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Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party

The ninth extraordinary congress of the Polish United Workers' Party was held in Warsaw from July 14 to 20, with the participation of 1,964 delegates, and also veterans of the Polish working-class movement, and representatives of mass and social organizations. Among the guests at the congress were delegations of the fraternal parties of socialist countries: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, the USSR, Vietnam and Yugoslavia.

Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, addressed the congress with a report of the Central Committee.

This congress, Stanislaw Kania said, is meeting on the 37th anniversary of Poland's renaissance. This July holiday measures off the time of freedom and socialist transformations. We remember the years of the national disaster and the Hitlerite occupation, the untold suffering and the millions of Poles that lost their lives. We are proud of the traditions of the wartime generation of Poles and the heroic struggle of the soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces on the battlefield and of the millions of Resistance fighters.

It is with a feeling of profound gratitude that we shall pass on the truth of the Soviet Army's liberating mission from generation to generation; we are grateful to it not only for enabling us to gain our independence, but also for having saved the Polish people from physical destruction.

In a fairly short historical period, we raised the nation from ruin and backwardness. Poland has become an advanced industrial country, with sweeping change going on in agriculture.

In spite of serious difficulties, the social environment and the society's cultural standards have changed, with a higher sense of dignity and understanding of the citizens' right in a joint effort to resolve problems of national and local importance.

We can take pride in the achievements of our people and our party, whose program and organizing effort have been recognized by history. These are the fundamental principles and values on which we shall build the program to overcome the present difficulties.

Still, there are many reasons to stop and think, to express concern and, indeed, anxiety over the fate in store for People's Poland. Nobody should delude himself today: there is a bitter ideological and political class struggle going on for power in Poland, for the nation's image and for its place and policy course on the international scene, the speaker went on to say.

Growing threats to socialism, counter-revolutionary acts, a deep economic crisis, a decline in public discipline and paralysis of the functioning of government institutions have endangered the very existence of the state. All this makes national salvation a task of the day.

We must change the present situation without a delay, that is, stave off the danger and lead the nation onto the road of effective socialist advance.

This is what the party, millions of Poles and our allies are expecting us to do.

Poland and the party need an in-depth analysis of everything that has produced such discontent, that has generated the workers' protest and the present political and economic crisis, the worst in the history of People's Poland.

The proportions and depth of the current crisis are due to many erroneous concepts and decisions taken in the field of economic and social policies during the 1970s.

Mention should be made, first of all, of Poland's enormous indebtedness to capitalist countries surpassing all permissible limits. The credits received were used with little effect.

The growth rate of capital investment was too high, the national income dwindled, and credits had to be repaid. That led very soon to an imbalance and an enormous inflationary surplus.

The course of events was affected to a considerable extent by mistakes in agrarian policy as well as by a stagnation in agricultural production which caused a great shortage of foodstuffs in spite of a large import of grain and fodder.

Planning and financial and economic management did not correspond to the development level of the national economy or the social consciousness and competence of personnel which brought on a downturn in economic efficiency, mismanagement, wasteful use of production means and labor, a low quality of output, and a lack of interest in the results of their work on the part of working collectives.

Principles of social justice and elementary moral standards were violated. There developed an unwarranted discrepancy between income levels.

Mounting public discontent prepared the ground for hostile activities against socialism. It was not by accident that a "Workers' Defense Committee" (KOR) sprang up and became active in the latter half of the 1970s, as did a faction which has since transformed itself into a "Confederation of Independent Poland." Their activities were inspired and sup-

ported by Western centers specializing in subversion against the countries of the socialist community.

Departure from Leninist principles was one of the basic reasons for increasingly serious mistakes in economic and social policies, Stanislaw Kania said.

The party must maintain a uniform ideological content of the process of socialist change. The main thing is to restore the fundamental values of socialism in the country and the ideological and political principles of Leninism in the party, the policy of effecting deep-going economic reforms, promoting socialist democracy, respecting legality and improving public discipline. This policy is aimed at strengthening the party's leading role. It means restoring the principles of social justice, ethics and morality in the country and creating the preconditions for shaping humane relations between people and respect for the dignity of the human being — the working person and citizen.

We are carrying out our program in difficult circumstances in which the question of society's confidence in the state and the confidence of the working class in the party are a big problem.

Profound conclusions regarding the conflicts and the crisis in this country were made in the report presented by Leonid Brezhnev to the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "The events in Poland show once again," the report says, "how important it is for the party, for the strengthening of its leading role, to listen carefully to the voice of the masses, resolutely to combat every manifestation of bureaucratic approach and voluntarism, actively to develop socialist democracy, and to conduct a well-considered and realistic policy in foreign economic relations."

Our experience has fully borne out the validity of these conclusions in regard to the socialist world. We shall do everything to regain society's confidence in the party and the people's state and to ensure that it is always firm and durable.

The Polish working class is and will be the party's mainstay, Stanislaw Kania stressed. The party will work hard for the creation of a system of legal guarantees and institutions serving the working class in the fulfillment of its historic mission. It is the working class in alliance with the peasantry that organized our people's state and laid the foundations of the new form of government and the economic potential of People's Poland.

It is the duty of our party to do everything for the leading role of the working class in society to be reaffirmed.

One of the major problems for a working-class party is its attitude to trade unions. In a setting of social conflict, a split has come about in the Polish trade union movement. For 10 months, the party has been making various efforts to prevent the organizational division of the trade unions from producing a political rift. A split in the working-class movement is always detrimental to the working class, and under socialism it is detrimental to the state as well.

We are glad to see craft unions regaining their influence among the working people. There has been

a numerical growth of union membership. Our party must contribute more effectively toward these positive trends.

The party has more than once stated in public its constructive attitude to Solidarity and expressed readiness to cooperate with it, and is reaffirming this again. We see the differentiated character of this organization which has different, indeed opposite trends in it.

At the same time, Stanislaw Kania said, we see the watershed between the activities of Solidarity as a trade union federation and those of reactionary, extremist factions trying to lend Solidarity the character of a political party opposed to the socialist state. It is in this direction that some of its leaders and advisers are trying to push the Solidarity trade union federation. It is for this purpose that the KOR and all reactionary Polish factions are trying to influence various sections of Solidarity. What they want the working class to be is not the master of the country but merely a pressure group suitable for their own political game.

We are operating in the face of the threat posed by a disastrous economic situation, social tension and contradictions between the great hopes for better social conditions that had been aroused and the declining opportunities to meet them. All this is being exploited by the enemies of socialism and their allies in Western subversion centers.

A fierce political struggle, a class struggle over the substance of renewal, the nature of socialism, its ideological values and the existing system is continuing in this country, the speaker said.

At present the enemies of socialism pin their hopes on the crisis and social discontent resulting from mistakes. They pose as defenders of the workers' interests and spokesmen of the discontented. They want to create a kind of anaesthetic to dull people's reaction to the so-called peaceful seizure of power, to creeping counter-revolution.

We want to overcome our difficulties, while they want to take advantage of them. This is the dividing line. There is a whole mechanism for nullifying the efforts of local government bodies and organs of public order. Various methods of blackmail are used against people who uphold the principles of socialism and party policy.

All enemies of socialism pin their hopes on the influence of Solidarity; they want to use this organization for purposes which have nothing to do with the interests of the workers. Our party resolutely opposes these tendencies, also in the interests of the Solidarity trade union itself.

We have many reservations in regard to the program document setting out Solidarity's lines of activity. The document states views on many problems, going beyond the statutory aims of Solidarity. It says what the trade union will demand and control, and contains statements on important problems of state policy. This shows that the trade union's ambitions go further than its character suggests.

A so-called public draft law on enterprises worked out by Solidarity organizations was circulated a few days ago.

The government's draft law on the enterprise and labor self-management is countered by a concept of virtual departure from state ownership to group ownership. Elements of self-management of the so-called public enterprise are being set up without authorization. There is a tendency to oust other partners, that is, virtually to seize power. What is involved is power, not the workers' interests. We condemn this action while at the same time emphatically reaffirming the main line formulated in the draft laws on self-management and the enterprise which the government has submitted to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

Our party must take more effective measures than before to organize a front in defense of socialism, mount a political offensive against its enemies, resolutely combat violations of law and public order and resist all actions aimed at subverting the constitutional functions of government bodies.

Counter-revolutionary plans will not succeed in Poland. Thanks to the party and all forces of common sense, our state will not allow itself to be diverted from the socialist path.

Poland will be such as the party will be. Nothing could define more precisely our responsibility for the people and the state. The party's leading role is not a constitutional privilege but a political duty to the people. In this context, the speaker dealt with proposed amendments to the rules of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Quality, not quantity, will be the decisive factor of the growth of our party's prestige and hence the development of the party, the speaker said. Only a definite ideological image will ensure respect for party members and encourage the finest members of the younger generation to join the party.

We propose adopting the statutory rules that would strengthen in the party the responsibility, position and role of all its members and branches as well as all its elected bodies. The task is, above all, to strengthen the decision-making and controlling role of elected bodies and perfect the functioning of the party's executive bodies at all levels, including the First Secretary of the Central Committee.

We take a critical view of the fact that debates and quests aimed at promoting democracy in party life were not always accompanied by adequate concern for party unity and discipline. These are the qualities arising from democracy combined with centralism, that is, from the classical Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism. Before the congress some people expressed the right view that party life was dominated by bureaucratic methods rather than centralism. Centralism guarantees a democratic party effective action, whereas bureaucratic methods erode its political vitality and restrict the development of thought. And democracy without centralism turns a party into a powerless, amorphous mass unable to operate effectively.

The speaker pointed to the serious harm being done to the party by the pressure of social democratic ideology, revisionist concepts and other types of right-wing opportunism.

The mass media, especially party newspapers and

journals, as well as party journalists in the media, must play an important role in the present situation, Stanislaw Kania went on. It is their duty to take an active part in the protection and consolidation of the socialist system, unite patriotic forces in joint actions, and mobilize public opinion for the fulfillment of the tasks we are setting ourselves.

Polish Marxists must answer many basic dilemmas engendered by the development of socialism in Poland.

To be a Marxist-Leninist party means seeing to it that the party operates as the vanguard of the working class uniting the most ideologically advanced part of this class and that party members form their convictions in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

This implies that democratic centralism and inner-party democracy are the fundamental principle of the party's organizing work. It provides the most favorable conditions for the election and functioning of government bodies and the drafting of programs. At the same time it is the basis for disciplined and monolithic action and creates a force in the party that is capable of transforming the country and society.

It means maintaining strong bonds with the working class and all other working people, serving the working class and simultaneously rousing it to active effort and guiding this effort.

It means strong links with the people's progressive traditions and destiny and fostering patriotism. At the same time, it expresses the feeling of internationalism and brotherhood with the CPSU and the international revolutionary working-class movement as a whole.

These are the features that make our party. That is why we must see constantly to their consolidation and resolutely combat all that affects the ideological character of the party and weakens its ability to act. We are equal to ensuring that no crises ever recur in the development of the country.

In the course of the pre-congress discussion it was proposed that our party's program should be drafted for submission to the next, 10th congress.

The following question was put during the discussion: How will our party exercise its leading role in the life of the people and state?

We reject the opinion that the party should reduce its role to ideological and discussion activities and the general drawing up of development programs. We also reject the view that the party should directly administer affairs coming within the competence of the state. The party should exercise its leading role through constitutional representative institutions and party members on the staffs of government or economic authorities or active in public organizations. This offers the prospect of democratic functioning of the state.

Speaking of the program for ending the crisis, Stanislaw Kania pointed out that it is necessary to take every measure and exert every effort to stop the trend toward shrinking production, particularly in respect to output for the home market and for export. Overcoming this dangerous process is the main

prerequisite of normalizing life in the country. Within the next few years, the range of objectives of economic policy should be limited and reduced to decisive questions of the people's life, that is, food supply, public health, meeting the more pressing needs of children and youth, generating the requisite amount of electric power for the population and the economy and keeping up and then increasing production for export.

To protect the living standard from a further decline, we must now reduce capital investments.

We must consistently carry out the economic reform, which is a decisive condition for going over to priority steps to adjust the economy so as to ensure its normal functioning and increase its ability to satisfy social requirements.

Relations with CMEA countries are the principal line of development of our economic ties. Success of our economic stabilization program depends on our increasing participation in implementing the program for socialist economic integration. We are grateful to fraternal countries for aiding us and for understanding our difficult situation. We shall do everything in our power to fulfil agreements on reciprocal deliveries better than in the past.

Effective implementation of the measures, which the program for overcoming the crisis envisages, should make it possible to restore the pre-crisis economic level in many sectors in the next two or three years and on a larger scale, before the end of the current five-year period, the speaker pointed out.

The political basis of the reform is greater strengthening of centralized planning and ensuring the widest possible participation of all working people and their organizations in defining economic goals. The economic reform is the pivot of our program for ending the crisis. But we should understand that it cannot produce immediate results.

In the present situation it is particularly important for the interests of large sections of the population to provide social protection through proper distribution of social allowances and grants from collective consumption funds. Such social protection is a necessary condition for carrying out radical economic reforms. The party is doing its best to guarantee everyone minimum social security in uncommonly difficult conditions.

The speaker then noted that the country's development, technological and social progress, advanced requirements and social aspirations demand that the whole public, especially the youth, should have broad knowledge and steadily perfect their professional skills. We see the development of public education and the molding of the younger generation as a major task of the party.

The speaker said that the party takes special care of the development of science and higher education in the country. He noted that the entire scientific community is responsible for the quality of research, teaching and education. A higher school is a socialist school. Hence the evident demand that its work should correspond to the principles of a socialist state.

In view of the formidable tasks facing the whole of society and the party, we call on Polish intellectuals to participate creatively in the solution of national and state problems, said Stanislaw Kania.

The speaker set the task of educating the younger generation in the spirit of socialist ideology. The party will back the youth organizations whose ideological declarations and statutory provisions explicitly favor socialist principles.

In the section of his report dealing with foreign-policy problems, Stanislaw Kania noted that all that has happened in Poland over the past year is having a considerable impact on international relations and on the place of the Polish People's Republic in the socialist community and in the world. Never since the war have the duty and need to realize the international conditions on which the destiny of our country, a socialist state, depends, been so strong as now, he emphasized.

The general line of our foreign policy, charted at the inception of People's Poland, stemmed from the historical experience and vital interests of our people, their freedom-loving, democratic and internationalist traditions, and socialist ideology. This line is invariably determined by friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, being part of the community of socialist states, participation in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as solidarity with all progressive forces of the world. Our policy is intended to further détente in East-West relations and strengthen peace, security, and equal and mutually beneficial international cooperation.

Our friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union began in the years of Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms, in the struggle against Hitlerism, in the liberation mission of the Soviet Army, more than 600,000 soldiers of which lost their lives on Polish soil. This friendship was forged when the Soviet Union as an ally helped return to Poland the lands on the Baltic coast and along the Oder and Neisse rivers which belonged to her historically.

These glorious chapters of joint struggle and victory, which saved our people from destruction, gave freedom back to us, and established Poland's new frontiers, linked up with the deep-going traditions of friendship and cooperation of Polish and Russian democrats and revolutionaries, and closed for good all the dark chapters in our mutual relations. It was thanks to all this that the destiny of the Polish people changed radically and so did its position and role in Europe.

Throughout the postwar years, the Soviet Union has confirmed its internationalist approach by rendering us invaluable assistance, especially at crucial moments. The Soviet Union has shown in practice that a strong, friendly, socialist Poland meets its interests. At the same time the might and international prestige of the Soviet Union meet our interests.

The alliance with the Soviet Union is the most important guarantee of Poland's independence and security, and the inviolability of her borders. There-

fore, anyone who undermines this alliance is acting against the fundamental principles on which the existence of our people's state is based. Our party, which has created this guarantee, will allow no one to undermine it. We are defending and shall go on defending this alliance with a sense of great responsibility for the security of the people and the independence of the people's state.

Poland took an active part in the formation of the community of socialist states. Thanks to its emergence for the first time in her history Poland has friends and allies on all her borders, and belongs to a political and defensive system whose formation and might have created new prerequisites of an effective struggle to prevent wars and achieve lasting peace and security in Europe.

It follows from all these premises that in foreign policy, especially in the crisis situation we are living through, the most important task is to preserve and strengthen Poland's positions in the community of socialist countries.

We pay great attention to the stand of the fraternal, Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated in the well-known letter of its Central Committee to our party. We fully appreciate the Soviet comrades' concern over the socialist future of our country, Poland's role as a member of the community of socialist states and our contribution to its development and security.

We shall also contribute to promoting cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The economic situation in the world and the development needs of each CMEA member, including Poland, set new, important tasks before this organization. We support the idea advanced by comrade Leonid Brezhnev of holding a meeting at the level of First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the parties of the Council's member countries to work out and coordinate new tasks in the promotion of economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

We wish to actively help in perfecting the work of this international organization of socialist states. We are convinced that soon Poland will again be making a positive contribution to socialist economic integration.

