourgeois parties, employers' associations and other groups, as well as exponents of their interests and ideas, all of whom are egged on by the oligarchy and imperialism and terrified by the upsurge in the struggle in Central America and the Caribbean, foment anti-communist hysteria to justify stepped-up repression. At present anti-communism is the main weapon in the ideological armory of the ruling classes.

Anti-communism has always been used as a pretext for curtailing or suppressing democratic freedoms, cracking down on popular organizations, encroaching on the standard of living and intensifying the exploitation of the masses.

For a century and a half now, anti-communism has been the banner of the most reactionary forces. However, they concentrate their fire not only on the communists but on the entire working-class and popular movement. Currents committed to anti-communism virtually play into the hands of these forces whether they wish it or not.

A particular form of anti-communism which we have combated without compromise throughout the five decades of our party's existence is anti-Sovietism. The aim of anti-Sovietism is to slander the Soviet Union, the main bulwark of socialism and revolution in the world, help split the revolutionary movement, weaken and undermine the national liberation movement and discredit the very idea of socialism as a social system.

SOLIDARITY IS OUR BANNER

International solidarity has always been the main characteristic of our party. Resolute support for the Spanish Republic and then, during the Second World War, for other countries, primarily the Soviet Union, which played the chief role in the defeat of fascism, protest actions against U.S. aggression in Korea, the organizing of actions in defense of the Cuban revolution, support for the peoples of Indochina, and solidarity-inspired assistance to the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinista National Liberation Front before and after the downfall of the dictatorship, and numerous other facts, show that our party's solidarity with the peoples of the world has been continuous and unqualified.

It found its most vivid expression in regard to revolutionary Cuba, which has opened a new stage in the liberation struggle in Latin America, is the first socialist country in the western hemisphere and is subjected to every possible act of aggression by imperialism.

Of special importance is our party's support for the peoples of Central America, on which imperialism and military dictatorships prey. The party did its utmost to contribute to the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution from the moment Sandino took up arms against the U.S. invaders to the last days of the

Somoza dictatorship. The loftiest manifestation of this solidarity was the formation under the party's leadership of the Carlos Luis Fallas Internationalist Brigade which joined the Sandinista troops. Our party fully identifies itself today and will always identify itself with the Sandinista revolution, against which imperialism commits acts of aggression. We are also redoubling our solidarity with the fraternal peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala who are fighting arms in hand against the domination of imperialism and national oligarchies.

Our party is a component of the international communist movement, the largest revolutionary force of today. Throughout our history we have championed closer unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The communist movement is in the vanguard of the great struggle of the peoples of the globe for peace, democracy, progress and socialism. We communists of Costa Rica are doing our utmost for the achievement of these great goals.

THE IDEALS OF 1931 IN TODAY'S STRUGGLES

It is 50 years since the struggle for democracy, national sovereignty and socialism began.

The ideals which inspired the founders of our party constitute the meaning of the life and work of thousands of communists. These ideals have won over large sections of the population, have been translated into a growing organization of the people and have found concrete expression in its aims and struggles.

This is our party founded 50 years ago and led by Manuel Mora Valverde, a party whose persevering struggle causes concern to the oligarchy and imperialism and prompts them to mount attacks although they announce the "crisis," eclipse or obsolescence of the party almost every day. The PVP is a political and revolutionary force living a full life. It is winning the respect and sympathy of thousands upon thousands of our compatriots as it develops.

INDISSOLUBLE UNITY

The communists of Costa Rica are proud of their unity, which has withstood all enemy attempts to disrupt it — our party has never experienced a split. We owe this to the party's close bonds with the workers and people, its unfailing loyalty to principle and its ability to learn from reality, honestly admit the mistakes it has made and correct them. We also owe it to respect for the principles of democratic centralism.

Ever since it was founded, the party has built up its strength by admitting into its ranks the finest sons and daughters of the people. These men and women have produced leaders, leaders whose devotion, intelligence and morale have never allowed the flames of revolutionary ideals to die down but have helped spread these ideals among the people.

The PVP has become a permanent factor in national culture, projecting its influence through its

activity and theoretical thought, through its numerous members active in the sphere of science, arts and letters.

On the shop floor, in schools and residential neighborhoods, in the Legislative Assembly and municipalities, in university auditoriums and laboratories, during popular demonstrations, protest actions and strikes, the PVP acts and fights for an anti-imperialist and democratic revolution paving the way for socialism. The party is advancing to the future; it has a harmonious revolutionary program corresponding to our national realities, is equipped with vast experience and invincible revolutionary enthusiasm, and leans on the solidarity and might of the world revolutionary movement.

YOUNGER THAN EVER

At 50 our party is younger than ever. What makes it young are the strength and vitality of its ideals and the class interests it defends, the numerous young men and women in its ranks, the energy and militancy of its unique assistant and source of cadre, the Costa Rican Youth Vanguard (CRYV).

Thanks to its internationalist activity, the CRYV has become part of the international anti-imperialist and democratic youth movement and made a valuable contribution to the establishment of close ties between Costa Rican youth and the youth movement in socialist countries.

In celebrating the 50th anniversary of the PVP, we are also celebrating the jubilee of the revolutionary press of Costa Rica. Ever since July 14, 1931, when the first issue of *Trabajo* (Labor) came out, the Costa Rican people have known the orientation of our party in every circumstance. *Trabajo*, *Adelante* (Forward) and *Libertad* (Freedom) have become the best press organs of the people's movement and struggle.