Our party entertains strong feelings for the international communist and working-class movement. We promote extensive contacts with it, inspired by internationalism. We have taken and shall continue to take part in efforts aimed at strengthening the ideological solidarity and class interaction of the entire working-class movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The speaker went on to say that Poland was developing cooperation with the countries of the so-called third world, particularly with those which had taken the road of progressive development, and thought highly of their struggle against foreign domination, colonialism and neocolonialism, for social progress, the right of all nations to self-determination and independent existence and the establishment of a new world economic order.

In common with all other peace-loving countries

Poland declares for the elimination of all seats of tension and armed conflicts and for détente.

We invariably maintain that there are no disputes which cannot be settled by negotiation.

We reaffirm our principled stand on settling the situation around Afghanistan by political means, in accordance with the well-known proposals made by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on May 14, 1980.

Together with the other socialist countries socialist Poland declares for curbing the arms race, maintaining and consolidating détente and establishing normal relations between countries on principles of equality.

Poland will remain an active proponent of political dialogue with all states regardless of their social systems and will join in it. This dialogue is particularly essential now that the danger of nuclear war has increased. No one should try to avoid this dialogue. Poland fully supports the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World."

We declare for the USSR and the United States searching for and finding a solution to the problem of strategic arms limitation. The task is not only to preserve what had been achieved but to make further progress.

Europe is the common home of the nations inhabiting it. We stand for the consolidation of the peace forces and détente in Europe and for the full implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. We hope the Madrid meeting will end with positive results.

The convocation of a conference on détente and disarmament in Europe would be an important event. We reaffirm our willingness to hold it in Warsaw. In common with the other socialist countries we stand consistently for progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The speaker touched on Poland's bilateral relations with a number of West European and North American countries.

We closely follow the position of Western countries on events in our country. There are governments and political forces which are well aware that only a socialist Poland — a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization — can be a factor for stability and balance in Europe. This speaks of the realism of these forces. The point is that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries should be fully observed in practice.

There are also forces in the West, however, which are trying to play the so-called Polish card so as to change the balance of forces in Europe. Destabilizing developments in our country, seen with apprehension and concern by our allies, are a convenient platform for these forces from which to attack the entire community of socialist countries and an excuse for stepping up armament and tension. They act as propagandists of subversive, extremist slogans and activities in our country and inspire and support anti-socialist forces.

We shall allow nobody to interfere in our internal affairs or undermine our friendly relations of alliance with the Soviet Union. The Polish people paid too dearly in the past for a scornful attitude to their key national interests to forget this. Let nobody expect such a thing.

In an attempt to change the balance of world forces, the United States is building up military co-operation with China. This development is dangerous for stabilization and peace in the world. Like other socialist countries, Poland would like to maintain friendly relations with China. It is not through Poland's fault that they are not such today. Apparently, the Chinese leaders prefer contact with imperialism to establishing good relations with socialist countries. Renunciation of this line, of the policy of hegemonism and anti-Sovietism, would also meet, in our opinion, the interests of the Chinese people.

Victor Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau and First Secretary of the CPSU's Moscow City Committee, spoke at the congress. He said:

Esteemed comrade delegates,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Political Bureau and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev personally, instructed us to convey wishes of successful work to the ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP. We wish this on behalf of all Soviet communists, of the working people of our country, who take close to heart the affairs and concerns of the fraternal Polish people.

Your congress is being held at a difficult time for socialist Poland. The report by comrade Stanislaw Kania and delegates' speeches show the difficult situation in which your country has found itself as a result of a deep and protracted crisis. Delegates said that the revolutionary gains of the Polish working class are in mortal danger, and called for resolute action in the interests of strengthening socialism.

We sincerely hope, comrades, that the extraordinary forum of the Polish communists will live up to its historic responsibility and take decisions that will help to normalize the situation in the country. Not only does this accord with the aspirations of millions of your compatriots, but will also be met with satisfaction by the peoples of the USSR and other socialist community countries, by all progressive forces.

Our party's stand on the question of the crisis development in the Polish People's Republic has found its concentrated expression in the letter addressed to the PUWP Central Committee on June 5 of this year. You are all familiar with that document, in which the CPSU Central Committee voiced in a comradely fashion its concern over the course of events in Poland. We would like to stress most explicitly in this context: we believe and continue to believe that it is the Polish communists themselves, Poland's working people who must bring the country out of the crisis. At the same time, our party, the Soviet people cannot remain indifferent when the

In conclusion Stanislaw Kania called on the Polish United Workers' Party as a Marxist-Leninist party and the people as a whole to unite in the struggle for socialist Poland, against counter-revolution and anarchy, for the solution of the country's pressing problems, for the development of its economy, science and culture. He called for efforts to return Poland to its strong and honorable position in the fight for peace, to strengthen the affiliation of the Polish state to the socialist community as an ally and to consolidate forever friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Unifying all patriotic and civic-minded forces to avert the impending catastrophe and continue building socialism is a historic imperative of the time, said Stanislaw Kania. We shall have to work hard to put the decisions of the congress into practice. We shall overcome difficulties of this stage together with the entire nation.

point at issue is the future of socialism in a fraternal socialist country. It is not a Soviet rule to abandon our friends and allies in the hour of need. This was authoritatively declared by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU.

This internationalist stand is all the more important since Poland has become a target of massive political and ideological pressure by imperialism and its agents. Striving to destroy the people's system, the enemies of socialism in the country and those who direct them from abroad are concentrating their main attack against the PUWP. They seek to blacken the whole of its activity so that the mistakes made by the past leadership should obscure in the minds of the people the outstanding achievements that marked socialist Poland's development.

What has socialism brought Poland? It is obvious to all that in the first place, it ensured the independence and sovereignty of the Polish state, the ultimate resolution of the territorial problem. For the first time the Polish people gained an opportunity to live freely and develop on the age-old lands of its homeland, within borders reliably guaranteed by the joint strength of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Another great gain of socialism was the country's revolutionary transformation. The people's power put an end forever to class oppression, established social property in the basic means of production, placed Poland among the top 10 industrial states of the world, raised from the ruins its capital and other cities, ensured the flourishing of its national culture, and boosted the living standards of the working people. What has been done over three and a half decades would have taken centuries under different social conditions.

And there is another impressive result of socialist development: Poland, which was in the past a plaything in the hands of the imperialist powers, has become an authoritative and respected member of the international community. As a member of the

family of socialist states, it has made a worthy contribution to the formation of Europe's present face. There is every reason to say that socialism has ensured for Poland, as for the other countries of our community, the most important, vital value: lasting peace.

It was not the bourgeoisie or the landlords that ensured all this for Poland and the Poles. Neither was it the nationalist and other parties which fought for power before the war and in the end brought the country to a national catastrophe. All this has been ensured for the homeland by the working class and its communist vanguard, with the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries. Only blind people or open anti-communists can fail to see this.

Of course, recognizing the achievements of socialism does not mean justifying the errors made. Over the past few months, in the decisions of the plenary sessions of the PUWP Central Committee, in the pre-congress discussion and now, at the congress, the communists resolutely condemn these errors, look for their root causes, and strive to find ways to overcome them effectively and quickly. Many shortcomings, as it has now become evident to everyone, stem from the former leadership's departure from the Leninist principles of party activity, from the weakness of its organizational, ideological and political work, from the absence of a consistent class approach to economic and political decision-making. All that resulted in the most dangerous thing that can threaten a communist party: the vanguard's losing touch with the masses.

But however serious the errors, the Polish communists are able to restore the party's prestige in society and to regain the people's confidence. Your party has glorious traditions of struggle for the interests of the working class, of the Polish people. The party led the working people to the triumph of the socialist revolution and under its leadership great successes have been achieved in building socialism in the country. And we believe that the PUWP will be able to overcome the present grave crisis, to rebuff the attacking counter-revolution, and lead the country forward along the road of socialism, the road of Poland's all-round progress and prosperity.

If this is to be done, it is first of all necessary to restore fully the PUWP's capacity for action and strengthen its cohesion on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis. As the experience of the communist movement has shown, the party can successfully accomplish its mission of organizer and leader of the masses if inner-party democracy is combined with conscious discipline and if the unity of word and deed is a law for it.

The dramatic lessons of the Polish crisis confirm once again that whenever there is a departure from the general objective laws of Marxism-Leninism, hostile forces do not miss the opportunity to take revenge, seeking to restore the old order. In so doing, the counter-revolution disguises its actions by false demagogic slogans in order to delude the working class and to make it hand over political power to its class enemy.

Camouflaging their true intentions, the opponents of the people's power are shouting everywhere that they want to "improve" socialism. All the reactionaries in the present-day world, primarily the chieftains of U.S. imperialism and West German revanchism, call themselves supporters of such an "improvement." Is it not clear what meaning they read into this slogan? Their real aim is to undermine and then eliminate the PUWP's leading role in society, erode the people's power, restore private property and the capitalist order. This is the kind of "socialism" they press for.

That is why we regard as essentially important the striving of our Polish comrades to elaborate a program for overcoming the crisis, a program which would lead to the consolidation and development of the socialist system. A creative development of the teaching of Marx and Lenin and its use with due regard for the national specifics open up broad possibilities for raising the efficiency of the planned socialist economy, for the working people's involvement in running the affairs of state, for initiative by trade union and youth organizations, for intensifying work among the peasantry, and for other forms of political activity by the masses. Such a genuine improvement and perfection of socialism can be achieved only if its inviolable foundation — social property, the power of the working class, and the guiding role of the Communist Party — is preserved and consolidated.

Esteemed comrades,

Each congress of a fraternal party is an opportunity not only to solve the vital problems of the country's life; but also to examine issues of the further development of relations between the peoples of socialist countries. The extraordinary character of your congress does not obviate this general tendency. On the contrary. The point is that the cause of defending socialism in Poland is inseparable from its participation in the collective organizations of socialist countries and its ties as an ally.

When the CPSU and the PUWP started building new relations between our peoples after the Second World War, they had to cope with a grave legacy from the past. This puts an even higher value on the results of the constructive work carried out since then. The Soviet-Polish brotherhood-in-arms in the struggle against fascism was reinforced by internationalist mutual assistance in building a new life. At present, the Soviet Union and Poland have close bonds of equitable cooperation in all spheres of public activity: in the economy, politics and culture. This cooperation has already given much to both our peoples, providing a material basis for the feelings of friendship and sympathy which millions of Soviet people and the working people of socialist Poland have toward each other.

The opponents of socialism are now trying to destroy the results of that noble work carried out by the communists. And not only communists, for the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party of Poland, the socialist youth unions, the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship and many other public and

creative organizations have also helped to strengthen Soviet-Polish friendship.

Today, the principles laid down in the Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance are being put to the test. Comrades, you know about the steady deliveries of Soviet oil, natural gas, ore, cotton, timber and other commodities vital to the Polish economy and supplied at prices considerably below the world prices, about the great additional financial assistance given by the Soviet Union to Poland. These are not surplus funds and resources in our national economy, and this graphically demonstrates the Soviet people's truly fraternal attitude to socialist Poland.

On the other hand, supplies of Polish industrial goods are of considerable importance for the Soviet national economy. We consider it useful to continue developing economic cooperation for the good of all. But this naturally requires efficient fulfillment of the commitments undertaken, a clear realization of the fact that disruption of cooperative ties harms the economic interests of the fraternal countries.

Allow me to express the conviction that the edifice of Soviet-Polish friendship will be firm and inviolable in spite of all the hostile attacks and that Moscow and Warsaw will continue to come out hand in hand in the struggle for the cause of peace and socialism.

Comrades,

The beginning of the 1980s has been marked by a sharp increase in the aggressiveness of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. While branding as terrorism every manifestation of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, the Washington administration has been ever more openly relying on force in the struggle against revolutionary movements. Washington's emphasis on attaining military superiority over the socialist community and the Western drive for a new round of the nuclear arms race are particularly dangerous.

The U.S. global strategy reserves a special place for exploiting the Polish crisis. World reaction makes

no secret of its intention to weaken Poland as a link of the socialist community and so to undermine the latter's joint strength. It is clear what threat an impairment of the existing equilibrium of forces on the continent and all over the world would present for European and universal peace.

The socialist countries are aware of all these far-reaching designs of imperialism and its accomplices and, of course, will not allow them to be carried out under any circumstances. Our peoples have paid too high a price for the right to live a free and peaceful life to permit erasing the results of the Second World War and post-war development, to violate the fraternal union of socialist countries, a reliable guarantor of peace and the security of nations.

In the deteriorating international situation, the peoples of socialist countries are stepping up the struggle to maintain peace and avert a nuclear war.

You know, comrades, that the 26th congress of the CPSU put forward a number of initiatives which are a direct continuation of the Soviet Peace Program. Quite recently the USSR Supreme Soviet called on all parliaments and peoples to work for a prompt solution of controversial international problems through negotiations. Stop the nuclear madness! — that is the message of the Address issued by our supreme organ of power. We note with satisfaction that this appeal has met with a positive response on the part of European and world opinion.

In conclusion, comrades, let me express the conviction that the ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP will equip the party with a militant program for overcoming the political and economic crisis and will be a major stage in the struggle to reinforce the positions of socialism.

We wish you every success and want to assure you that the Soviet communists, the Soviet people will always be together with the Polish communists, with the fraternal Polish people in the struggle for the cause of peace and socialism.

Long live the inviolable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic!

The ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP widely debated the Central Committee's report for the period between the eighth and ninth congresses, other documents, and questions of the country's socio-economic development.

The congress elected the party's new ruling organs, with Stanislaw Kania as First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

After discussing the proposals submitted by the commission for preparing amendments to the PUWP rules, the congress approved the draft rules and entrusted the Central Committee to prepare the final draft of the rules. The congress adopted a resolution "On Developing Socialist Democracy and Strengthening the PUWP's Leading Role in Socialist Construction and Stabilization of the Socio-Economic Situation in the Country" and on elaborating a long-term program of the PUWP, and also a resolution in connection with the centenary of the Polish working-class movement. It also adopted an Address to the Polish people.

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Events in Iran

Following are excerpts from statements of the CC, People's Party of Iran, on recent political developments in the country and the removal of Bani-Sadr from the post of President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

From Statement of the CC PPI, June 12, 1981

Our country is going through a crucial period of its history. The internal and external enemies of the Iranian revolution, who are headed by U.S. imperialism, are busy carrying out the seventh conspiracy against the republic. The purpose of this conspiracy is, as in the case of the previous ones, to provide favorable conditions for the overthrow of the present regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI), a regime whose decisive political trend is Imam Khomeini's anti-imperialist policy uniting the people. An expression of the fundamental demands of millions of disinherited members of our society, this policy course enjoys unqualified support of all revolutionary forces, from true fighters of Islam to true adherents of scientific socialism. It has resulted in a historic victory for the revolution and shaken the foundations of the criminal and predatory despotism of world imperialism and reactionary forces in the Persian Gulf. This is why the overall strategy of world imperialism and reaction led by U.S. imperialism is aimed first and foremost at restoring "imperialist stability" in revolutionary countries, such as Iran and Afghanistan. After the failure of the six previous conspiracies aimed at leading the revolution astray with the aid of liberal conciliators and eventually to nullify it, or overthrow the revolutionary regime by using counter-revolutionary violence . . . the united front of the counter-revolution resorted to the seventh conspiracy with a view to destroying the IRI from within. A peculiarity of the seventh conspiracy of the enemies of the revolution, headed by U.S. imperialism, is that the conspiracy involves the most diverse forces. All these forces have united under the slogan of defending the powers and prerogatives of the Presidency, whereas the People's Party of Iran and those members of the majority in the Fedayine Khalq organization whose political views and activity are contrary to those of the forces set on bringing down the present government are under a sustained attack from two sides.

The historical duty of all truly revolutionary forces is to see clearly in this complicated situation and not to let the enemy trap them.

One of the greatest political difficulties facing the leading bodies of our society is admittedly the difference existing between the President of the Republic and the few supporters he has in parliament on the one hand, and the parliamentary majority and the government, on the other. These differences and the resulting struggle have attained unprecedented intensity in recent months and affect our society. They boil down to two points:

- first, the powers of the President of the Republic vis-a-vis the legislative bodies;
- second, the President's criticism of the meas-

ures of a government backed by the parliamentary majority, the judiciary and decisions of parliament.

The PPI adheres to the following position:

1. Regarding the presidential powers and prerogatives we believe, as we repeatedly stressed during the debate on the constitution, that the best form of establishing people's rule is to transfer all powers to parliament, to the people's deputies. Parliament should be vested with the power to form the government and to reshuffle it if necessary, appoint the President of the Republic as political spokesman of the country and to remove him if necessary, and enact according to the constitution laws relating to every public sphere.

While the election of the President by direct suffrage is envisaged by the constitution of the IRI, which also provides for control measures restricting the President's freedom of action, it runs counter to the article which recognizes the absolute authority of parliament. This, as we see it, is a shortcoming of the constitution that should be eliminated in the course of its further perfecting.

2. Criticism by the front whose central figure is the President. Our party considers that this criticism may be divided into three parts.