UNITY IS THE KEY TO VICTORY

We are celebrating 50 years of our revolutionary history, of Marxism-Leninism in Costa Rica, of our party's struggle. We feel joyful, optimistic and proud because we know that at every moment in our everyday activity we are continuing our past, giving it new life, and because we are certain that irrespective of the circumstances in which we may have to fight, we will live up to our excellent heritage and do our duty as members of the PVP, the glorious party of Costa Rica's communists, a party of democracy and national dignity, a party of revolution.

In the context of the deep crisis besetting our country and in view of the great tasks to be carried out in the years ahead, it is only the people's struggle and unity that can make our country truly democratic, prosperous and happy.

The PVP will always fight — as it has demonstrated in the years of its glorious existence — in the forefront of the popular struggle and will forge with inspiration the unity of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

We call on our people and their trade union, peasant, communal, youth, women's and professional organizations and revolutionary parties, to carry on

the struggle for a new Costa Rica, for the broadest and most solid popular unity, with the same élan, patriotism and unfailing revolutionary optimism as were shown 50 years ago in founding our party.

Long live the People's Vanguard Party!

Long live the 50th anniversary of its struggle!

Long live the Costa Rican people!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Central Committee

People's Vanguard Party

San José, Costa Rica, June 1981

Libertad, June 12-18, 1981

from the press

National Fatherland Front Set Up in Afghanistan

Report by Babrak Karmal

The constituent congress of the National Fatherland Front took place in the Afghan capital on June 15.

A report on the aims and tasks of the National Fatherland Front was made by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Chairman of the DRA's Revolutionary Council.

Our party, our freedom-loving people as a whole, he said, attach exceptional importance to this congress, whose main result will be the establishment of the National Fatherland Front, the first ever organization of its kind in the country's history. This will be a competent, representative and effective system of mass political organizations which will make it possible to coordinate and unite the energies, enthusiasm and labor efforts of all the country's patriots for the common cause of building a new and prosperous Afghanistan. This will be a practical expression of the unity of the social forces and groups, nations and nationalities, tribes and people of different religions living in our country. The class foundation of this unity is the worker-peasant alliance, which makes up the socio-political basis of our revolutionary state. A new step will thus be made in deepening and developing the April Revolution, which will assume new and greater scope.

Overcoming backwardness and achieving national and social progress, Babrak Karmal went on to say, is an urgent need which concerns all of us. It is clear that to achieve this it will be necessary to unite all proponents of progress, all patriots of the country, that is, the broad masses, the vast majority of the people.

Our Fatherland, Afghanistan, the Afghan leader continued, needs this unity to tackle the vital problems we are facing. It is in this sense that we speak about the importance of the experience of our friends for achieving the unity of the broad masses and putting it into certain institutional forms.

Afghanistan's public at large expressed its readiness to go over to higher forms of cohesion around the program of national democratic transformations, put forward by our party for building a happy and prosperous Afghanistan. The establishment of the

National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan stems from the very essence of our national democratic revolution and is determined by its main aims and tasks, Babrak Karmal emphasized.

Created by the April revolution, he continued, our state rests on an alliance of classes, on an alliance of national patriotic forces. This alliance is based on the desire of all Afghan patriots to ensure progress of their country in all fields, to overcome and break the resistance of the reactionary forces — a handful of exploiters, usurers, reactionary military and bureaucrats supported by imperialism, the Peking hegemonists and reactionary elements in the region.

Referring to the basic aims and tasks of the National Fatherland Front, Babrak Karmal said that its main task is to unite the patriots of the country, their will, energy and efforts for the common cause of building a new and prosperous Afghanistan. Another task of the Front is, proceeding from the general line of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to explain and popularize the policy of the Revolutionary Council and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to mobilize the members of the Front and all Afghan people for vigorous and conscientious participation in building a new and prosperous Afghanistan, with respect for and observance of the principles of Islam, the specific historical, national and spiritual traditions of our people.

The Front is designed to ensure and strengthen the Afghan people's unity for joint action aimed at ensuring consistent and full development of the national-democratic revolution, and also to promote the patriotic education of the population and broad enlistment of Afghan citizens in running the state and the society. Babrak Karmal said that the broad-based National Fatherland Front would be the pillar of the working people's power in the DRA.

The Front's activities will help strengthen the country's defense capabilities and mobilize the best sons and daughters of the country to the struggle for the full and complete defeat of the counter-revolutionary bands seeking to reverse the course of

our history and hinder Afghanistan's further movement to prosperity and all-round progress. These activities, the Afghan leader said, will also extend to the sphere of our people's internationalist solidarity with all forces of progress, democracy and peace, since the Front will establish and promote relations of friendship and cooperation with similar socio-political organizations abroad.

So, the essence and the purpose of the Front's activities is gradually to overcome the aftermath and vestiges of the past and any suspicion and lack of cooperation between all sections, groups and forces which make up the people of Afghanistan, and to enlist all the patriots for active participation in building a new, prosperous Afghanistan and defending it against the encroachments of the enemies of the April revolution. The Front is open to all patriots of the republic, to all those who sincerely seek to make our homeland a country of progress and prosperity.