The first part is biased criticism and various maneuvers designed to suppress a "rival" or "rivals." The second part concerns shortcomings which we regard as inevitable in today's difficult domestic situation. These shortcomings would be there even if the President had had no rivals. The third part is correct criticism of incorrect measures, mistakes and violations of law on the part of various groups or individuals belonging to the majority in government bodies. But no matter how correct this classification is, the very nature of the criticisms by the President was wrong and did not help achieve positive results. These criticisms offered adventurers, ambitious persons seeking power and intriguers an opportunity to step up the struggle from day to day, an activity which met and will meet the interests of the enemies of the Iranian revolution, primarily U.S. imperialism.

3. Our explicitly critical posture toward the President, who heads one of the warring sides within the regime, does not imply that we want to reduce the responsibility of this side as a whole, represented above all by liberal bourgeois forces and their political organizations, such as the Freedom Movement, National Front or Coordination Bureau. On the contrary, we consider that this part of the President's supporters, most of whom are conciliators inclined to surrender to imperialism, is the main instigator and inspirer of differences. The chief cause of the

crisis is the activity of capitalist exploiters and landed oppressors.

4. Our outspoken denunciation of one of the two warring sides does not prevent us from seriously criticizing the activities of the other. We think that in the form and content of solutions as well as in the political, economic and social practices of the leaders who make up the majority in government bodies there are many shortcomings, serious mistakes and infringements of the legitimate rights of the people, primarily the rights of ideological opponents. These shortcomings, in turn, are a factor in the current turmoil. This is why the PPI has always pointed, in a constructive spirit, to these shortcomings, stressing

that the interests of the revolution demand at all times and especially in the present difficult situation that the activity of all revolutionaries be aimed at mustering the largest possible forces working sincerely for the consolidation of the gains of the revolution.

The enemies of the revolution are trying to disrupt this unity and set the country's revolutionary forces on one another as well as to isolate the Iranian revolution internationally from its friends and defenders. Let us, then, carefully study the history of our country and the world and learn the lessons of successful and abortive revolutions in other countries.

From Statement of the PPI, June 25, 1981

The People's Party of Iran sees the removal of Bani-Sadr from the Presidency of the Republic as a major event closing a historically brief but turbulent stage of the victorious revolution in our country.

"We are confident that, as a result of further development, the powerful, truly revolutionary forces and loyal defenders of the 'Imam's line' in the home and foreign policy of our country will very soon rectify this big mistake (the election of Bani-Sadr to the office of President of the Republic)." (Quoted from PPI statement of February 1, 1980 on the election of Bani-Sadr.)

We expressed concern and alarm about the election of Bani-Sadr to the high post of President of the Republic. By the same token, we consider his removal from this post a great victory for the truly revolutionary forces supporting Imam Khomeini's popular and anti-imperialist policy. We hope this victory will open a new stage in the deepening and further development of the revolution on such fundamental lines as abolishing every form of imperialist domination and achieving full national independence, affecting radical economic and social changes in the interest of the millions of working people in town and country, preventing a return to one-man despotism or the despotic rule of a group, and safeguarding the individual and social freedoms guaranteed by the constitution.

The PPI began to express concern about the fortunes of the revolution when, after the victory of the revolution on February 11, 1979, men like Bani-Sadr, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, Ibrahim Yazdi, Reza-Sadr and liberals such as the leaders of the National Front and Freedom Movement entrenched themselves at the revolution's headquarters, that is, on the Revolutionary Council and in the provisional revolutionary government. The strong positions seized by them in the government enabled them to embark on a policy frankly directed against the main development line of the revolution, that is, a policy of collusion with U.S. imperialism, stabilizing and strengthening the capitalist system and restoring the country's dependence on imperialism. This policy was a dangerous obstacle to the further advance of the broad revolutionary movement seeking fundamental changes in every public sphere, and led in the end to the "Bazargan-Brzezinski meeting."

The occupation of the U.S. Embassy, that spy nest and headquarters planning the overthrow of the Islamic Republic of Iran, by students following Imam Khomeini, dealt a powerful blow to the policy of conciliation and surrender, and the revolution entered a new phase. However, the blow failed to crush the liberal trend. Bazargan was ousted from the post of head of the provisional government but he and several of his liberal associates remained on the Revolutionary Council. The composition of the government remained virtually the same as at the time when all problems were being solved "step by step" and, indeed, some policy lines of the provisional liberal government were left intact.

The approval of the constitution by the Council of Elders was widely backed by the people. In spite of certain shortcomings and drawbacks, the constitution is really one of the greatest gains of our glorious revolution and a big stride toward stabilizing and consolidating it. Then came a period of elections to the constitutional institutions, that is, presidential elections, parliamentary elections, and elections of the judiciary, and a period of forming a government.

The first and most important step at that stage was the election of Bani-Sadr to the position of President of the Republic. It may now be said frankly that, regretfully, the conditions prevailing in our society at the time made a better, more suitable choice impossible.

In a statement released on February 1, 1980, that is immediately after the election returns had been announced, the PPI CC openly voiced its misgivings about the election of Bani-Sadr.

The CC statement listed, among others, the following two important factors for the concentration of votes in support of Bani-Sadr: "The first factor is that, as the election campaign showed, the anti-popular forces in society ranging from outspoken counter-revolutionaries to the liberal bourgeoisie, particularly dismissed army officers and backers of the overthrown regime in the armed forces, secret police and criminal police did their utmost to ensure the victory of Admiral Madani. This alarmed all the forces dedicated to the revolution. They saw the possibility of Madani's victory as a threat to the revolution. The second and most effective factor for the concentration of votes in

favor of Bani-Sadr was Imam Khomeini's stirring message from his hospital bed urging everyone to demonstrate unity before the enemies of the revolution, refrain from dividing the votes and help concentrate all votes in favor of the candidate who had the greatest chances."

Developments have shown that the PPI's assessment of Bani-Sadr was correct and that we had reason to be concerned about his election to the Presidency.

Unfortunately, our warning failed to draw the attention of a substantial number of revolutionary fighters to the great threat which the election of Bani-Sadr posed to the revolution.

In contrast to this disregard, the counter-revolutionaries, various conciliators and capitulationists and imperialism's "fifth column" were quick to see the rare opportunity offered to them by that election. In spite of contradictions between these forces as well as between each of them and Bani-Sadr himself, they all rapidly rallied together behind him and thus formed a coalition of counter-revolutionaries, conciliators, capitulationists and adventurers of a most diversified spectrum. Within this motley spectrum there was, however, concord and unity of opinion and action regarding a specific goal, namely, overthrowing the present regime of the IRI and, above all, eliminating Imam Khomeini's line, a line unifying the revolutionary movement.

Throughout the 18 months following the presidential elections, the PPI called the attention of the highest authorities of the IRI to the great danger which was growing with every passing day; it did so on many occasions, directly and indirectly, through its publications and in other ways. Unfortunately, incorrect notions about our party's revolutionary policy and estimations prevented this historic warning from being taken into account in time.

The PPI regards the historic decision of the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran to relieve Bani-Sadr of the post of President and the decision of the Islamic Majlis on Bani-Sadr's political incompetence as a telling blow to the seventh conspiracy of U.S. imperialism against the Iranian revolution. It serves warning, however, that this conspiracy has yet to be fully defeated.

There is no question that after this setback the enemies of the revolution are going to act still more viciously and aggressively. U.S. imperialism will try, with the aid of pseudo-Muslim elements planted among militant Muslims, and undoubtedly even here and there in the revolutionary bodies, and by exploiting the "weak points" of this or that highly placed leader, to continue its policy of fomenting discord and building up tensions, thus diverting Muslims from the main objectives of the revolutionary struggle. Imperialism and the counter-revolution backed by it will, posing as Muslim fighters, attempt extremist actions to create an atmosphere of fear and discontent among the people. The idea of the permissibility of any encroachment on the people's legitimate rights will enable the counter-revolutionaries to mobilize their evil forces and execute their plans of creating tensions while instigating ignorant

or insufficiently enlightened sections of the population. There are numerous examples of distortions of this kind in both remote areas and the central part of the country.

It is perfectly clear that the purpose of creating tensions is to force society out of a normal, peaceful state and provoke clashes going as far as a fratricidal civil war. The counter-revolutionary front is trying to regain its forces and lay the grounds for new actions. It is also indisputable that adventurers are not sitting back, either. It is historically important, however, for preserving the prestige and authority of the revolution that the revolutionary regime, while taking resolute action against counter-revolutionaries and those responsible for tensions, should stay cool and prevent certain supporters of the revolution from using brutal methods in retaliation for the brutal actions of those who are trying to create tensions.

It is a historic duty of the realistic and sober-minded forces of the revolutionary regime to prevent the struggle to maintain the gains of the revolution and the effort to frustrate the provocations of "makers of tensions" from swerving from the correct, sensible course and degenerating into a painful and disastrous tragedy.

The People's Party of Iran, fully realizing its tremendous historical responsibility for the destiny of the great revolution of our beloved country, appeals again to all true fighters committed to the policy of Imam Khomeini to form a united front of the forces sincerely supporting the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

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Statement by the South African Communist Party

On July 30, 1981, the South African Communist Party — the oldest communist party on the African continent — will be celebrating its 60th birthday. The party was formed at a conference in Cape Town from July 30 to August 1, 1921, attended by representatives of a number of socialist organizations from various centers in South Africa. The Communist Party of South Africa (as it was then called) adopted a constitution, decided to affiliate to the Third (Communist) International and issued a manifesto appealing: "to all South African workers, organized and unorganized, white and Black, to join in promoting the overthrow of the capitalist system and outlawry of the capitalist class, and the establishment of a Commonwealth of Workers throughout the world."

"We hold aloft the glistening banner of the World Commune to be, when the class war shall have been for ever stamped out, when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessities and amenities of life, the comfort and the culture, the honor and the power, shall be to him who toils and not to him who exploits, when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common."

The dedicated men and women who attended the birth of the Communist Party of South Africa had launched on the South African scene an organization which was to bring about a radical transformation in the political thought of the entire sub-continent, which was to make a fundamental contribution to the struggle for national liberation of the oppressed peoples, and which was to advance the cause of socialism nationally and internationally.

The party's watchword since its foundation has been proletarian internationalism. The party's main duty, said its manifesto, was "to establish the widest and closest possible contact with workers of all ranks and races" who would constitute the revolutionary force which would overthrow the capitalist system.

The South African communists were the product of class struggle in South Africa flowing from the development of mining and industrial capitalism dating from the discovery of gold and diamonds in the last quarter of the 19th century. Socialist organizations and socialist thinking had existed in various forms in South Africa since the turn of the century. The South African Labour Party came into existence in 1910 with a socialist objective in its constitution. For historical reasons it grew out of the white labor movement and its membership was almost exclusively white.

In the early years of this century, the white workers, though still constituting for the most part an aristocracy of labor, were not so privileged and protected as they are today. There was no automatic union recognition, no machinery for industrial conciliation. The white workers had to fight many bloody battles, and many had to suffer and die, before the ruling class accepted the need to make

them concessions and turn them into second-class allies in the fight against the growing strength and organized power of the Black workers.

When the first world war broke out in 1914, the South African Labour Party, with its exclusively white membership, was one of the few social-democratic parties in the world which, like the Bolshevik Party in Russia, stood firm by the pledge of the Basle Conference of the Second International to oppose any future war and fight for the overthrow of the capitalist governments involved. The Labour leadership of the time — revolutionaries like W.H. Andrews, D. Ivon Jones and S.P. Bunting among others — were in advance of the Labour rank and file. As the tide of jingoism swelled, the internationalists found themselves driven out of the Labour Party, which abandoned its allegiance to the cause of international socialism and turned itself into an appendage of the Smuts-Botha imperialist war machine.

It was the Labour internationalists who constituted the nucleus of the young Communist Party, and there joined forces with other white social democrats (including a significant number from Russia who had had some contact with the revolutionary movement there) and an increasing number of African, Coloured and Indian militants who saw in the Communist Party the strongest weapon to hand for smashing the color bar. In the crucible of mass action was forged the new internationalism of national and class struggle which has been the South African Communists' vital contribution to the history of their country.

South Africa, wrote S.P. Bunting in January 1921, was a unique case of ruling and subject races jostling together, "an epitome of what happens on a world scale." The 1962 program of the South African Communist Party states: "On one level, that of 'white South Africa,' there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism ... But on another level, that of 'non-white South Africa,' there are all the features of a colony ... It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of the South African system."

The similarity of the two statements underlines the outstanding feature of the history of the Communist Party — that day in and day out it fought consistently and unremittingly against the color bar, for the overthrow of the white supremacist state and the establishment of a people's democracy based on equal rights for all irrespective of race, creed or color. The decades since the program was adopted, were years of struggle which saw the transformation of the party into a truly vanguard party of the working people involved at every level in the fight for national liberation.

With the development of the industrialization and the consequent growth of the Black labor force, the Communist Party began to turn its attention more

and more toward the organization of the Black workers. During the 1920s it opened night classes where African workers learned to read and write. Of one such school in Johannesburg Moses Kotane, later to become general secretary, wrote: "It was at that night school where English was taught to me in the right way and where many English terms which I could not understand clearly from dictionaries were explained to me. It was there that many concepts were made clear to me, and where I began to understand the capitalist society, its class divisions and its class and national oppression and exploitation."

The party also started the first industrial trade union among African workers.

Moses Kotane, already a member of the African Bakers' Union and the African National Congress, joined the Communist Party through the night school and was to become the party's leading functionary, organizer and spokesman for almost half a century until his death in 1978. Other Africans who joined the party at about the same time were J.B. Marks, later President of the African Mineworkers' Union and national chairman of the Communist Party; E.T. Mofutsanyana, later secretary of the Johannesburg district of the party and editor of the party paper *Inkululeko*; trade unionists Gana Makabeni, J. Nkosi, T.W. Thibedi and many others. Coloured leaders Jimmy la Guma and John Gomas also joined the party in the 1920s.

Wherever the masses were involved in struggle, there the party was to be found. It joined with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and the African National Congress in campaigns against the hated pass laws. It helped organize the masses of unemployed, white and Black, in the depression years of the early 30s. It formed the core of the opposition to the rise of fascism which marked the years before the outbreak of World War II. It was part of the united front which joined at the All-African Convention in 1935 to oppose the passage of Hertzog's Bills through Parliament depriving the Cape Africans of the remnants of their common roll franchise. During World War II it helped mobilize the South African people to curb the South African fascists at home and to destroy the forces of Nazism in the world at large.

By the end of the war, the party membership, which numbered only a few hundred in 1921, had increased more than 10-fold, organized under committees in all the main centers of the country. Nor was the work of the party confined to the Africans. Groups of activists from other sections of the oppressed peoples had joined the party, and under their influence the nature of the liberatory organizations themselves had also been radicalized, the old, petty-bourgeois and merchant class leadership being replaced by militants who were advocating more effective methods of struggle. The names of communists like our present national chairman, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, who was elected President of the South African Indian Congress, became household words because of their selfless dedication to the cause of national liberation.

The racial composition of the membership, too,

had changed. Whereas in 1921, 90 per cent of the membership of the party had been white, by 1950, 90 per cent of the membership was Black, and Blacks constituted the majority of the leading party committees, as they still do today.

Although for the first 30 years of its existence the party had a status of formal legality, its members and leaders had always been subjected to persecution and intimidation by the imperialist rulers of the country. The unforgettable martyr comrade Johannes Nkosi was brutally done to death by police at a mass anti-pass rally in Durban on Dingaan's Day, December 16, 1930. Most members had spent some time in pick-up vans and police cells.

This period of precarious legality came to an end after the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948 and in 1950 passed the Suppression of Communism Act outlawing the party and making the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas a crime subject to heavy jail penalties. This vicious law, the forerunner of many fascist measures by the Nationalist Party government which have transformed South Africa into a police state on the Hitlerite model, met with firm opposition from the oppressed masses. The party's Central Committee at the time — influenced by legalistic tendencies — was unprepared theoretically and practically for the new situation and decided to dissolve the party. The great majority of communists nevertheless threw themselves with dedication and courage into the taxing task of rebuilding, in conditions of illegality and mounting terror, the South African Communist Party, which was reconstituted in 1953, and which upholds and continues the great party tradition of 60 years of unrelenting struggle in the front ranks of the South African revolution for national liberation and democracy.

The post-war years saw the greatest upsurge of the oppressed peoples of South Africa since Union was formed in 1910 — the 1946 strike of 100,000 African miners for higher wages and better conditions; the mass Indian campaign of 1946-1950 against business and residential segregation; the Defiance Campaign of 1952-53 in which nearly 10,000 people of all races went to jail in an organized campaign of defiance of selected apartheid laws; the historic Congress of the People in 1955 where thousands of delegates from all over the country adopted the Freedom Charter setting out their demands for a new South Africa — still the basic platform of the South African liberation movement; the ensuing Treason Trial from 1956 to 1960; the formation of the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions in 1955; the political strikes, bus and potato boycotts which demonstrated a rising mood of resistance and a capacity for organization which struck terror into the ruling class; the rebellion of the peasantry in the Transvaal, Natal and the Transkei; the mass resistance of African women to the extension to them of the hated pass laws. It was in the course of these struggles that our present general secretary, Moses Mabhida, advanced into the front ranks of the leadership of the Communist Party, the ANC and SACTU.

In all these struggles the links between the party and the national liberation organizations, headed by the ANC, were forged ever stronger, despite the fact that the party was forced to work underground and its membership was subject to the most vicious repression, bans, restrictions, savage jail sentences and even the death penalty. When during the 1960s the Nationalist government banned the ANC and resorted to imprisonment without trial, emergency rule in the rural areas, and torture of political detainees as the only means of retaining power, party members stood their ground side by side with their Congress colleagues, ready to pay whatever price was necessary to win freedom from the intolerable tyranny of apartheid. And the price paid by party members was indeed high. Many communists were among those murdered in detention by the security police, and the names of communists are recorded together with the thousands of Congress men and women in the roll of people's heroes and martyrs.

In the face of the naked repression of the racist regime it became clear to the masses and all honest patriots that no other choice remained except submission to slavery or armed resistance and revolution. Leaders of the African National Congress and the Communist Party set themselves the task of recruiting and training fighting cadre who entered the field of action on December 16, 1961, when the military wing of the liberation movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) opened a campaign of planned sabotage throughout the country. These were the opening shots of the guerrilla struggle which over the ensuing years was to strike blow after blow against the racist regime in all parts of the country. Once again communists and non-communists stood side by side in the ranks of the People's Army.

In 1962 the Communist Party made a major contribution to the South African revolution when its program, *The Road to South African Freedom*, was adopted at the party's fifth underground conference held inside the country after intensive discussion among all levels of the membership. In its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems of the country, the program provided the revolutionary theory essential for the victory of the liberation movement.

The program definitively describes the special type of colonialism developed in South Africa. It sets forth as the immediate and foremost task of the party, the winning of a united front of national liberation, uniting all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination. This revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African majority of the population, is seen as the essential condition and the key for the advance to a socialist South Africa, the supreme aim of the Communist Party.

In its program, and in all its political work, the South African Communist Party has consistently upheld the cause of proletarian internationalism, of unity within the international communist movement and of common action by all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It has consistently upheld the

banner raised by the founders of the party: the banner of revolutionary working class unity, around the October Revolution, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist parties of other socialist countries. Today, when the forces of international imperialism, aided by the Chinese hegemons, are risking nuclear war in their desperate efforts to stem the advance of socialist and national revolution throughout the world, solidarity of all the world revolutionary forces is more urgently necessary than ever before. The struggles for world peace, national liberation and socialism are indissolubly linked.

Today, when the Reagan and Thatcher administrations welcome the racist South African regime as an ally and conspire with it against the gains of the African revolution, the link between our national struggle and the international struggles of the peoples against capitalism and imperialism becomes manifest to all. The oppressed people of our country whole-heartedly welcome the socialist countries as the natural allies of the national liberation movement and African independence.

Our Communist Party has survived the ferocious assault of the racist regime during the 1960s and 1970s and is steadily increasing the scope of its activities both inside and beyond the borders of the country. Augmented meetings of our Central Committee held in 1970 and 1979 have enabled us to bring together our leading cadre to analyze the situation confronting us and to chart out our future program of action.

In a statement issued after its 1979 augmented meeting, our Central Committee stated: "We the people of South Africa know that there is no power that can withstand our organized force. Despite the most savage repression we have demonstrated in action our inexhaustible capacity to develop new forms of mass struggle, uniting more and more people and extending mass action and resistance to all fronts. Wherever we are, and at all levels and in all fields — at our workplaces, in the urban and rural areas where we live, in the schools, universities, churches, cultural and sports clubs — we must mobilize and confront the enemy as never before. We must support every act of resistance and draw it into the mainstream of revolt."

The unprecedented upsurge in popular revolt in South Africa since the Soweto massacre of 1976 reveals the growing confrontation between the people and the ruling class. As our Political Bureau noted in its statement of September 1980:

"Not a day passes without some expression of organized militancy flaring up, now here and now there, especially in the factories, among the youth and in the Black ghettos . . . The ingredients of a major nationwide upsurge are being built up."

In all these struggles our party is playing its part as a vital component of the revolutionary alliance for national liberation headed by the ANC. Now, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of our party, we face the future with confidence. We are determined that the so-called "total strategy" of the racist regime, designed to preserve white domination and

bolster South Africa as a bastion for world imperialism and the reconquest of Africa, shall not succeed. The Botha-Reagan-Thatcher axis must be destroyed and the centuries-old theft of the wealth of our peoples and our land by the racists and imperialists brought to an end once and for all.

In the name of the pioneers who launched our party 60 years ago, in the name of the heroes and martyrs who dedicated and often sacrificed their lives to the cause of freedom and socialism, in the name of our comrades and all freedom fighters who still languish in fascist jails, we pledge to carry on the fight until final victory is achieved, "when (to repeat

the words of our 1921 manifesto) mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor . . . when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common."

Long live the unity of communists and non-communists in the anti-imperialist freedom fight!

Long live the unity of the patriotic forces of our country!

Death to racism!

Forward to people's power!

Long live the South African Communist Party!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live communism!

Results of the Crimea Meetings

At the CPSU Central Committee

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee considered the results of the Crimea meetings held in July and August 1981 by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee; Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State; Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic; Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; and Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PUWP Central Committee's Political Bureau, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Defense Minister of the Polish People's Republic. The CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau fully approved Leonid Brezhnev's activity, the results of the conversations he held, and expresses its gratitude to the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries who took part in these conversations.

In the course of the meetings, the leaders discussed the major tasks in the development of cooperation between the socialist states. They have reached understandings whose implementation is bound to promote the successful development of the countries concerned, to strengthen the socialist community's unity and cohesion. Closer ties between the socialist countries in every field are a crucial condition for the full implementation of the constructive tasks formulated by the recent congresses of communist and workers' parties. These ties have promoted and continue to promote na-

tional economic growth and the improvement of the national well-being of each of the fraternal states involved in this cooperation.

Most socialist countries have focused their attention on the task of intensifying the economy. This task is being primarily tackled on a national scale, while the importance of cooperation between the socialist countries both on a bilateral basis and within the CMEA framework has been steadily growing. The socialist states as a whole have the potentialities to solve such cardinal economic problems as expansion of their energy capacities, attainment of a qualitatively new level in engineering, and full satisfaction of the demand for consumer goods and farm produce. The development of socialist economic integration and the ongoing deepening of the international socialist division of labor are aimed toward these goals.

In the present five-year period, as the results of the 1981 Crimea meetings confirm, the socialist countries lay particular stress on expanding their interaction in those economic units which are pivotal both to scientific and technological progress and to an improvement of the people's well-being.

The socialist countries are to take part in building gas pipelines and other major projects on the territory of the USSR, and also in reconstructing and modernizing Soviet light and food industries.

The socialist countries have made great progress in building the new society. At the same time, their advance is for various reasons not free of difficulties. People's Poland has had to face acute crisis phenomena. The practice of socialist development shows again and again how important it is for a communist party strictly to abide by the Leninist norms of party life, to strengthen its ties with the masses, improve socialist democracy, follow a realistic economic policy without an excessive indebtedness to the capitalist states, educate the working people in an internationalist spirit, display revolutionary vigilance, and give a timely and resolute rebuff to the anti-socialist forces.

In their mutual relations, the socialist community countries take into consideration not only their own interests, but also those of their friends and allies. Such a truly comradely, fraternal approach, free of national egoism, helps the socialist countries confidently to overcome the most complicated problems in the economy or other fields.

While strengthening cooperation among themselves, the socialist countries are prepared to develop mutually advantageous ties with other countries of the world. Such ties, when built on a healthy and stable basis of true equality and mutual respect for each other's interests, without any discrimination or political pressure, can yield real benefits to all the parties concerned. They are also vital for a solution of mankind's global problems, ranging from protection of the environment, from research and use of the World Ocean and outer space to the strengthening of universal peace.

The recent Crimea meetings have provided fresh and convincing proof of the fraternal parties' and countries' unshakable devotion to the cause of peace and the peoples' right to free and independent development.

The imperialist circles, those of the USA above all, have been whipping up international tensions in a bid to put pressure on the socialist countries and the developing states. NATO's well-known decision on the manufacture and deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe,

the swelling arms budgets of the USA and its partners, the Reagan administration's decision to go ahead with the manufacture of neutron weapons, the constant attempts to fuel crisis situations, the urge to interfere in the internal affairs of other states — all these imperialist actions, which pose a threat to the security of the socialist and many other states, have slowed down the process of détente and worsened the international political climate as a whole.

In contrast to the imperialist line, to which Peking's policy has been drawing ever closer, the socialist community countries have been following a clear-cut and consistent line for stronger peace, for curbing and ending the arms race, and for a just settlement of crisis situations at the negotiating table. The socialist countries maintain that the relations between states belonging to different social systems must be based, especially in this nuclear age of ours, on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which presupposes a lowering of the level of the military confrontation, a constant and constructive dialogue, and the development of mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation.

Precisely such a policy was formulated in the Peace Program for the 1980s, put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU, a policy which is shared by the fraternal socialist countries and which meets with all-round understanding in various political circles and among the broad international public.

A just and reasonable settlement of international disputes is possible, but the language of force or threat of force is not suitable for this purpose. The socialist countries have at their disposal all that is necessary to defend their vital interests, and they will do all they have to in this respect. At the same time, they have always believed that peace is necessary for all countries and all peoples. Peace is a common asset, and all states must work together to defend and strengthen it.

As the results of the 1981 Crimea meetings clearly show, the socialist countries are prepared for a dialogue and cooperation with all the forces which are concerned over the present state of international affairs and which seek to strengthen international security.

The CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau states that the Crimea meetings have resulted in the necessary coordination of the socialist community countries' foreign policy. This is bound to promote the peace initiatives of the socialist states on all the most complicated and explosive problems of present-day world politics.

In strengthening their bilateral and multilateral relations with each other, and in improving the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the socialist countries have firmly followed the road of peace and creative construction.

The CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau has instructed the appropriate departments and organizations to take the necessary steps to implement the understandings reached as a result of the 1981 Crimea meetings.

Pravda, August 23, 1981

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Against the Arms Race and the Threat of War

**Marshall of the Soviet Union Dmitry Ustinov
Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC
Minister of Defense of the USSR**

The Soviet people are working with a great creative uplift to carry out the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU. A nationwide drive is under way to put into effect the plans for communist construction. At the same time, the Soviet Union, together with all the other peace forces, is fighting for peace, against the danger and for the prevention of a destructive war, in the face of fierce resistance on the part of imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The Soviet Union's devotion to the great goals of peace, progress and a creative effort for the good of mankind was clearly demonstrated by the recent fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The speech at the session by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Address to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World, adopted by this country's supreme organ of legislative power, have once more shown that our party and state are consistently working to carry out the Peace Program for the 1980s approved by the 26th congress of the CPSU.

I

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes imperialism's course toward exacerbating the international situation and toward the arms race. Our stand is to ensure for all peoples — security, conditions for the successful solution of their development problems, and reduction of the burden of military expenditure. During the 1970s, international relations were directed toward détente and began to be restructured in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence as a result of the implementation of the Peace Program worked out by the Soviet Communist Party, the coordinated international activity of the fraternal socialist nations and the tremendous efforts of the whole of progressive mankind.

Détente has yielded considerable results. Confidence between states and peoples has grown. People have begun to look ahead more hopefully. A whole series of important measures to improve international relations in Europe and create greater stability in the world have been carried out. The decisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were the major event of the past decade, reaffirming the inviolability of the post-war frontiers between the states and laying a solid groundwork for cooperation in the political, economic, and military fields, and also in science and culture.

A constructive base was laid for Soviet-U.S. relations. The parties concerned recognized that the maintenance of peace and peaceful coexistence are equally essential and advantageous to the USSR and to the U.S. The two states concluded a number of important treaties and agreements, including those

on the prevention of nuclear war, on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms, and on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems, based on the principles of equality and equal security, respect for each other's interests, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Soviet-American talks were started with a view to reducing military activity in the Indian Ocean zone, on banning or restricting many types of weapons, on limiting arms traffic, and on some other problems of disarmament. In 1979, the Soviet and U.S. leaders signed the Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2).

Toward the turn of the 1980s, however, there was an abrupt swing in the policies of the United States and a number of other NATO countries. The circles that are banking on force in international affairs, refusing to accept the historically conditioned changes in the world, and aiming to tilt the world balance of forces to their own advantage at all costs have once again got the upper hand in these countries.

The meeting of the NATO Council in May 1978 decided on a sharp increase in military budgets and a long-term (projected until 1995) program for building up arms on the scale of the whole bloc. In December 1979, the U.S., with assistance from West Germany, forced its allies into accepting a plan for the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. In taking these steps, the U.S. must have realized that it was breaking the accord with the Soviet Union on the commitment to the principle of equality and identical security in their relations, and deliberately impairing its relations with the USSR. By these actions, it flouted the declarations made by the U.S. President in 1979 in favor of maintaining parity between the USSR and the United States, and respect for peace and the sovereignty of other nations.

The U.S. has openly declared its intention to resort in its policies to the use or threat of arms, including nuclear arms. Entire regions of the world are shamelessly declared to be spheres of the United States' "vital interests." Interventionist rapid deployment forces are being set up, U.S. bases in the Indian Ocean and in many countries of the Middle East and elsewhere are being expanded, and so are the stocks of arms and war equipment in Europe for double-based forces. The governing circles of Washington have set out to destroy all the positive elements achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations during the 1970s, and to upset the rough parity between the USSR and the U.S. in the military field.

There is renewed speculation across the Atlantic about a "limited" nuclear war being acceptable for Europe and about the possibility of carrying out a

pre-emptive strike at military targets on the territory of the USSR to disarm it. How is one to react to such an upsurge of warmongering? Can one seriously talk of any limited nuclear war whatsoever? For it is clear to everybody that the aggressor's action would inevitably and instantly invite a devastating retaliation from the victim of the attack. None but utterly irresponsible individuals can claim that a nuclear war can be fought under some rules established in advance, with nuclear missiles going off under a "gentleman's agreement": only over specified targets without hitting the population in the process. However, it is abundantly clear to any person who knows anything at all about nuclear weapons what casualties and destruction these will cause, whenever applied. It is common knowledge that the aftermath of the two U.S. nuclear bomb blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki is still making itself felt, claiming more and more human lives.

The Reagan administration, without any positive initiatives to its credit, has committed itself to undisguised anti-Sovietism. At the same time, it grossly interferes in the affairs of other nations and arrogantly dictates its demands for them to meet. Washington has launched a large-scale offensive against the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and, above all, in Latin America, shoring up anti-popular regimes in every way, supplying them with arms, equipment, military advisers and money.

Where does this course lead? What do the new leaders of the United States have in store for the world?

II

The ruling circles of the United States are working toward a further increase of international tension and aggravation of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The United States has chosen, as the basis of its foreign policy, anti-Sovietism, suppression of national liberation movements, destabilization of the situation in the socialist community countries, and attempts to undermine socialism as a system. By launching a slander campaign, built on an imaginary "Soviet military threat," the reactionary political forces, with the encouragement of the U.S. government, deliberately strive to sow mistrust and fear in relation to the Soviet Union and its policies, and openly declare the Soviet Union to be the main enemy of the USA. Resorting to gross deception and massive misinformation, they claim that the Soviet Union wants to seize foreign territories, has a military budget exceeding its defensive requirements, is deploying "offensive" weapons systems which NATO allegedly "cannot match", and so on.

All this is a crude distortion of the facts in order to fool the peoples and cover up one's own aggressive schemes. With the aid of this, the U.S. administration hopes to complicate the relations of other countries with the Soviet Union, to change the world alignment of forces in its own favor, and justify the use of arms in crushing the liberation struggle of nations and building up crisis situations in different parts of the world. It also aims to obtain new credits for arms, to vindicate intensive militarization, and

curtail the rights of the working people inside the country.

The United States is entering into an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world: the Pol Pot cut-throats in Kampuchea, the dictatorial regimes in Latin America, and the racists in South Africa. It is actively helping to build up the military potential of China, pushing Japan onto the path of the arms race, and seeking to knock together an anti-Soviet military bloc in the Far East. At the same time, the United States encourages Israel's aggression against the Arab States, hushing up its criminal, piratical actions.

The whole of this course of the White House, jeopardizing the cause of peace, is aimed at providing itself with a pretext to respond with the use of military force to possible conflicts flaring up in any part of the globe. Never since the days of the cold war has the line for using force been so frankly manifested in the policy of the United States. U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger asserts that his country should regain the high mobility of its armed forces and promptly react to any change in any part of the world. He says that the United States has to reinforce its positions in the world with the help of arms. Today such conceptions constitute the main source of the war danger. They cannot be assessed otherwise than as a sermon of war, as inflammatory moves by the imperialist circles.

Washington's Atlantic partners and Japan are increasingly being involved in its reckless policy, which is prodding the world toward a stepped-up arms race and war. In fact, they encourage (some of them intentionally, and others involuntarily) the U.S. bid for world domination, play up to it in the arms race, and take the road that leads to a greater danger of war.