Broad-based national patriotic unity, Babrak Karmal emphasized, is indispensable for strengthening and deepening our national-democratic revolution and for our further progress. It is taking shape through cooperation between the people's government and all Afghan patriots, who are rallying behind the party.

Only unity, alliance and cooperation enabled the Afghan patriots to win and achieve their goals. In raising and tackling the problem of uniting the patriotic forces, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the historical successor of the best traditions of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the patriotic forces of Afghanistan.

Pointing out that the problems of setting up a front to unite all Afghan patriots in the name of the country's social and national progress has always been in the focus of the party's attention, Babrak Karmal said that only now have the conditions for the formation of a front providing an organizational framework for unity taken shape. This unity is growing stronger every day thanks to joint efforts and struggle.

The enemies of the April revolution are still making futile attempts to pit one part of the people against another, to range some tribes and nationalities against others, and to undermine our people's strength and will aimed at defending the revolution and fighting for its development. Consequently, stressed Karmal, their final defeat is impossible without a close alliance and unity of the country's national and patriotic forces.

In this connection, we unequivocally say that our country and our people need peace. We offer it because there is no other reasonable alternative. There is no other way to resolve the urgent issues facing us. The attempts to impose the will of imperialism and reaction on our people with the use of arms and force and turn the peaceful and dem-

ocratic dialogue between the Afghans into a sanguinary and fratricidal war — such attempts and efforts meet with a resolute rebuff from all the national patriotic forces of Afghanistan and will suffer a complete and ignominious failure, the speaker emphasized.

Speaking of the work done in the past few months by the party and the broad masses, Babrak Karmal said that it has yielded indisputable results in the major areas of national-democratic transformations. This has made it possible, he pointed out, to normalize and stabilize the overall situation in the country and carry out the first practical measures to improve the position of the working class and develop the system of supplying food, essential goods and fuel to the people. Revolutionary power, representing the interests of the workers, peasants and all working people, of all the patriots of Afghanistan, is working hard to realize a broad program of measures in the economic, social and cultural fields in order to ensure the further material and spiritual progress of our country and to improve the life of each working family and the people as a whole.

A result of the work done, the Afghan leader continued, is the gradual establishment of new relations of respect, trust, cooperation and brotherhood among all the national patriotic forces of Afghanistan in their joint noble activity for the good of the country. The patriots of Afghanistan have seen for themselves that the policy of the PDPA and revolutionary power is correct, and regard this policy as an expression of their own hopes and aspirations.

The patriots of Afghanistan recognize and understand the tasks arising in the present situation. They are rallying ever more closely round the PDPA, the acknowledged political vanguard of the working class and all the working people, and the leading and guiding force of our society and state, declared Karmal.

He then spoke of the fundamental importance of the establishment of a National Fatherland Front. First of all, he said, this event is fresh and convincing proof of the general improvement of the situation in our country, the strength of our revolutionary power, and the trust and respect for it on the part of the broad masses and, in fact, of the whole people. The formation of the Front is a striking reflection of the growing and developing unity of national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan based on the principles of the April Revolution, the policy of the PDPA and the efforts of the patriots, who are fighting for a happy and prosperous Afghanistan. The formation of the Front means a serious step in the matter of uniting the broadest and most diverse social and national forces in Afghanistan on a democratic basis, on the basis of respect for and strengthening of social rights and human freedoms.

From Kabul New Times, June 16-18, 1981

Struggle is the Only Way to Win Freedom

The 100th issue of *Carta*, the newspaper of the CP Uruguay, was published in April 1981. It has appeared without interruption in highly clandestine conditions. Below is an article carried by *Carta-100*.

Carta-100 reflects and testifies to the people's almost 8-year-long indomitable struggle against fascism. *Carta* is also a symbol of the party's close ties with the masses. Being published under the wise guidance of the party's Central Committee, our paper has always voiced its political line.

Carta-100 has appeared at a time when the country's democratic forces, which have rebuffed the dictatorship in the course of the recent plebiscite,¹ continue to strike ever more heavy blows at the very heart of the dictatorship. There are many facts which show the growing resistance to the dictatorship: street demonstrations by workers and the non-proletarian popular masses are on the increase throughout the country, and representatives of all political and social forces have been taking joint action in defense of popular education, for higher wages and a restoration of liberties, for working conditions that would rule out the numerous and tragic accidents at work. All these forces are united in their urge to overcome the catastrophic situation in the country's agriculture and industry. Uruguayan democrats representing the most diverse political trends have signed an address to the peoples and governments of the world requesting their support in carrying out a program consolidating the aspirations of the whole of our people. The dictatorship's latest outrages merely serve to enhance the resistance of the Uruguayans, who are demanding the restoration of democratic liberties and the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly. The historic victory of the people, who have voted against the dictatorship's political plan, has put before it the only possible alternative: either to recognize the people's will or to maintain the openly fascist regime.

THE DICTATORSHIP IS BOGGED DOWN IN THE "PROCESS"²

The dictatorship today cannot find a way out of the existing political situation. That is why the *intransigence* with which it has followed its line merely shows its growing weakness. The people's demands cut the ground from under its feet, thwart the intrigues of the advocates of "power continuity," and serve to aggravate their internal contradictions. A furious struggle for political power has broken out among the "continuity" advocates, between patent fascists and those who want to overcome the stagnation by introducing transitional forms of power which would ultimately make it possible for them to retain control over the "process."