The present administration has proclaimed the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union as the primary goal for the next few years. For this purpose, military allocations for the Department of Defense alone will next year be increased by more than 40 billion dollars and will total 226 billion. All in all, in the coming five years (up until 1986), the United States intends to spend 1,500 billion dollars, that is, almost as much as it spent on the armed forces over the past 12 years.

This gives rise to the following question: why does the United States need such enormous military expenditures? Naturally, no country, the United States included, has any need for such military spending in times of peace if it does not pursue aggressive aims.

In this sense, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's answer to this question is clear: the United States will spend as much as it needs to boost America's military strength and gain an advantage over the Soviet Union. In his opinion, "equivalence," "parity" and other notions of this kind are meaningless today, because the United States must arm itself. As justification of militaristic actions, the false thesis is advanced that the Soviet Union allegedly gained an overall strategic superiority in the final quarter of 1980 or in the first

quarter of 1981. It is claimed that parity between the Soviet Union and the United States no longer exists, and that the United States now lags behind the Soviet Union militarily. Therefore, it is said, America must urgently be "rearmed."

One may ask: how does Caspar Weinberger's statement about the United States' "military lag" tally with the final reports submitted to Congress by the Carter administration about approximate parity existing between the Soviet Union and the United States, especially in the field of strategic arms? What could have happened to this parity during the half-year stay in office of the new administration? Has it, perhaps, been discovered that earlier on the United States did not know how to count, or that some unexpected facts have been disclosed which previously had not been taken into consideration? No, the facts are the same, but the U.S. approach to them has changed, Washington's policy has changed. There is no need for the United States to "catch up in armaments," because it has not fallen behind the Soviet Union. The point is that the military strategic parity which has taken shape between our countries does not suit the bellicose leaders of the present administration, because it impedes the United States' aggressive intentions on the world scene, and limits its expansionist actions. That is why the parity principle is being sacrificed for a stake on superiority.

The deliberate falseness of the claims about the United States' "lag" was recently admitted by Secretary of State Alexander Haig. He declared that a parity in the field of strategic nuclear arms exists between our countries as before. As he put it, only in the future can the Soviet Union outstrip the United States and make it vulnerable. It is, then, reasonable to ask: why is the U.S. administration thwarting the enforcement of SALT-2, which seals the parity in strategic arms, limits the number of nuclear weapon delivery units to 2,250 on either side, and bars the way to their further quantitative and qualitative growth?

There is only one answer to this question. The United States is not interested in agreements on the limitation of strategic arms. While paying lip service to their expediency, in reality it comes out against them. Instead of seeking agreements, the Reagan government has taken the open line for an intensive build-up of strategic and other weapons and the formation of a "superior strength" position in future talks with the Soviet Union. Ohio-class nuclear missile submarines are being built at a quickened pace; MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, new strategic bombers, air, sea and land-based strategic Cruise missiles, and Pershing-2 ballistic missiles are being made, and the Shuttle space system is being adjusted for military purposes. The troops are receiving large quantities of new types of conventional arms. By 1986, it is planned to increase the numerical strength of the U.S. armed forces by nearly a quarter-million.

According to Caspar Weinberger, the Pentagon is now formulating a "new military strategy." It fully retains the ideas of the notorious Carter directive No. 59, with its emphasis on a so-called "limited"

nuclear war. Apart from that, it requires that the U.S. armed forces and the U.S. economy should be prepared to wage at one and the same time two major protracted "non-nuclear wars" — one in Europe and one in the Middle East — and that they should also be able to take part in a minor conflict in any other part of the world. The task is to "achieve the settlement of disputes through the might of U.S. armed forces." Does the White House seriously propose to revive the "big stick" policy in the 1980s? The U.S. ought to understand that the world today is not what it used to be, and that its strength is not the only strength in the world. America's striving to achieve military superiority over the USSR only undermines stability in the world and impairs the USA's own security.

Noteworthy is another trend in the present U.S. administration's activities, a trend toward a *gradual erosion of many treaties and agreements*. The USSR-USA treaty on the limitation of anti-missile systems is called in question by the Pentagon chief, who asserts that under conditions favorable to itself the USA might demand its revision.

The agreement between the USSR and the USA on the prevention of nuclear war also appears to be in the way of Washington's policy. How can one, for example, explain otherwise the statements saying that the USA will not stop at using armed force, including nuclear weapons, in its relations with the Soviet Union? Can U.S. leading officials make such statements if they want an improvement of relations between the two countries?

The Washington administration believes that SALT-2 is disadvantageous to the USA and needs to be thoroughly examined. This is a strange method of action: first the treaty is declared to be unacceptable and then it is said it should be examined. Why is it disadvantageous to the USA? One will recall that during its signing the parties stated at the highest level that the treaty represents a mutually acceptable balance between their interests on the principle of equality and equal security. After all, its foundations were laid and developed during two Republican administrations (Nixon and Ford). Under the Democratic administration it was but specified.

Judging by the statements of the present U.S. leaders, they see the treaty's drawback in its being based on the principle of equality and equal security. This and this alone is the obstacle to its being put into effect. "SALT-2 must be revised in favor of the United States," the White House demands. Let us recall in this connection what Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "We will not consent to any agreement that gives a unilateral advantage to the USA. There must be no illusions on this score."

The USA has of late unilaterally refused to discuss some important military problems: talks have been wrecked on matters relating to the Indian Ocean, to restrictions on sales and deliveries of conventional arms, and to a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests; through the USA's fault, negotiations on arms and troop reductions in Central Europe have been blocked through a senseless jug-

gling with figures on the numerical strength of the armed forces stationed in the region by the two sides. Incidentally, these are also approximately equal, with 991,000 men in the NATO countries and 979,000 in the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The purpose of all these actions on the part of the U.S. administration — in addition to achieving military superiority over the USSR and other socialist countries — is to try to undermine their economies through an unprecedented arms race. Some men in Washington are already calculating how many of the USSR's economic programs would thereby be frustrated and how much less food, medical care, etc. would be available to the peoples in the socialist countries.

But the times are now different. The designs of our foes are drawn on sand. The socialist countries have every possibility to foil reaction's plans aimed at reaching military superiority.

The present U.S. administration is elevating interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and an open offensive against the national liberation movement to the level of a state policy. There has been an indignant public reaction in the world to statements by the USA that it intends openly to arm interventionist gangs being sent into Afghanistan; to the admission by the U.S. State Department that the USA supplies arms to the UNITA grouping, acting in concert with South Africa against sovereign Angola; to the armed interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador; to the CIA's conspiracy against Mozambique and Zambia. The U.S. decision to lift the embargo on sales of weapons and modern military technology to China is a step which is openly hostile to the USSR, and which at the same time poses a real threat to Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and other countries in the Far East and Southeast Asia.

The USA, with the help of Israel, pursues a policy of violence, threats and terror in the Middle East and actually encourages Israel's aggressive actions, specifically in Lebanon. It is also trying to get — by force or bribery — new military bases in Somalia, Oman, Kenya, Egypt and Pakistan; it is conducting talks on the stationing of U.S. ground and air forces in the Sinai Peninsula, with the actual purpose of occupying Sinai in the guise of a "cease-fire observer." As the Pentagon sees it, U.S. troops in those areas will be the spearhead of a rapid deployment force for invading countries of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

U.S. imperialism has its tentacles stretching to all parts of the world. Wherever possible, provocations and acts of sabotage are carried out, and work is done to extend the existing bridgeheads and bases and build new ones directed against the socialist countries, and also against the developing states and national liberation movements.

One gets the impression that the circles that are now in power in Washington are capable of gambling away the vital interests of mankind for the sake of their narrow and selfish aims. Under the pretext of defending the "free world," they foment conflicts in various parts of the world, escalate the arms race,

and pursue a policy of destabilizing the social and political situation that has taken shape in Europe since the Second World War. This poses a direct threat to the security of the USSR and its allies. An example of such a threat is provided by the events in Poland, where the activities of internal counter-revolutionary forces are coupled with poorly disguised interference on the part of imperialism. Leading U.S. politicians and even the Senate have been making statements which amount to open interference in Poland's internal affairs. In the State Department a special group has been set up to work out proposals — on instructions from the administration — for maintaining "controlled tension" in Poland. Those who are carrying out such measures, in effect directed against the socialist gains of People's Poland, ought to remember that the Polish people will be able to uphold these gains. It can also rely on its allies and friends.

Those are only a few of the many examples showing the bellicose line of the present administration. They are evidence that, as decades ago, Washington is again trying to speak with the Soviet Union in the language of cold war. At the same time, disrespect is shown for the agreements reached between our two countries in arms limitation. We are not particularly worried by the agreements of 1972, although these were agreed upon by both sides, says Alexander Haig.

What then does the U.S. administration want to achieve in its relations with the Soviet Union? To squander away all the positive capital that has been accumulated? But the American leaders will not intimidate us with that. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our people are not easily intimidated.

III

The Peace Program for the 1980s, adopted by the 26th congress of Lenin's Party, contains specific proposals on the limitation of nuclear and conventional arms, on the elimination of sources of conflicts, and on a peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The Soviet proposals focus on further steps to strengthen peace in Europe. And this is only understandable. The European countries and peoples, who have lived through two world wars in full measure, are particularly interested in seeing détente steadily continue. It must be obvious to all that a worsening of the situation in Europe is particularly dangerous. It is in Europe that two military-political alliances — NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, with their large military contingents and huge arsenals of nuclear and conventional arms — confront each other.

In the interests of strengthening European security, the USSR suggests examining and agreeing on a further extension both of the actual confidence-building measures in the military sphere and of the zone of such measures by applying them to the entire European part of the USSR, provided that the Western states extend the confidence zone accordingly.

In advancing these far-reaching proposals on

confidence-building measures, the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that they are fully consonant with the provisions of the Final Act, take into account the positions of Western countries and are designed to facilitate the successful completion of the Madrid meeting and the convocation of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

But what is the West's reaction to our proposals? It does not show any interest in reaching agreements and evades a businesslike discussion of this problem. It is recorded in the communiqué of the NATO Council session, held last May, that the West supports the idea of spreading the zone of confidence-building measures up to the Urals but, for its part, it proposes nothing to reciprocate the Soviet offer. It wants the USSR unilaterally to include the European part of its territory in the zone covered by the confidence-building measures, alleging that this must naturally be so, because it is a matter of only the European continent. Meanwhile the USA is trying to distort our initiative altogether by depicting it as a trap for the West and as an attempt to drive a wedge between NATO's European member-countries and the USA.

There is neither goodwill, nor elementary realism in such an approach. Europe is not a purely continental geographic notion. Europe means dry land, off-shore sea and ocean areas, and corresponding air space. If the Western states are not prepared to give a concrete answer now, they could give it later, say at the forthcoming conference on military détente and disarmament. The Soviet side says this in no uncertain terms: the first part of our proposal — the extension of confidence-building measures and the zone of their application on our part is inseparably connected with its second part — appropriate reciprocal steps by NATO countries — and cannot be put into effect without them.

A major step of goodwill on the part of the Soviet Union is the proposal for a moratorium on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile weapons of the NATO countries and the Soviet Union. The constructive nature of our proposal is obvious: the arms race will be suspended; a ban will be imposed on the deployment of new and the replacement of existing nuclear weapons with new ones by both sides, which will stabilize the situation in Europe; and favorable conditions will be created for holding negotiations.

The proposal for a moratorium is based on the approximate parity of medium-range nuclear weapons which has existed for a number of years between NATO and the USSR: about 1,000 delivery vehicles on either side. Thus, NATO has U.S. aircraft carrying nuclear weapons (F-111, F-4) deployed on air bases in a number of West European countries; medium-range FB-111 bombers; aircraft carrying nuclear weapons (A-6 and A-7) on board U.S. aircraft-carriers — more than 700 units, in all; and also medium-range land-based ballistic missiles, missile-carrying submarines and bomber aircraft of the U.S. allies — about 300 units in all. All these

weapons have a range of 1,000 to 4,500 kilometers and pose a real threat to Soviet territory.

These NATO weapons have more than once been modernized and are being made further sophisticated (Britain is introducing modernized submarine-based Polaris A-3TK missiles, and proposes to introduce Trident missiles in the future; in France, land and sea-based missiles with single warheads are to be replaced with seven-warhead missiles). U.S. forward-based weapons are also being modernized.

The process of modernization is also under way in the USSR. But in the course of modernization, for more than 10 years now, we have not increased the overall level of Soviet medium-range delivery vehicles in Europe by so much as a single unit. The number of missile launching-pads is even being reduced, because with the appearance of every new missile in the USSR, one or sometimes two old missiles are discarded. These are dismantled and are not deployed in other areas.

The overall yield of the nuclear warheads of the Soviet missiles is also diminishing. Meanwhile, one has to say that at present NATO medium-range weapons can simultaneously carry 50 per cent more nuclear warheads than the corresponding weapons of the USSR.

Moreover, in the event that nearly 600 additional U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles are deployed in Europe, NATO will get more than a 50 per cent superiority in delivery vehicles. In terms of nuclear warheads per launching, NATO's superiority will increase still further. As a result, the approximate parity in nuclear weapons in Europe will be heavily upset in favor of NATO.

There is another no less important aspect of the problem. The new U.S. medium-range missiles are a strategic weapon with respect to the Soviet Union. The United States is well aware of this. But being guided by selfish considerations, it does not tell its NATO allies in Europe about the true plans for the use of its medium-range missiles designed to be stationed in Europe. While officially announcing that the new missiles are meant for the defense of the West European countries, Washington actually plans to use them for "preventive strikes" at the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles and other vital targets situated in the western areas of the USSR. The Pershing-2 missiles, which have a range of 2,500 km and a high accuracy, can hit their targets in the Soviet Union a mere 5-6 minutes after their launching. And this would substantially change the strategic situation. The USA's main concern is not to defend Europe but to reduce the strength of the retaliatory strike at U.S. territory in the event of an aggression against the USSR. It stands to reason that an appropriate reply will be given to all this if need be. We have possibilities to prevent the USA from gaining military superiority. As a result, the equilibrium will be maintained, but on a higher level. At the same time, Western Europe's security will not increase, but will diminish, while the West European countries themselves will become even more dependent on the Pentagon's nuclear strategy.

The purpose of the moratorium, as we understand it, is that the sides should halt the further build-up of the medium-range nuclear weapons already deployed in Europe. As Leonid Brezhnev said at a dinner in honor of Willy Brandt, "the USSR is ready to suspend the deployment of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country on the day when talks open on the substance of the matter. Naturally, this will be done only if the USA tells us that during the talks it will also refrain from building up its medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe." If the NATO countries do not station any additional U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on European territory, the USSR is prepared to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in its western areas as compared with the present level. We are prepared to sit down at the negotiating table even tomorrow and, observing the principle of equality and equal security, to hold talks on a limitation or, better still, on a sizable reduction of the medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The moratorium is not a preliminary condition for starting such talks, but, if the sides accepted it, there would emerge more reliable prerequisites for ending the dangerous nuclear arms build-up on European soil.

World public opinion has met with satisfaction our *call for restraint in the sphere of strategic arms, for a continuation of the talks on their limitation with a retention of all the positive elements that have so far been achieved in this area.* Attaching paramount importance to the whole of this problem, we have invited the USA to come to an agreement on limiting the deployment of new submarines, on banning the modernization of existing and development of new ballistic missiles for these submarines, and on limiting other weapons of any type.

What has the USA answered? Secretary of State Alexander Haig said at a press conference in Rome that he did not see any possibilities at all for resuming the SALT talks in the near future. At the same time, seeking to scare people, Washington is trying to convince the world that the whole matter is impeded by the alleged unwillingness of the USSR to agree to a considerable reduction of strategic arms.

But this is not true. The USSR is prepared to agree to substantial reductions of the strategic arms on both sides, all the more so since we agreed to such an approach by signing SALT-2. This problem, however, must be solved with due account for all the factors of the present strategic situation. The USSR does not raise any obstacles to continuing the SALT process without delay and on the basis of equality and equal security.

The Soviet Union stands for strengthening international security in every part of the world, including the Near East, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf areas.

In contrast to the U.S. attempts to aggravate the situation in the Middle East, the USSR suggests returning to a joint quest for a settlement of the Middle East problem within the framework of a special international conference. It is also necessary to stop setting up ever larger U.S. air-force and

naval groupings in the Indian Ocean and in the Persian Gulf zone, and to remove the direct military threat looming over the countries in those areas. The problem of security in that region should be resolved by concluding an international agreement with due account for the legitimate interests of all the states in the region and guarantees for the observance of their sovereign rights.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev has also declared the Soviet Union's readiness to consider the question of the Soviet troop contingent stationed in Afghanistan. To this end, the undeclared war against Afghanistan must be completely stopped and it must be given reliable guarantees of non-interference.

Showing concern for the preservation of peace in such an important region as the Far East, the USSR is prepared to reach an agreement with all interested countries on the application of the confidence-building measures in the military sphere in that area as well.