Against the background of the general crisis of the regime, there is a deepening military crisis. Fascism has suffered its worst defeat since the days of Prantle's³ fall. The outburst which led to the removal of Ballestrino⁴ and some of his followers was also

the result of the new tendencies, an element of the decomposition of the dictatorship and the differentiation within the armed forces.

Watching the crisis at the top, the people are neither particularly hopeful, nor indifferent. Thus, they are not indifferent to the downfall of Ballestrino, who threatened to support the "process" by "fire and sword." Still, in the struggle against repression and hunger, the people have realized very well that crimes and corruption are the substance of fascism, so that to put an end to these it is necessary to dismantle its structure. The people will not allow themselves to be trapped.

In this atmosphere, the country's future cannot be decided without regard for the opinion of the majority voiced on November 30. Whatever the way out of the present situation, it will be democratic if the people play the leading role, acting under their own independent slogans. Independent action is necessary both to withstand the barefaced interference by imperialism, which seeks to maintain the dictatorship, and also to put an end to the fascist provocations. There are no other options. There can be no question either of a "lesser evil," or of messianism: scraps of freedoms cannot restore the democracy, no matter how much some generals want this. Without cherishing any false expectations, the people will not remain indifferent at the intermediate stage of the struggle to wipe out fascism provided this struggle has a distinct democratic basis. Such a democratic basis is reflected in the demand by all parties, by all the democratic forces to convene a national constituent assembly in an atmosphere of recognition of and respect for all freedoms. Truly democratic transformations are possible only with the unlimited participation of the people and all the parties without exception, and the freeing of all political prisoners must be the touchstone of this process. So long as the precarious internal unity is maintained with the help of bayonets directed against the people, and so long as the struggle and cohesion of the democratic forces are obstructed, there can be no question of any way out of the present situation, because, as Artigas taught us,⁵ "the only alternative is either liberty or despotism." To resolve this alternative in favor of liberty, all honest Uruguayans, both civilians and military, must intensify their struggle and strengthen the united action of all the anti-fascist forces of our country.

Liberty can be won only in struggle. In the atmosphere of a general crisis, the dictatorship adopts an anti-trade-union law, manifests its intransigence by issuing a decree on the abolition of May Day celebrations, promotes the further development of the anti-national plan which suits the common interests of the local oligarchy and the transnationals; and resorts to new and pernicious compromises with

imperialism. In such an atmosphere, the celebration of May Day becomes a new landmark in the struggle of the democratic forces against the attempts to ignore the people's will. The working people's action on their international day show the Uruguayans' urge to fight for liberty, to advance along the road of the country's genuine democratization.

Bulletin of the Communist Party of Uruguay,
June 1981

1. According to official data, 60 per cent of those who took part in the plebiscite staged by the authorities in order to impose a fascist constitution on the people voted "no." — *Ed.*

2. The present authorities use this term to imply the institutionalization of the fascist regime. — *Ed.*

3. During the reign of terror in Uruguay, Prantle headed the army intelligence service, and was later ousted from that post. — *Ed.*

4. Former commander of an infantry school, removed from office in early 1981. — *Ed.*

5. José Gervasio Artigas (1764-1850) — leader of the struggle for national independence in South America. — *Ed.*

Escalating Recklessness

Concerning Alexander Haig's Visit to Peking

World opinion follows with anxiety the growth of dangerous trends in U.S.-Chinese relations and their increasingly negative impact on the international situation. U.S. State Secretary Haig's recent talks with the Chinese leaders in Peking showed that Washington and Peking are coordinating a policy designed to aggravate tensions, destabilize the international situation, intensify confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community and jointly carry on the undeclared war against Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

From what has been made public, the talks were characterized by hostility to the Soviet Union and world peace. The views of the United States and China on the international situation, Haig said after the talks, had never been as close as at present. "We have many identical or similar views," Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua said, echoing Haig. According to Haig the Chinese side greatly appreciated the measures adopted by the U.S. administration to build up the military power of the United States and strengthen its relations with allies from military blocs. This delighted Senator Henry Jackson, a violent opponent of détente, so much that he said that no country in the world supported NATO more firmly than China.

We are witnessing a new stage of Chinese-U.S. partnership that is extremely dangerous to peace. This finds expression, first and foremost, in a considerable extension of the military aspects of the partnership.

Washington has announced its decision to strike China off the list of "unfriendly communist countries" and include it in the category of "friendly developing states." U.S. legislation is to be amended accordingly. Not only will this step enable China to purchase U.S. military equipment and technology whose export to "unfriendly countries" is banned in conformity with special restrictions, but will give it access to credits on easy terms. Peking seems to be hoping that this will help it overcome difficulties due to a dire shortage of foreign currency.

By expressing readiness to supply Peking with modern means of warfare, including offensive weap-

ons, the present U.S. rulers have pushed their dangerous policy of instigation much further than did the Carter administration, which they criticized before the elections for its excessive pro-Peking tilt.

The coordination of "parallel actions" by the two states on the basis of "common strategic interests" was begun during the Peking visit of Brown, the then U.S. Defense Secretary, in January 1980. Brown hinted on that occasion at the possibility of selling China "double-purpose" equipment, that is, equipment usable for both civil and military purposes. When, six months later, Geng Biao, the present Defense Minister of the PRC, arrived in Washington on a return visit, that possibility became reality. The U.S. government approved some 500 licenses for the sale of double-purpose commodities and technology to China (helicopters, transport planes, trucks, radar, etc.). It stressed, however, that its decision concerned military equipment and not deadly arms.