In order to improve the international situation and to prevent the world from sliding toward a war, the Soviet Union has suggested convening a special session of the UN Security Council with the participation of the leaders of its member states, and has called upon the West to hold a dialogue at any level, the summit level included.

Leonid Brezhnev's statement on the USSR's positive attitude to the proposal to turn the north of Europe into a nuclear-free zone, and the ideas he voiced on turning the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace and cooperation are emphatic proof of our peaceful intentions.

The Soviet peace initiatives are concrete and constructive. None of them pursues unilateral advantages. They open up realistic opportunities for finding mutually acceptable solutions based on equality and equal security of the sides.

On our side, the door to positive changes is open. It was stated at the 26th congress of the CPSU that the USSR wants normal relations with the United States, believing that there is simply no other reasonable way either from the viewpoint of the interests of the peoples of both countries or those of mankind as a whole. It is up to Washington to make the next move.

If the leaders of the United States and the NATO countries ignore the existing possibility to reach an agreement on real political and military détente and on an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and prefer the arms race and the road of risky military adventurism to negotiations and to the setting up of a base for mutual trust, they will assume the responsibility before the peoples of their countries and all mankind.

Guided by the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU, the Soviet state purposefully and consistently pursues the line of strengthening peace and curbing the arms race and works to preserve and consolidate détente so that all peoples of the planet could enjoy the fruits of peace and freely arrange their life. This is the principal line of the Soviet

Union in the field of foreign policy. Our peace policy is supported by the socialist countries and by the whole of progressive mankind.

It has never been the USSR's intention to threaten any state or group of states. As Leonid Brezhnev emphasized, our strategic doctrine has a purely defensive orientation. This is reflected in the constitution of the USSR. The essence of the Soviet military doctrine consists in that, guided by the principles of the Leninist foreign policy of peace and international security, it is aimed to defend the Soviet Union and other socialist states and prevent imperialist aggression. Preventive expansionist wars of any type and scale and the concepts of preemptive nuclear strikes are alien to the Soviet military doctrine.

At the same time, one cannot disregard the U.S. arms drive, the atmosphere of animosity toward our country that is now being whipped up in the U.S. and NATO, and the open threats and attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist states. Certain leaders across the Atlantic must be reminded in this

connection that the socialist countries' peacefulness should not be taken as their weakness. The experience of the Great Patriotic War proves this very well. The socialist countries have everything they need to ensure reliable defense of their peoples. The might of the socialist community countries is sufficient for thwarting any aggression, and they will never be forced to their knees by anyone.

"We would like to hope, however," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "that those who shape United States policy today will ultimately manage to see things in a more realistic light. The military and strategic equilibrium prevailing between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, objectively serves to safeguard world peace. We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind and talking to us from a position of strength are absolutely futile."

Pravda, July 25, 1981

Leonid Brezhnev's Message of Greetings to the Peace Marchers-81

From June 22 to August 6, Western Europe was the scene of the Peace March-81, held on the initiative of women's organizations of the Scandinavian countries in protest against the deployment in Europe of new U.S. nuclear missiles. It started in Copenhagen and was routed through towns and villages in Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Holland, Belgium and France. Mass rallies and manifestations were held along the way under the slogan of "No to thermonuclear weapons in Europe." The Peace March-81 ended in a rally in Paris on August 6, the anniversary of the day when the U.S. atom bomb destroyed the Japanese city of Hiroshima.

At the Soviet embassy in France, a message of greetings from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev was handed over to the peace marchers. Here is the text of that message.

Dear friends,

I am happy in answer to your appeal to convey warm greetings to the Peace Marchers-81, women and men who have walked hundreds of difficult kilometers, showing real courage, to carry across Western Europe a passionate appeal not to deploy the new nuclear missiles, to stop the arms race and ensure peace and security for the European peoples. Your initiative is an expression of the growing protest on the part of the European peoples against the danger of the West European countries' being turned into the theater of an annihilating nuclear war.

The Soviet people have followed the course of the Peace March-81 with great attention and sympathy. We understand and appreciate the noble motives which prompted the peace marchers to set out on such a long road, and which induced thousands of people in different countries to join in that initiative.

The Soviet Union's principled and consistent policy is a struggle for détente, for a limitation and

reduction of armaments, and for general and complete disarmament. We support the idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, and want the whole European continent to be turned into a zone of peace, security and good-neighborliness. We abide by the principle of equal security and regard the attempts to attain military superiority through an arms build-up as dangerous and inadmissible.

All disputes, including those relating to medium-range nuclear missiles, must be settled through equitable and effective negotiations. We are always prepared for such negotiations.

I wish the Peace Marchers-81, and through you, all those who are concerned over the growing military danger and do not want a repetition of the atomic tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, new strength and successes in the struggle for a peaceful Europe, for a peaceful future of the whole of mankind.

Leonid Brezhnev

Problems of Ideological Work

Report by Gus Hall

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, spoke at a plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee and National Council on June 13, 1981. We present the section of his report dealing with ideological work in the party and inner-party life.

PARTY RENEWAL

This has turned into a period of party renewal. The party building drive is the most successful since the 1930s.

There is great excitement throughout the party and a new confidence that the Communist Party can grow significantly in this period.

It is also most significant that the percentage of workers coming into the party is much higher than in past periods.

We should take note of the fact that the new members to date have joined as a result of only a partial mobilization of the party. The mobilization of the entire party — every club and every member — still remains a challenge for us.

Possibly the most important lesson so far in the drive is that party building results only from planning and organization. It is not a spontaneous process. Party building requires special, planned, organized steps.

Because of the tremendous success of the drive the clubs are going through a process of renewal. A club that recruits is never the same again.

NEW MEMBERS IN THE CLUBS

As should be expected, new members bring with them into the party some problems. However, they are welcome problems because they are problems of growth. But they are serious problems nonetheless. They are problems we must not ignore. And they are all related to one question: Will all the new members stay in the party? Will they become active, committed communists and Marxist-Leninists?

In the final analysis, the answer to these questions lies in the province of the party clubs. If new members leave the party, they leave from the clubs. When they stay, they stay in the clubs. They will become communists as members of the clubs.

At past Central Committee meetings we discussed the inner life of the clubs. There has been some improvement. But this still remains a problem.

WHY CLUBS LOSE MEMBERS

Many club meetings are still dull and immersed in too many administrative questions and endless details. Such meetings are a factor in losing members.

Most, if not all new members joining our party are people who are active in mass movements. They are members of trade unions and other people's organizations. They are activists. The main reason they join our party is so they can more deeply under-

stand the world around them and become more effective activists. Quite naturally they expect the Communist Party club to be a hub, a beehive of activity and discussions about activities and experiences in mass work. They expect lively educational discussions and friendly, helpful sociable people. When new members find this is not the case they tend to lose interest and some leave.

In order to hold onto its members — especially the new ones — all the clubs must shift their emphasis to work on the grass roots level of mass struggles and movements. Such work must become the very heart of the life of our clubs. Such a shift will help in keeping new members.

THE ART OF WINNING NEW MEMBERS

But new members also leave the party for other important reasons. Some leave because of weaknesses in the party. But most leave because of their own political and ideological weaknesses. Therefore, the party must master the art of winning over new members politically and ideologically.

We must start this process with the assumption — the simple truth — that we do not recruit ready-made communists. Many join the party because of the party's role in some specific area of struggle.

All new members come in with what in the old days was called "bourgeois and petty-bourgeois baggage." These are unpleasant, even distasteful words. But they describe the problem perfectly. We know from experience that if we do not help them to get rid of bourgeois baggage they will tend to drift away.

It is true that some leave the party because of some overall weaknesses and shortcomings within the party. But most who leave do so because of their own ideological hangups. Because if they did not have ideological weaknesses they would stay in the party and struggle against whatever weaknesses there are, in the conviction that the party is indispensable and irreplaceable.

THE IDEOLOGICAL HANGUPS

The weakness we must focus our attention on and explore is: what is it we do or do not do to win the new members, politically and ideologically? What do we do to undo the hangups?

Just becoming a member of a club, without special attention and special efforts on the part of the club as a whole, will not win new members ideologically.

The next question is: What are some of the ideo-

logical hangups we must help our new members overcome? And we should note here that while we put emphasis on new members this will also help us older ones too.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS CONCEPTS

Most people who join our party are influenced to one extent or another by anti-working class ideas. These are a reflection of the ruling class ideas. Petty bourgeois ideology is an obstacle to accepting working class concepts, including the concept of the leading role of the working class. And if such ideas crop up in the ranks of older members it should not surprise us if they influence the new members.

So the question here is: What do we need to do to win such people or change their thinking? Specifically, what do the clubs need to do?

What classes, materials, educationals, seminars, literature, forums, schools, etc. do we need to organize for the purpose of giving a clear direction and understanding of the class struggle and a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the working class?

Generally, it must be said that clichés, slogans and textbook explanations are not very helpful in the ideological field. In fact, they turn people off. They become obstacles to the very growth process we are trying to stimulate.

ANTI-SOVIETISM

Anti-Sovietism is the main foreign policy ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. To one extent or another all new recruits, and even some older comrades, are sometimes influenced by anti-Sovietism. Its poison pervades our society. It is on the daily menu of the mass media. We are fed this poison 24 hours per day.

There are shadows of the idea that communists are for détente only because we are pro-Soviet. Or there are the lingering ideas that our party is in some ways under the control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Or the idea that the Soviet Union is also — to one extent or another — responsible for the cold war. Or, that there is anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

So again the question is: What happens in the clubs? How are these questions handled? How are they answered?

RACISM

From experience, we know that new members who are not Black come into the party not as racists, but with some racist ideas, with some racist influences. This is the baggage they bring from their backgrounds of being surrounded by racism, racist ideology and practices.

At the very least the racist influence is on the level of tolerating it. This applies to new members. But in a sense to older members as well who do not escape the all-pervasive, constant bombardment by racist ideas.

What we have to examine is: What is being done concretely in the clubs to challenge, to counter and burn out these influences? Some ideological work is being done. But it is haphazard and inconsistent. In

most cases this ideological work is not related to concrete struggles on the job, in the communities, the schools, mass organizations and trade unions. The influence of racism and national chauvinism in the club will drive out Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican members.

And new white members who are not helped to overcome and deal with the racist influences will also tend to leave the party because their chauvinism will come into conflict with the principled positions of the party.

So again, the question is: What are the clubs doing to burn out such destructive ideological influences?

PETTY-BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Most new members who come from the ranks of people who are racially and nationally oppressed come into the party with some feelings of nationalism.

It is true, workers come in with less of such feelings. And while we must recognize the positive aspects of nationalism in the struggle for national liberation and against racism, we must also recognize the need for a struggle against nationalism: that leads to separation and to non-working class concepts. If the clubs are not helpful this can also lead to some leaving the party.

So the question again is: What have the clubs done and what are they doing to give leadership in molding a correct approach in this struggle? I'm afraid not very much.

MALE SUPREMACY

Most men who join our party are not yet free of male supremacist ideas or practices. It becomes more difficult to work on getting rid of these influences when the party treats this matter as a private, personal question rather than a political and ideological question. Avoiding the question becomes a factor in losing women members.

PATRIOTISM

Most, if not all members, come into the party with some false bourgeois concepts of patriotism and great power chauvinism. These concepts do not take into account or even see the class divisions or the class struggle.

Once again, the question is: What do we do through the clubs to first help new members understand the nature of false patriotism — the difference between national pride and great power chauvinism — and then how to instill in our new members working class internationalism?

The struggle around all these ideological questions and many others must be made into an integral feature of party building.

THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

Bourgeois baggage does not disappear by itself. Proof of this are the events in Poland. They prove beyond doubt that even 35 years of living under socialism does not automatically change one's ideology. Bourgeois baggage does not disappear without struggle.

Political and ideological struggle and constant effort is the only way we can keep all of the new members. It is the only way we can win them over ideologically and politically.

The question involves even more than just keeping new members. It is also one of equipping all our comrades ideologically so they can become more effective fighters in the struggles and movements of our times.

This is an exciting, challenging task for our whole party. But especially for the party leadership, and above all the ideological/educational departments of our party.

The major part of our ideological work must be done for and through the clubs. The clubs must become the instruments for the political and ideological consolidation of our party. We must help the clubs in every way we can with their ideological work.

When working to win people we should keep in mind that all new members come into our party not only with ideological hangups, but also with fears, insecurities, anxieties, false expectations and preconceptions, with wild stereotyped ideas about communists and communism. And, of course, with many personal problems, especially in a period of such rapid deterioration of our social fabric and social relationships.

In conducting our ideological work we have to keep all this in mind. All these aspects and facets of new members must be taken into consideration by the clubs.

PARTY'S RESPONSE TO UPSURGE

At all moments it is necessary to ask: How is the party responding to events?

The question is in place at this meeting.

In general, the answer is: the party is responding — but with some serious weaknesses.

First, we must say that it has not been possible to respond to all of the actions because there have been so many. But we could have responded to more than we did.

What are some of the weaknesses we must examine and correct?

While more of our clubs have become active in the struggles of the upsurge, many have not.

ROUTINISM

Many clubs still suffer from routinism. And when life is anything but routine this becomes a serious

problem. Mass developments cannot always wait until they are taken up routinely at the next club meeting two or three weeks away.

Lack of initiative is always a weakness. But during periods of upsurge it becomes a most serious shortcoming. This remains the most serious weakness of all levels of the party.

Many of the phony left groups jump in because there is a vacuum only because we have not taken the initiative to fill it.

This is not only a weakness of the clubs. It is also a weakness of communists who are active in mass organizations.

The weakness of routinism is also not limited to the clubs. It is a weakness of leadership on all levels.

COMMUNICATION GAP

There is a serious communication gap between the party leadership and the membership.

One would think that during an upsurge the leadership would take steps to close the gap. When this does not happen, is this not evidence of routinism on the part of the leadership?

A correct communist response by the leadership during a crisis or upsurge is to give leadership — to mobilize the membership. But to mobilize the membership means to close the communication gap. And this gap cannot be closed by way of letters or bulletins. It can only be closed by personal contact — with meetings — where there can be two-way communication. Anything less is routinism.

LESSONS

There are many lessons we can draw from the six-month period since the election of Reagan.

(1) The need to always base our projections on the objective developments and a consistent confidence in the potential power of the masses during an upsurge;

(2) Not to underestimate, but also not to overstate the ability of the ruling class to have its way;

(3) To base our judgments on the current objective realities, including the current relationship of world forces, current level of the general crisis of capitalism, current level of the process of radicalization and the current development of class consciousness;

(4) The absolute necessity for the party at all levels to be immersed in the mass movements, especially on the grass roots level;

(5) To fully recognize and understand that without a strong Communist Party the people's upsurge, the trade unions, the struggles on all fronts will not reach their full potential, will not be able to fully take advantage of the objective possibilities;

(6) To be capable on all levels of the party of determining priorities, the key link, the key issues, the key forces at each moment, in each shop or community — and not get lost in a maze of tasks, pressures and demands coming in from all directions.

(7) Finally, to hold the conviction that we can now make a landmark breakthrough in the building of our great party.

Détente and Anti-Communism

Y. Nalin

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PROGRESS BOOKS

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To Arab and World Public Opinion

Appeal of the CC of the Lebanese Communist Party

Israel is escalating its aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples using the most inhuman means of killing and destruction. This major mass annihilation operation has claimed civilian victims.

Enjoying unlimited political, military and economic support of American imperialism, this warlike neonazism has added barbarous raids on the Lebanese capital Beirut, to its list of criminal aggressive acts against the towns and villages in Southern Lebanon aimed against all manifestations of life and civilization. Expanding its aggression Israel continues to violate the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, to interfere in its internal affairs, impeding the peace process in the country, flouting international decisions and universal norms of humanism in defiance of world opinion. Its actions have brought our region to the point of explosion and threaten world peace.

These barbarous aggressive actions are a dangerous part of the brazen policy openly proclaimed by Israel's government led by that terrorist Begin, and having the blessing of the U.S. emissary, Philip Habib, and his master, Reagan, who has rewarded the Zionists with fresh deliveries of Phantom jets after the raid on the nuclear research center near Baghdad and the cynical statements of Israel's rulers to the effect that they would continue barbarous raids on Lebanon and other countries.

These aggressive acts are an extension of the Camp David policy and an attempt to salvage it. At the same time these actions are part of the U.S. policy aimed at establishing its supremacy in the region by setting up a network of military bases, concentration of the navy and connivance at Israel in its terrorist acts against neighboring countries aimed at wiping whole peoples off the face of the earth in the wake of the failure of attempts to liquid-

ate their problems and suppress their aspirations.

The people of Lebanon, who, side by side with the Palestine Resistance Movement, fraternal Syria and all the Arab liberation movements, are staunchly opposing the aggressive actions of the Zionists and a handful of their fascist-style henchmen, appeal to all the Arab governments and all progressive Arab forces to fully realize their responsibility and support the Lebanese patriotic movement, the Palestine Resistance Movement and Syria, and launch the broadest campaign to condemn the imperialists and Zionists and their underling Sadat, and organize the broadest actions against those interests in the USA which nourish aggression.