But from now on China has access not only to secret, highly sophisticated systems such as strategic missile targeting systems or means of telecommunication but also various types of war material ranging from anti-tank missiles to fighter-bombers. However, the State Department is wary of calling a spade a spade; it asserts that the United States exports no offensive arms at all, for U.S. legislation prohibits their use for aggression. Yet the Pentagon's clients have repeatedly shown by deeds how little reservations of this kind mean to them. The latest case in point was the Israeli raid on Baghdad.

Haig may be said to have carried out his mission to Peking as a general in mufti. His meeting with Defense Minister Geng Biao was devoted to arms sales and to an exchange of intelligence data. The talks on this point involved Zhang Zhunci, deputy chief of the Chinese Military Intelligence Service.

It was in those days that information leaked into the press to the effect that the link-up between the U.S. and Chinese intelligence services had occurred even before the "complete normalization" of relations between the two countries. An extra spur to this was the overthrow of the anti-popular monar-

chic regime in Iran which resulted in depriving the CIA of electronic monitoring stations along the Soviet frontier. Under a secret agreement between Washington and Peking, two monitoring stations were built in northwest China; they have American equipment operated by Chinese personnel under the supervision of CIA instructors. The intelligence reports on the Soviet Union supplied by them, the *New York Times* writes, are used jointly by U.S. and Chinese espionage centers.

As a result of his latest trip, Haig reached agreement, he says, on expanding active cooperation between the war departments of the two countries. A Chinese military delegation is to visit Washington in August to discuss specific aspects of this cooperation.

Those who are putting modern weapons in the Chinese hegemonists' hands must be imagining that this will enable them to influence Peking's policy and channel its expansionism mainly in a northerly direction. This is a profound error. The militarization of China — for this is the road taken by the Reagan administration — is fraught with the danger of U.S. arms in Chinese hands being turned primarily against relatively small neighbor countries, some of which, incidentally, are allies of the U.S. China is being urged, as it were, to materialize its territorial claims in southeast and southern Asia.

Even in countries classed as friends of the United States, the results of Haig's Peking visit, which are foreign to the interests of peace, are seen with apprehension. In Japan, for one, this sentiment is expressed by both public opinion and official quarters. "A militarily strong China," writes the Japanese daily *Mainichi* in an editorial entitled "The Dangerous Nature of U.S.-Chinese Military Cooperation," "is a threat to all the surrounding countries of southeast and southwest Asia." The Japanese Foreign Ministry has expressed concern about U.S. arms deliveries to China.

Washington's insistence on the country of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shaking off its nuclear allergy and setting out to transform itself into a military power enjoys increasing support from Peking. There is reason to expect that the parties to the U.S.-Chinese collusion will now try harder to push Japan toward militarization.

Foreign commentators note that the decision to sell China offensive weapons fits into the context of a marked hardening of U.S. policy toward Asia. The main components of this policy include greater military assistance to Pakistan so as to turn it into a regional policeman and, in particular, a base for continued aggression against Afghanistan. They also include the formation of the rapid deployment force in the Indian Ocean and other parts of the globe and of a new military alignment in southeast Asia hostile to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Chinese leadership declares that it favors U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Far East and welcomes the expansion of the network of U.S. military bases and strongpoints in these regions.

Neither the United States, nor China, tries to conceal the fact that their aim is to drive a wedge be-

tween the countries of Indochina and their southeast Asian neighbors, set up something of a cordon sanitaire around Vietnam and force the Vietnamese people back to their knees. Holdridge, Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Asia and the Pacific, who went to Peking with Haig, now holds forth cynically about the need to find, together with other countries, ways of increasing political, economic and, if necessary, military pressure on Vietnam.

The so-called Kampuchean problem was another item of the talks in Peking. The head of the State Department said publicly that while there was a slight difference between the U.S. and Chinese approach to the issue, the two sides agreed that a "united front" must be set up in Kampuchea to fight against Vietnam. Its backbone is to be made up of Pol Pot's bands supplied with Chinese and U.S. arms across Thai territory. This means that the foes of People's Kampuchea are creating a seat of war danger along the Thai-Kampuchean border and pressing forward preparations for an armed conflict. U.S.-Chinese quarters are hatching plans to seize part of the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and create a "liberated area" there, to which a puppet "government" would promptly be moved.

The outcome of the U.S.-Chinese talks in Peking indicates that China's bid for a military settlement of the "Kampuchean question" has met with Washington's approval. The ASEAN countries and some other states are now being drawn into implementing this line along with the United States. It is planned to back up interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs with the prestige of the UN. With this aim in view, Haig and Huang Hua discussed "sanctions" against the PRK and SRV that the so-called international conference on Kampuchea due in New York next month could adopt.

The dangerous military-political schemes undertaken by shortsighted adventurers present a grave menace to the world. While Washington expects to use the present Chinese leadership's rabid anti-Sovietism as a means of promoting the U.S. global anti-Soviet strategy, Peking has its own axe to grind. It wants to provoke a collision between the United States and Soviet Union so as to dominate a world following a nuclear conflict which it hopes will reduce America and Europe to ashes but may spare scores of millions or even a couple of hundred of millions of Chinese. After all, the population of China exceeds that of the U.S. and Western Europe put together.

Indeed, the U.S. and Chinese policy-makers who have come to terms on the basis of militant anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are by no means at one in their global ambitions. Each side wants to tie the other, to strap it faster to its policy while reserving freedom of action for itself. The facts show that for the time being the United States is more successful in applying this tactic. It sets the pace of the collusion and decides on its substance.

By acceding to the idea of a military-strategic alliance with imperialism, the Peking leadership virtually made a concession on Taiwan. Haig told the

press in Peking that the Chinese side showed understanding for the intention of the U.S. to maintain close relations with Taipei. In spite of the verbal storm they raised, the Chinese leaders accepted in effect the existence of "two Chinas," which is an affront to the prestige and sovereignty of a great power.

Thus China plays the ignominious role of junior partner and accomplice of the U.S. imperialists, a role readily assumed by the present Peking leaders. One has the impression that Peking does not stop to think seriously of the dangerous consequences of a gamble affecting the destiny of its own people.

Apart from the international aspects of Haig's Chinese visit, many observers point out its inner political significance for Deng Xiaoping and his backers. The very timing of the visit is worthy of note. The U.S. Secretary of State arrived in Peking shortly before the sixth plenary meeting of the CPC CC, which is expected to adopt important organizational and political decisions. The U.S. administration made it perfectly clear that Washington has a stake in bolstering Deng's standing among the Chinese leaders and thus consolidating the current foreign policy line of Peking.

Altogether the results of Haig's talks with the

Peking leaders may be assessed as escalating a reckless policy. The Soviet Union cannot look impassively on the new dangerous change in Chinese-U.S. relations, above all on plans for supplying China with modern U.S. weapons, military equipment and technology. This activity of Washington and Peking can only be seen as hostile to our country.

The rulers of the United States and China ought to realize that the U.S.-Chinese link-up on anti-Soviet lines will be taken into proper account by the USSR in the overall context of Soviet-U.S. and Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet Union will adopt such measures as may be prompted by the situation that is shaping. No one should doubt that the Soviet people, who have strong nerves and powerful means of curbing aggression, will not give in to provocation and will prove equal to standing up for themselves and defending the interests of their friends and allies.

Washington and Peking have started a dangerous gamble. It demands not merely condemnation but vigilance and determined resistance on the part of all peoples and all responsible political forces that cherish peace, security and national independence.

I. Alexandrov

Pravda, June 27, 1981

Who Runs "Solidarity"?

A report by the Secretariat of the Geneva-based International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) throws a revealing, if unintended, light on who is calling the shots in the Polish 'Solidarity' movement.

Based on a tour of Poland by an unidentified IMF representative during the week of December 3, 1980, the report, titled "Solidarnosc," raises profound questions as to whether workers are in command of the so-called "union."

The report points out that Solidarity operates on a "regional basis" and the regional committees "seemed to me to be dominated by representatives from the technically well qualified jobs — civil engineers, computer specialists, school teachers or lawyers."

In Cracow, 40,000 workers are employed at the Lenin steel works, but the deputy president of Solidarity is Andrecj Cyran, a "civil engineer." Serving on the Solidarity Presidium is Sonik Boguslaw, a "lawyer," a collaborator with the "Committee for Workers Self Defense" (KOR) which the author describes as "opposition intellectuals."

The IMF reporter found that in Cracow "are five steelworkers in a presidium of 20 people. They claimed that efforts had been made to push forward manual workers . . . but workers are still nominating better qualified people in the plants."

Cyran, the civil engineer, told the IMF reporter: "We are trying now to have a system of two powers."

Later, the IMF reporter visited Wroclaw, a key industrial center and wrote: "The influence of academics and lawyers is strong in Wroclaw Solidarity. There is a permanent team of 40-50 lawyers who participate in plant meetings, advising on elections and drafting statements."

In Wroclaw, the deputy chairman of Solidarity is Krzysztof Turkowski an "historian" who reported that workers at first were "anti-intellectual," but now "fully identify with KOR." On the presidium is Karol Modzelewski, an "academic," co-author with Jacek Kuron of KOR's notorious "Open Letter to the Communist Party" in 1964.

At one small electrical plant in Wroclaw he interviewed Radoslaw Obst, a "computer data supervisor" and chairman of the Solidarity Inter-Factory Strike Committee. Obst, he said "was in an extremely well-paid post, earning 15,000 zlotys, three times the monthly average . . . He would like to know about the West German system of industrial democracy . . . They said they listen to foreign radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe."

The author pointed out that "although three-fourths of the workforce is female" at the electric plant "there are only three women on the Inter-Factory Strike Committee."

At Katowice, a steel and mining center, he asked the Solidarity officials their "main achievements" and they boasted: "We have been dismantling social and political collectives, the party, the youth movement, other party-controlled organizations."

Then on to Warsaw: "Perhaps even more so than in provincial cities, one sees fewer workers in the Solidarity office in Warsaw by comparison with the large number of professionally qualified people or those connected with the universities."

Asked to explain the absence of workers in the headquarters of a "trade union," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity regional spokesman, himself a "mathematics lecturer" at Warsaw University, explained: "They hated paperwork."