We call on all the forces of peace, democracy, progress and socialism to raise their voice against Zionist barbarism, to condemn the aggression and expose those who are aiding and encouraging it, to take immediate measures to curb the aggressor who is trying to impose its domination by fire and sword.

We call on all the fraternal and friendly parties, all the governments of the socialist countries, and all the liberation movements to step up their campaign against Zionist barbarism, against the plans of the Zionists' masters, the American imperialists.

We appeal to the world public opinion and all the international organizations, all those who hold dear the cause of peace and humanism in the whole world to take action so as to put an end to the mass extermination which in its inhumanity is reminiscent of the nazi crimes.

Unite your efforts to resist Zionists and their masters — the American imperialists!

Long live the victory of our people, our nation, the victory of the socialist cause in the whole world!

*Central Committee,
Communist Party of Lebanon
Beirut, July 17, 1981*

Develop the National Economy and Strengthen the Homeland's Defense Capability

Speech by Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers, spoke at a mass rally in Las Tunas on July 26 to mark the 28th anniversary of the heroic attack on the Moncada Garrison.

Speaking of the country's economic situation, Fidel Castro specifically emphasized that the first six months of the first year of the present five-year

period have been the best since the triumph of the revolution. The sugar cane crop has been harvested and processed efficiently and at a high organizational level. The plan for the planting and weeding of the new sugar cane crop has been surpassed. Labor productivity in industry has gone up by 12 per cent as compared with the same period last year. Industrial production has risen by 14 per cent, with an almost 5 per cent increase in the output of nickel

concentrate. The volume of construction has considerably increased, and agricultural and transport workers have achieved good results. Schools, hospitals, dwelling houses and industrial enterprises are being intensively built across the country. Among these is Cuba's first nuclear power station being built with Soviet assistance. So, Fidel Castro noted, one could say that the results of the first six months fully meet the tasks of all-out economic development and of raising the level of the country's defense capability as formulated by the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Fidel Castro recalled that over the past two years Cuba had been hit by unusual outbreaks of sugar cane and tobacco disease, and also by epidemics of swine fever, which depleted the swine stock. At present, Cuba is the scene of a dengue epidemic (a dangerous fever carried by mosquitoes. It involves high temperature and bleeding at the mouth and the ears — *Ed*). Over the past seven weeks alone, more than 270,000 cases have been recorded.

Fidel Castro went on to say: "Many citizens of this country are firmly convinced that these diseases, especially the dengue, were introduced into our country by Yankee imperialism. I'm going to talk about this at some length, to give you some background information so that we'll understand the circumstances surrounding the events.

"As part of the development of its military arsenal since World War II, the United States has given more and more attention to work related to the production of chemical and biological weapons, earmarking resources, specialized personnel and institutions for this purpose ...

"More recently, during the Vietnam war, the United States' large-scale use of highly toxic chemicals against civilians and animals, as well as chemical plant killers that resulted in the devastation of crops, plantations and forests was given wide coverage and became known to the whole world.

"On August 29, 1960, a study prepared by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Disarmament expressed concern over the alarming rate of manufacture of this type of weapon in the United States and emphasized the need to control it ... It also points out the lethal agents that can be used against military or civilian personnel ...

"The notion of using biological weapons against Cuba has been repeatedly mentioned by various press organs within the United States. During the 91st Congress of the United States Senate, on November 18-20 and December 2, 9, 18 and 19, 1969, a hearing was held to analyze the alleged plans to use biological weapons against Cuba ...

"We know about the sinister imperialist plots against our country in the 60s: economic sabotage, epidemics to wipe out our crops and livestock, sugar cane defoliants, interruption of rainfall by seeding clouds with chemical agents before they reached our shores, bacteria to damage the sugar crop, etc.; attempts on the lives of leaders of the Revolution using poisoned cigars, fungus in clothing to cause fatal diseases, mercenaries from the Mafia, rifles with

telescopic sights, poisoned bullets, etc., etc. We haven't made up any of this; these are facts admitted by the U.S. Senate itself ...

"Recently there was an infiltration in Matanzas by a counter-revolutionary group. They landed on July 4; three of them were captured on the morning of the 5th and the rest on July 9. Their task was to organize an assassination attempt during the 26th of July celebration against the leaders of the Revolution, and carry out acts of sabotage, etc. They were to work in combination with other groups who would infiltrate at a later date. They confessed rapidly, as all mercenaries do. The news was published in our press. The Government of the United States hasn't said a word, but we know how the CIA works and how it uses these elements, either directly or indirectly ...

"Observe how they send men trained and armed in the United States to murder the leaders of another state, how they confess it, how in public offices right inside the United States they hold press conferences announcing the landing of mercenary commandos to carry out assassination attempts against leaders of the Revolution, and nonetheless, the Government of the United States doesn't say a word, does absolutely nothing, keeping ominously silent.

"The imperialists not only carry out and tolerate these activities but also intensify the economic blockade against our country. They have been just as aggressive in the economic sphere. The U.S. authorities have used all their influence to prevent the sale of nickel in capitalist countries ...

"In addition to these activities, military maneuvers are organized around Cuba and landing exercises are planned at the Yankee base in Guantanamo, a part of our territory occupied illegally. They brazenly threaten us with naval blockade and aggression.

"Why, then, should we be surprised that imperialism should once again be carried away by the treacherous temptation to use biological weapons against Cuba? What can be expected of a government whose politics are characterized by cynicism, lies and an absolute lack of scruples?

"We share the people's conviction and harbor the profound suspicion that the epidemics which have hit our country, especially the hemorrhagic dengue, may have been introduced into Cuba by the CIA."

The Yankee blockade, Fidel Castro said, made it difficult to acquire the products needed to fight the epidemic. When the Soviet comrades found out about these difficulties, they supplied Cuba free of charge with about 50 high-quality fumigators. In conclusion, Fidel Castro said: "We've been successful in our fight against epidemics: African swine fever, sugar cane smut, blue mold — we've eradicated all of them! Now we're engaged in the battle against hemorrhagic dengue, and we're going to eradicate it!

"Excellent research centers are emerging throughout the country, and we'll be prepared to face any eventuality. We will resolutely continue our efforts in the economic sphere, and we will also continue to strengthen our defenses. In a matter of months, more than half a million men and women

have joined the Territorial Troop Militia, and all of them have been trained and armed! This is the way our people work and struggle!

"This country may be wiped off the face of the

earth, but it will never be intimidated or forced to surrender!"

Abridged from *Granma Weekly Review*,
August 9, 1981

Utilize All the Possibilities for Advance

Statement of the Political Bureau French Communist Party

The Political Bureau has taken stock of the situation in France five weeks after the parliamentary elections, the government accord between the FCP and the Socialist Party and the launching of the new policy.

We take a constructive stand in this totally novel situation. At all levels, our activity pursues the sole goal of meeting the aspirations of French men and women, and ensuring change. This constructive stand is in keeping with our fundamental policy: to use all the possibilities of advancing along the road of economic, social and democratic changes necessary for our nation. Such possibilities exist today.

Proceeding from this, the communist ministers take part in the government in order to contribute to the elaboration and implementation of a policy meeting the opinion of the majority of the people expressed during the presidential elections. The communist members of parliament take a serious and responsible stand as full-fledged members of the majority.

In this spirit, the communists are trying to help ensure the participation of working people in the social, economic and political life and their active intervention in all the affairs that concern them. This is their *raison d'être*. They put it into practice, on the one hand, by unfolding, through the initiative of every party cell, activities in diverse areas, and, on the other hand, by contributing as much as possible to the activity of the trade unions, organizations and associations. They seek in all cases to ensure that the needs and aspirations of the working people are fully expressed and implemented.

For example, the communists launch and support the initiatives to help the working people force the retreat of the employers who are continuing their attempts to demolish part of our national production potential, increase unemployment and prevent necessary and feasible measures of social progress. Examples in point are the struggles against the Wiltot clan, against Citroën and Michelin, the struggle for a significant cut of working hours to create new jobs.

The communists support the farmers and winegrowers who are victims of violations and international commitments and are legitimately concerned about marketing and fair pay for the fruits of their work.

The communists pronounce themselves for immediate nationalization measures in keeping with commitments undertaken. They take part in the dis-

cussion of the decentralization reform to invest that great reform with democratic content.

The communists cooperate in the preparation of a new law on radio and television. It is indeed imperative to ensure serious, impartial and truly many-sided information. That implies immediate concrete measures to put an early end to discrimination which has for a quarter of a century barred journalists with communist views from radio and television information work.

The *L'Humanité* festival, to be held in a few weeks' time, will be a political highlight. It will be a festival of change, of communist participation in the government of alliance. That event concerns all the members of the FCP, all the electors who vote communist and all the manual and intellectual workers and the young.

That is why the most urgent task today is to distribute tickets to the *L'Humanité* festival. The Political Bureau congratulates the communists on their early success. The results achieved in a record short time show that this year an exceptionally wide distribution of tickets can be achieved.

At the same time, the complex period we are living in calls for sustained effort: we must not only read *L'Humanité* ourselves but we must bring others to read it and distribute *L'Humanité Dimanche* and *Revolution*.

In the course of that many-sided activity we can attract many new members.

L'Humanité, July 30, 1981

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Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines

After the April plebiscite, comes now the presidential election.

These two major political events are in fact part of a single and bigger political process — the politics of "normalization." They are part and parcel of the grand program of the administration to steer the country along the path of "political normalcy" and stabilize a volatile politico-economic situation that has arisen as a direct consequence of the economic crisis.

IMPERIALISM STILL THE MAIN ISSUE

It is the tragic fate of the Philippines that the direction of her political and economic life is shaped and determined not by the independent and collective will of the people but by imperialism and the local forces subservient to it.

In this regard, the last plebiscite and the forthcoming presidential election are not exceptional. They can only be fully understood if they are related to the fact that the national economy is operating under conditions defined by foreign monopoly capital. This state of economic affairs is, in turn, reflected in the political sphere.

The politics of "normalization" is a definite response of the administration to the demand of the imperialist forces for political stability as a safeguard against the possibility of a radical change that may endanger imperialist interests in the country. As the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has pointed out, eight years of martial law might have been successful in creating the economic climate desired by foreign monopoly capital, but this is not sufficient to guarantee a stable political climate required by foreign investors. From the standpoint of imperialism, a clarification of the rules of a political succession is of utmost necessity, especially in the light of the large amount of foreign investments and loans poured into the country during the last 10 years.

The constitutional amendments last April are attempts to clarify the rules of succession by providing for the creation of an Executive Committee, by returning the country to the two-party presidential system of the pre-martial law period, and by allowing the incumbent President-Prime Minister to "legitimize" his continued rule through a presidential election. The coming polls this June are simply aimed at making these new amendments operational.

DILEMMA OF THE MARCOS ADMINISTRATION

The present administration is caught in a political bind. Eight years ago, it declared martial law to "save" and "reform" Philippine society. But by subscribing to a World Bank-IMF-ADB program of export-oriented, foreign capital-dependent industrialization, it has failed to deliver its promises of

prosperity and democratization of wealth; worse, poverty and social inequality have deepened even if production has expanded.

The present administration has laid claims to being independent and anti-colonial, and yet its economic program has brought it to a higher level of dependence on the Western lending institutions and the imperialist forces behind these institutions. The politics of normalization that it has been pursuing at a time when the economy is in very bad shape underscores the limited political options of the administration and its relatively weak bargaining position vis-a-vis the political demands of the United States.

Lacking mass support and the will to go against imperialist dictation, the administration is forced to undertake a gradual program of normalization where the rules are manipulated to suit the narrow requirements of political survival, within the framework set up by foreign monopoly capital.

Hence, the coming presidential election is laden with anti-democratic features: a system of accreditation that favors only the well-financed parties subservient to imperialism, limited campaign period, etc. And yet, in its efforts to modify the democratic political processes to keep itself in power, the administration is objectively making itself more unpopular and creating more instability. Such is the dilemma facing the ruling regime, which may still end up being junked by the very imperialist forces it is trying to please.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In the face of the above developments, all progressive forces should unite in a campaign to expose not only the anti-democratic nature of the forthcoming presidential election but also and above all, the "invisible" role of imperialism in the polls. The anti-democratic amendments to the constitution which are now being put into operation should be exposed and opposed, especially the setting up of the Executive Committee whose members may not even be elected by the people but who may be chosen on the basis of closeness to the World Bank.

The organized democratic forces should demand that the right of the masses to set up their own parties and participate actively and fully in the political processes of the country be recognized.

A new constitutional convention should be called for the purpose of framing the fundamental law embodying the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people as well as nationalist safeguards against the demands of foreign monopoly capital over the national patrimony, and providing for the accreditation of political parties representing the interest of the working masses.

Felicitimo C. Macapagal
General Secretary

CC, Communist Party of the Philippines
May, 1981

Maneuvers by the Enemies of a Political Settlement

A noisy propaganda campaign has been launched in Western political circles over the so-called "initiative" of the European Council of the Communities on convening an international conference on Afghanistan, which was approved at the recent meeting in Ottawa by the heads of seven major capitalist states.

Can it be that the West, including the United States, having realized the futility of the course of interference in the Afghan people's internal affairs and of heightening tension around the events in Afghanistan, has at last heeded the peace calls of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and decided to abandon aggressive actions in relation to the DRA and begin a search for ways of a political settlement? Can it be that positive changes have occurred in the policy of the United States and its allies, promising an improvement of the political climate in Southwest Asia?

Unfortunately, the actual moves by the West, especially the United States, with respect to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as other "trouble spots" on the globe, attest to the contrary. Far from weakening, Washington's imperial ambitions, based on the principles of power pressure and mainly on armed interference in the affairs of other countries, acquired even greater scope when the Reagan administration was installed in the White House.

An open course for direct or indirect military interference in various regions of the world is ever more apparent in the practical actions of the present U.S. administration. In El Salvador, this is reflected in the use of hundreds of American military advisers and in large-scale arms deliveries to the reactionary junta to put down the people's liberation movement. In Afghanistan — in the organized infiltration of armed mercenary units to fight against the legitimate government of the sovereign state.

The organizers of the aggression against the DRA spare neither money nor weapons. Ronald Reagan's statement in the second month of his presidency about the intention to give military aid to Afghan counter-revolutionaries has had an ominous continuation. It is implemented in such concrete steps as the allocation of almost a hundred million dollars this year for equipping and training bandits at special camps on Pakistani territory; as the attempts by Secretary of State Alexander Haig during his recent visit to Peking to turn China into a trans-shipping point for supplying U.S. arms to Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations; as the active involve-

ment of Britain, which has already contributed more than two million pounds to the common "collection box," in the financing and the arms deliveries. Egypt, Saudi Arabia and some other countries also take part in anti-Afghan operations. It is noteworthy that only a few days after the Ottawa meeting of "the seven," Agence France-Presse reported, referring to "reliable information from Washington," that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was coordinating the activities of all the participants in the anti-Afghan alliance, particularly in supplying weapons to the counter-revolutionaries.

It is essentially the same method of U.S. strategy — the urge to resolve problems by military force — that manifests itself in various forms both in El Salvador and in Afghanistan.

The U.S. ruling circles are doing their utmost to maintain, and whenever possible, to heighten the tensions with a view to imposing their military colonialism. In this sense, the current aggression against Afghanistan is only a part of the extensive plan to destabilize the situation in the entire region from Southern Asia to the Persian Gulf. Pakistan has been chosen as the springboard for its implementation. Although U.S.-Pakistani relations have not been formally sealed by a treaty, there is evidence of direct collusion, just as with Anwar Sadat. Over the next five years, Washington is planning to give three billion dollars in military-economic aid to the Islamabad regime. A considerable part of the weapons from the future deliveries to Pakistan are designated for intervention against Afghanistan. The Pentagon also hopes to acquire military bases in Pakistan, showing special interest in air bases and sea ports, which can be used to station the rapid deployment force. Such an alliance between the United States and Islamabad will preserve the unstable situation, and even worsen it, not only around Afghanistan, but also in the adjacent regions.

Another link in the U.S. plan is to influence Iran in such a way as to prevent a normalization of relations between it and Afghanistan, and to fan anti-Soviet sentiments in Iran.

And, lastly, there is one more goal. In expanding military cooperation with Pakistan, the United States is trying to put India in a difficult position, to place one of the leading states of the nonaligned movement in a military encirclement, and to undermine India's peaceful and independent foreign-policy course.

To implement their expansionist plans, the United States and its allies mercilessly speculate on the so-called "Afghan question." The unbridled

anti-Soviet campaign continues. Falsehoods concerning the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in the DRA are being circulated.

Washington and a number of West European capitals strive not for a normalization of the situation in Southwest Asia but for its further aggravation, not for a political settlement of the problems connected with Afghanistan but for stepped-up armed intervention in the affairs of the sovereign state. It is precisely these considerations that primarily motivate the Western ruling circles in their approach to the events around Afghanistan.