In Gdansk, headquarters of Solidarity, the IMF agent observed a meeting of Solidarity and found KOR ringleaders firmly in command. Sitting on the platform, he said, was Solidarity's National Secretary, Andrzej Celinski. Celinski, "a KOR member, seemed to be doing most of the chairing of the meeting, introducing subjects, calling speakers and bringing people to order." The IMF report states "There was no formal printed agenda and the rules of business as practised by Western trade unions, were totally absent."

Jacek Kuron, KOR founder, and certainly not a worker "was speaking from beside the platform, leaning casually against the table and then a few minutes later he had taken a seat on the platform itself and was summing up the debate in which he had participated moments before."

The report states that the Solidarity leadership recognized that the Polish economy is in a deep crisis because of foreign indebtedness and consumer expectation that cannot be satisfied on the basis of current economic output. Yet, it quotes Solidarity leaders as refusing to take any responsibility, jointly with the government, for steps to correct the situation. The Solidarity leadership wants to be free to press for ever larger demands, knowing that without an atmosphere of calm and hard work, these demands cannot be met.

The report shows how divisions among the people only further aggravate this crisis. For example, wage demands by workers at a central heating plant were turned down by the government. The workers then turned off the heat to apartments inhabited by their fellow workers. The government yielded and the

wage demands were granted. Yet in the current economic crisis, wage increases, the report points out, mean little, creating a situation of "too many zlotys chasing too few goods." Rampant inflation and black marketeering is the result.

But the IMF reporter never proves his claim that the Polish people hate the Soviets. Why should Poles hate a nation that sacrificed more than 600,000 of its youth fighting Hitler fascism, their bodies buried in Polish soil? Why should the Poles hate a country that has poured billions of rubles in assistance into Poland with no strings attached? It isn't the Soviet Union that has plunged Poland into crisis, but U.S., British and West German banks holding \$27 billion in Polish debts which have that nation in a financial stranglehold.

He reports that Solidarity leaders expressed a fervent wish for offset printing presses, cameras, television and radio equipment, computers, etc., in order to establish their own independent communications network. IMF, the AFL-CIO, and other unions serving as conduits for the CIA, have willingly collaborated in sending such equipment to Poland.

The IMF report candidly acknowledges the role of the giant banks: "from the data we have seen, we can see that a massive influx of Western money led to immense waste, uncritical investment in heavy industry, the development of a consumer market . . . The tensions thus created could not be resolved without some kind of rupture . . ."

The full story of Poland has not been told. In Chile, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and all the Wall Street banks joined in the CIA's "destabilization" drive against the Popular Unity government of Dr. Salvador Allende. Did the same forces conceive a scheme to achieve the same results in Poland by a mirror-image conspiracy, flooding Poland with loans until their economy was vastly overextended and then "pulling the plug" on that socialist nation?

Tim Wheeler
Daily World, June 16, 1981

Land Reform in Afghanistan

A decision of the Political Bureau of the PDPA CC and the Council of Ministers of the DRA formulating the agrarian policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the republic at the present stage has been published in Kabul.

"The national democratic revolution accomplished under the leadership of the PDPA and its new stage of development," the decision says, "are aimed at building a society free of exploitation. Their main objectives are as follows: eliminate all survivals of feudal and pre-feudal elements in social and national relations; restrict large-scale private land-ownership and provide land for landless and land-

hungry peasants, nomads and agricultural workers; advance the national economy; raise the living standards of the population; promote the national cultures of Afghanistan; democratize socio-political life.

"The agrarian policy of the PDPA proceeds from the premise that only by abolishing the feudal system is it possible to give scope for the productive forces of the country and establish an order under which the peasant can directly enjoy the fruits of his work and increase agricultural production.

"Following the victory of the April Revolution of 1978, a democratic land reform was begun in the

country that struck and continues to strike crushing blows at the socio-economic foundations of feudal relations in the countryside. The only purpose of the reasonable restriction of the size of the land held by the family, which is part of the land reform, is to provide working conditions in the countryside in conformity with justice and the canons of the sacred religion of Islam. Under Article 19 of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA (provisional constitution — TASS), the state guarantees the right to own land and creates favorable conditions for the effective use of land as a means of increasing agricultural output.

"In the course of implementation of the democratic land reform, a great number of landless families as well as some land-hungry families were allocated lots free of charge. Thanks to measures adopted by the PDPA and the government of the DRA at the new stage of the April Revolution and in spite of objective and subjective difficulties, agricultural production last year (March 1980-March 1981) was maintained at the level of the year preceding the land reform and even increased in the case of some products.

"However, the counter-revolutionary activity of international and home reaction, as well as certain mistakes and violations of revolutionary legality that occurred in carrying out the first stage of the land reform, slowed down the further implementation of the reform and the normalization of land tenure.

"Threats and intimidation by counter-revolutionaries and big landowners resulted in some peasants losing the lots allocated to them. Bandits and counter-revolutionary elements committed acts of sabotage against state farms, experimental and seed-growing stations, took away the land from the peasants, destroyed the legal acts entitling them to land property, and burned land registration documents in the districts and provinces.

"Confirming the legitimate rights of the peasants who were allotted land under the Decree 'On Land' issued by the Revolutionary Council of the DRA on November 30, 1978 and with a view to further normalizing land tenure in the country and to carrying forward the land reform, the Political Bureau of the

CC PDPA and the Council of Ministers of the DRA decided to consider the following measures as the main objectives of the land reform at the present stage: eliminating survivals of feudal relations in the socio-economic life of the countryside; ensuring social justice and legality in the distribution and utilization of land, water and receipts from the sale of agricultural output; promoting judicious and effective land tenure; developing the productive forces of agriculture and strengthening its material and technical basis; introducing achievements of science and advanced experience; rendering material and financial aid to landowners, primarily the peasants who were allotted land in the course of the agrarian reform."

The decision also lists as important objectives of the land reform at this stage: assistance in forming agricultural cooperatives and in organizing production, the storage, transport and sale of produce on an equitable basis; the construction and repair of irrigation systems, roads, schools, hospitals and other public utilities in rural areas; strengthening the alliance between the peasants and the workers and other sections of the population within the National Fatherland Front; sparing no effort to improve the organization of peasants, raise their social consciousness and increase their public activity.

The Political Bureau and Council of Ministers resolved to form a commission of the CC PDPA and Council of Ministers of the DRA for the continuation of the agrarian reform under the chairmanship of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the CC PDPA, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

The Economy Department of the PDPA CC and the DRA Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, the decision points out, must draft — with due regard to the main objectives of the present stage of the land reform — an action program for the continuation of the agrarian reform, setting the schedule of implementation of these measures in the provinces. The draft is to be submitted to the Commission of the PDPA CC and Council of Ministers of the DRA for approval.

TASS, June 23, 1981
Abridged

In Brief

ISRAEL

Zu Haderech, a newspaper published by the CC, Communist Party of Israel, has carried an article estimating the general election held on June 30, 1981. It is indicative, the paper writes, that the overwhelming majority of votes were won by the ruling Likud bloc and the Maarah opposition bloc. Of the 31 parties entered in the electoral lists, 21 failed to collect as much as one per cent of the votes needed to win one seat in the Knesset. They include Shelli and the Independent Liberals, as well as all

Arab parties. While the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality led by the CPI lost one seat and now holds four seats in the Knesset, it retained the greater part of its strength.

The article quotes the answer given by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI CC, to a question by Israeli radio. Vilner described what the CPI sees as the main tasks for any future government: renouncing the annexation of Arab territories, founding an independent Palestinian Arab state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, guaranteeing the Arab

population of Israel equal rights, ending the policy of discrimination on ethnic grounds, drastic reshaping of the economic and social policy in the interest of the working people and middle strata and substantial reduction of the military budget, which would make it possible to bring nearer the solution of pressing economic problems, such as inflation.

Meir Vilner said that the CPI sees helping to establish durable peace in the region and abolishing the colonial settlements in the Arab territories occupied in 1967 as the future government's top priority task. Not until then will it be possible to extricate the country from the deep crisis and raise the standard of living.

ITALY

L'Unita has carried a report on the political outlook for the country following the municipal by-elections on June 21. The report was presented to a meeting of the ICP CC by Alessandro Natta, member of the ICP Leadership and Secretariat.

The Leadership considers that the voting was characterized by the following three factors:

- first, the indisputable defeat of the Christian Democratic Party;
- second, a general strengthening of the posi-

tions of left-wing parties and the influence of secular democratic parties while the right-wing, fascist forces were weakened; furthermore, the fact that most of the votes lost by the CDP went to left-wing parties;

— third, the preservation and strengthening of the positions of the ICP in comparison with the 1979 and 1980 elections.

Nevertheless, the overall result of the elections cannot be assessed as satisfactory and, in fact, confronts the communists with serious and disquieting questions.

Natta voiced concern about the loss of 60 seats on communal councils and the considerable weakening of the party's positions in the south. Even so, he said, the outcome of the elections convinced the party of the correctness of its political strategy and the significance and validity of its proposal for a democratic alternative.

LEBANON

Georges Haoui, General Secretary of the CC, Lebanese Communist Party, told the newspaper *Orient-Jour* that the Lebanese problem cannot be solved by force and without the participation of national patriotic forces. He insisted on establishing relations based on trust between the Lebanese state and the Palestinian revolution. There is a conspiracy, he said, whose purpose is to disperse the Palestinians and "demilitarize" the Palestinian revolution, that is, to throw the Palestinians back to their former status of refugees. This conspiracy is detrimental to the Palestinian revolution but harms in equal measure the Lebanese people, including the Christian community. Hence to weaken the Palestinian resistance movement means joining in the conspiracy.

URUGUAY

The Communist Party of Uruguay has circulated a statement entitled "Eight Years After the Coup." The statement says that the laws on the activity of parties and trade unions are designed to shackle them and turn them into docile helpers of the authorities.

These laws, just as other "legal actions" and the policy of supporting U.S. monopolies, were rejected by the Uruguayan people during the November 1980 plebiscite on amendments to the constitution.

Before speaking of political changes in the country, it is necessary to restore democratic and trade union rights, stop obstructing the repatriation of political exiles, ensure the unhampered activity of political parties and immediately release all political prisoners.

The dictatorship will not fall of itself, will not be destroyed by the severe crisis, or collapse because of its own contradictions. It can only be overthrown through a struggle which all of the country's social and political forces must carry on in common.

The accomplishment of this task will re-establish democracy in Uruguay; the communists will do all in their power to bring this about, the statement says.

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