The aggressive plans of the United States predetermine its arrogant unreceptiveness to all the constructive proposals of the DRA government for a political settlement on Afghanistan. In its statement of May 14, 1980, the DRA Government proposed bilateral negotiations with Pakistan and Iran in order to work out mutually acceptable accords. Relevant guarantees on the part of third countries should be an integral part of the settlement. The USSR and the United States are among the possible guarantors. U.S. guarantees should include a pledge not to conduct any subversive activities against Afghanistan, notably, from the territories of other countries. Naturally, the issue of the withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent from the DRA should also be solved in this context.

In the time since these proposals were advanced, the Afghan side has demonstrated a maximum of good will, and a desire to take Pakistan's wishes into account. Specifically, it agreed to an open dialogue without any preliminary conditions, and expressed a readiness to meet with official delegations of Pakistan and Iran in the presence of the UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim or his representative. However, as the statement by the DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated May 13, 1981 noted, no response came from either Pakistani or Iranian authorities to this day. And the main reason for this is the policy of NATO's aggressive imperialist circles, particularly the policy of the United States.

What is the purpose of the "initiative" of the European Council of the Communities approved in Ottawa and based on Britain's proposals? The essence of these proposals boils down to holding an international conference in two stages. The first stage is to discuss questions of "ending outside interference" and the second is "to guarantee the future of Afghanistan as an independent and non-aligned state."

This "initiative," just as the previous proposals by some Western countries, has nothing in common with a realistic approach to the problem of a political settlement. First of all, the European Council proposed that negotiations should be started without the participation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and that "representatives of the Afghan people" — it is not clear what representatives — should be allowed to attend the conference only at the second stage. This is a typically imperial approach: to decide the destiny of a people behind its back, ignoring the sovereign state's legitimate government, denying its representation at a con-

ference which is to discuss problems connected with the national interests of that country. Such a position is not accidental. It provides extra evidence that the ruling circles of the West do not intend to recognize the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which relies on the support of its people. But one cannot hope for a political settlement on Afghanistan while keeping Afghanistan itself outside the framework of the talks.

In the opinion of foreign observers, the question of the international recognition of Afghanistan as a neutral and independent state, proposed for the agenda of the second round of the conference, in fact meant a discussion of "the future of the internal Afghan regime." No one, including the initiators of the European proposals, is allowed to decide for the Afghans what kind of power suits them and with whom and how they should be friends. But this is in fact what the plan for an "international conference" amounts to. Can Carrington's allegation that the present government is unacceptable to the Afghan people be assessed otherwise than as a gross violation of the elementary ethics of international relations?

The people of Afghanistan already made their choice three years ago when they supported the April Revolution. It is neither Carrington, nor anyone else, but the Afghans themselves who are to decide who should rule their sovereign state.

The allegation that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan needs some "neutralization" sounds like a blasphemy. "By force of tradition, historical reasons and its national peculiarities, Afghanistan has always been a nonaligned country and will undoubtedly remain one," DRA leader Babrak Karmal said in an interview with the newspaper *Indian Express*. Another thing is obvious: Kabul's peaceful course is not to the liking of those external forces that with one hand continue their armed interference, aiming to forcibly overthrow the people's regime and the legitimate government of Afghanistan, and with the other hand put on the mask of "peace-makers" in an attempt to cover up their unseemly plans and doings.

The purpose behind the "European proposals" is obvious. Their authors want to divert the settlement process from discussing and eliminating the basic, principal causes of tension around Afghanistan. While deliberately highlighting the question of the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent on Afghan territory, the Western capitals and Peking keep totally silent about the objective motives that guided the Soviet Union in its far from easy decision to give a positive response to the Afghan leadership's repeated requests for assistance.

The Soviet Union's stand regarding normalization of the situation around Afghanistan is clear and definite. As was noted at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "only the international aspects of the Afghan problem, and not internal Afghan affairs, can be discussed" in the process of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. It is also clear that our country will never accept the discussion of any

questions relating to Afghanistan behind the back of the Afghan people and its government.

Soviet leaders have stressed more than once that the main condition for a settlement of the Afghan crisis is full and unconditional cessation and guaranteed non-resumption of armed or any other interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in Tbilisi in May 1981: "An agreement on a political settlement would make it

possible to establish, by accord with the Afghan side, the deadlines and procedure for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Non-resumption of the intervention against Afghanistan must be reliably guaranteed. The troops could be withdrawn as the agreements attained are put into effect."

The Soviet Union is ready for talks, but only for constructive talks imbued with the spirit of a sober approach.

Alexei Petrov
Pravda, August 5, 1981

Angola at the Crucial Stage

In the sixth year of its existence, the young People's Republic of Angola has taken a decisive step in its development. The first congress of the MPLA-Party of Labor, which was held from December 17 to 23, 1980, determined the content, the principles, and also the basic tasks and goals of the new stage of the Angolan revolution. These are meant to further strengthen the country's state sovereignty, to eliminate the economic dependence on capitalism and consolidate the national economy, and also to deepen the class content of the revolutionary process.

Over the past three and a half years, the MPLA-Party of Labor has achieved considerable successes in developing into a Marxist-Leninist party. With 15,294 members and 15,804 candidate members organized into 2,765 party cells and 65 party committees in industrial centers, the party is ever more effectively carrying out its leading role in various spheres of state and social life.

Under its leadership, the workers and peasants in alliance with other sections of the people have strengthened their revolutionary-democratic state power, which has increasingly asserted itself as the major instrument in effecting profound social transformations and defending the revolutionary gains. The formation of the People's Assembly in 1980 marked the attainment of a programmatic goal of the Angolan revolution and a crucial step along the road leading to a people's democracy.

In extremely complicated and difficult conditions, the people have once again rehabilitated the economy, which was virtually paralyzed as a result of the aggressions by South Africa and other imperialist forces, and also of the destructive moves by national and foreign entrepreneurs (closure of enterprises, massive departure of specialists, destruction of machinery and equipment). A state and cooperative sector has been set up, which has recently been markedly consolidated.

Important measures were also taken to introduce an integral system of centralized management and planning, and also to strengthen the state's foreign trade monopoly.

So, in spite of serious difficulties and shortcomings in production and economic administration, the economic situation has been gradually

stabilized. Impressive successes have been achieved primarily in education, in combating illiteracy, and also in social security and the health service, successes that were inconceivable in the days of colonial rule. Today, 2,400,000 children — four times more than in 1973 — are attending four-year primary school. On the strength of a realistic analysis of the achievements and demands for further revolutionary transformations, the first congress stated that the Republic has now entered a period of its development when it will be necessary to complete the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and, within the framework of the integral revolutionary process, to go over to socialist construction as such, that is, to the phase of the socialist revolution.

In this connection, the period up to 1985 is seen as the crucial stage in the formation of a socio-economic, material and technical basis for a gradual transition to the building of a socialist society.

State power in the country embodies the class alliance of the workers and peasants with other sections of the people under the leadership of the MPLA-Party of Labor and exercises their revolutionary dictatorship. As the leading role of the MPLA-Party of Labor is further enhanced, as the direct influence of the working class in running the state and the society is intensified, as democratic centralism takes effect in the organization and activity of the state apparatus, and elective organs of people's state power are set up, elements of socialist statehood are being formed. State power increasingly performs functions characteristic of the socialist state.

The decisions of the first congress are primarily aimed to enhance further the leading role of the MPLA-Party of Labor in running the state, the economy and the society. This is seen as the main prerequisite and the decisive factor for further successful advance along the socialist road. The MPLA-Party of Labor sees itself as a Marxist-Leninist party of the emergent Angolan working class, a party which also includes representatives of the progressive forces of other classes and sections of the population, namely, the peasants and the intelligentsia. The party's revolutionary leadership is

carrying on extensive work to strengthen its social base, to extend workers' participation in its ruling organs, in the Central Committee and the provincial party organs in order to go on strengthening the party's class nature. The additional election at the extraordinary congress of 12 new members to the Central Committee, primarily from among the working class, serves the same purpose.

The party sets itself the task to continue strengthening its political and ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to spread the scientific world view of the working class among the party members by extending the network of party schools and circles in all party cells, and also through the mass media; to form and improve the necessary organizational structures within the party. In this multidimensional process of party construction, the revolutionary forces are constantly working to overcome the vestiges of tribalism, racism, regionalism and factional activity. The further implementation of the party's leading role will largely depend on how fully it is able to carry out the decisions of the central ruling organs, to arrange the basic party structures, and strengthen its influence in the countryside, primarily among the peasants.

In accordance with the specific conditions of the Angolan revolution and the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, the MPLA-Party of Labor has constantly focused its activity on the question of power, taking the necessary measures to form the new democratic people's state power and eliminate the organs of the old bourgeois-colonial state apparatus. With the consolidation of the party, the revolutionary power has been further strengthened. Democratically elected state organs of power began functioning last year.

The political and social composition of the organs of people's power reflects the substance of the revolutionary power and the social structure of the population. Besides workers and peasants, who make up the majority, the organs of state power also include representatives of the revolutionary intelligentsia and progressive spokesmen of the petty bourgeoisie, atheists, believers, and church leaders, a bishop of the Evangelical Church among them.

Under the constitution of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Assembly, as the supreme organ of state power, voices the will of the people. It adopts laws and controls the activities of the government and other state organs at the highest level.

The people's assemblies in the provinces are the supreme local organs of power, which direct the course of political, economic, social and cultural development in the provinces, seek to increase the population's vigilance, and defend the revolutionary gains. By 1983, the way must be paved for setting up organs of power in the municipalities, communes, districts and villages, and so for the formation of an integral system of elective organs of state power. At the same time, purposeful work is under way to arrange the activity of the state apparatus on the basis of democratic centralism, with an ever fuller implementation of socialist administrative princi-

ples, and also to tighten control and increase accountability.

By the decisions adopted at the first extraordinary congress, the MPLA-Party of Labor oriented its members toward the solution of economic problems, laid down the main line and specified the goals of the country's economic development in the period up to 1985. In spite of definite progress in stabilizing the economy, production and labor productivity are still at a low level, and this makes it impossible for the time being to effect a substantial improvement in the people's material standards. The party maintains that the paramount economic task of the present stage is "to accelerate the pace of economic development and raise the efficiency of production, to ensure the most rational solution of the existing problems and, on this basis, to improve the Angolan people's living conditions." With this aim in view, the activity of state and cooperative enterprises must be organized more efficiently, enabling the state sector to play its vanguard role.

The private sector in the economy is to continue its existence alongside the socialist and the mixed sector, and its potentialities must be increasingly used in a reasonable and effective way to promote the development of the national economy. Industry is designated as "the crucial factor in the development of the national economy," but agriculture remains the foundation for an economic upsurge and for raising the people's living standards. The bulk of the Republic's population lives in rural areas, and the solution of the food problem, and also the growth potentialities of the food and light industries and of the country's exports largely depend on the development of agriculture. In view of this, special attention is devoted to agriculture and to social reforms in the countryside. Hence the line for an improvement of social labor organization and the production process in the countryside, for a balanced development of commercial ties and for mutual trade between industry and agriculture, and also for assistance in the organization and activity of peasants' associations, which are now the main form for carrying out further socio-economic transformations.

One must bear in mind here that the fulfillment of these economic and social tasks, as José Eduardo dos Santos said at a recent plenary meeting of the MPLA-Party of Labor Central Committee, is seriously jeopardized in view of the organizational shortcomings and irresponsibility, speculation and corruption, and also economic sabotage that are still evident in many spheres. In this situation, the year 1981 has been declared a "year of discipline and control." A wide offensive has also been launched against negligence and disorganization, an offensive in which the party, youth and other mass organizations, and especially the trade unions must take an active part.

The social transformations along the road of socialist construction run into fierce resistance on the part of the Angolan people's internal and external enemies. South Africa continues its un-

declared war against the People's Republic of Angola. Over the past three years alone, the South African aggressors carried out more than 1,400 reconnaissance flights, over 290 bombing and strafing air raids, 50 helicopter operations and 70 operations by land, which have resulted in 1,800 dead and 3,000 wounded, not to mention the grave damage to the national economy. At the same time, the racist South African regime, in alliance with the imperialist powers, especially the USA, has been supporting the pro-imperialist puppet organizations UNITA, FNLA and FLEC, whose sallies in some parts of the country are primarily aimed to complicate the situation, to intimidate and demoralize the people, and, in the final count, to overthrow the people's power and set up a pro-imperialist regime. That is why, parallel

to the solution of economic and social problems, great efforts have to be made to defend the revolution and the socialist way of development, diverting considerable manpower, material and financial resources.

Since the racist South African regime and especially U.S. imperialism are stepping up their aggressive intrigues against the young Republic, the leadership of the MPLA-Party of Labor called on the Angolan people to intensify their efforts in defense of the revolution and be prepared at any time to rebuff any aggressive sorties. Thereby it has proclaimed its firm resolve consistently to continue the line of socialist development.

Siegfried Petzold

Abridged from *Horizont*, No. 25, 1981

Reaganomics — Rationale and Reality

The Reagan administration has launched, for the capitalist class, a major offensive against the working class and middle sectors of the population. Centering around the federal budget, this offensive was started by the Carter administration, but it has been greatly magnified by the Reagan gang. It is easily the most concentrated, far-reaching assault in American history by big business and its government against the living standards of the people.

The main features, in addition to the outsize military buildup, are the radical slashes in all social and environmental programs — in effect, in all civilian programs other than big business subsidies and administrative provisions and radical reductions in the already very low taxes on corporations and wealthy people. Aside from the trust fund insurance programs, Reagan's budget reduces civilian spending to a minor fraction of the total, to 13 per cent in 1986. It was 27 per cent in 1970. The cuts are projected to 1986, but in some cases the biggest slashes take place immediately; in other cases, in a year or two.

Entire programs will be completely or virtually wiped out, including CETA (a job program), mass transit operating subsidies, extended unemployment insurance and contributions to the black lung trust fund. Cuts of 30 to 70 per cent are scheduled for food stamps, child nutrition, cultural support and advanced energy programs.

The proposed tax cuts to benefit corporations and the rich are the most far-reaching yet. Through super-fast depreciation provisions, Reagan's plan would cut the effective corporate tax rate from an average of 27 per cent in 1980 to 16 per cent in 1986. By reducing the peak rate on property income to 50 per cent and the maximum tax on capital gains to 20 per cent, and by other Kemp-Roth cuts, the Reagan program would lower the effective rate on the reported income of individuals with incomes over \$50,000 from 25 per cent in 1980 to 18 per cent in 1986. Meanwhile, the Kemp-Roth cuts of 10 per cent per year for three years in the general schedule of

individual income tax rates just about offset the inflationary bracket creep on lower and middle incomes. And thereafter, the effective income tax rate will increase, while social security withholdings also go up.

Under Reagan's program, therefore, by 1986 corporations and individuals with incomes over \$50,000 will contribute only 16 per cent of federal revenues while working people will contribute 84 per cent.

This class character of the Reagan tax program is pointed out, if in muted terms, by a number of bourgeois economists, cited by Steven Rattner of the *New York Times* in a story headlined, "Economists Find Reagan Proposal for Cutting Taxes Favors Wealthy" (March 15, 1981). According to a study by Citizens for Tax Justice, the combined effect of 9 per cent inflation and the Reagan tax programs would bring about a 15 per cent cut in rates for those with incomes of over \$200,000; no change for those with incomes between \$15,000 and \$50,000; and a 28 per cent increase for those with incomes under \$10,000.

And this does not take account of two additional factors. Much of the reduction in effective taxation on corporations and the rich has resulted from Treasury Department regulations rather than from changes in the law. With Merrill Lynch's Reagan at Treasury, the pace of these unofficial tax cuts may be expected to quicken. Also, since many of Reagan's budget cuts take the form of diminished grants to state and local governments, these taxes will certainly soar; state and local tax structures are even more regressive than the federal.

REAGANITE ECONOMIC THEORY

The Reaganites claim that their anti-people maximum profits program will cut inflation in half, bring about rapid economic growth and an increase in labor productivity. They justify this not by logical analysis but by a mystical "rational expectation" — which boils down to wishful thinking, or faith, on the part of the right-wing neophytes who tout the theory and to sheer deception on the part of the sophis-

ticated capitalist economists who know well that the real purpose is to prepare for war and increase the rate of profit sharply at the expense of the masses.

Bourgeois economists are also well aware of the inner contradictions of Reaganite theory. For example, to double economic growth while cutting the rate of monetary growth in half would require an unsustainable increase in the velocity of circulation of money; or to increase investment on the scale contemplated, while slashing mass living standards, would lead to gross overcapacity throughout the consumer goods industries. To pacify the public, however, the Reaganites say that good results cannot be expected immediately. For this year, and possibly next, they say, production will decline, unemployment will rise, inflation will remain high. But there will be marked improvement in a couple of years, they claim, if only the public will be patient and take without protest or struggle the severe blows.

Of course the economic pie-in-the-sky promised by Reagan will never happen. The "rational expectation" will be dashed on its own inner contradictions, if it is not smashed first by the resistance of the working people, on whose backs the program is being executed.

THE BALANCED BUDGET FRAUD

Reagan's promise to balance the budget while combining monstrous military budgets with major tax cuts for the rich is not believed by anyone, except perhaps by such arrogant right-wing blusterers as Budget Director Stockman and his theorist Arthur Laffer. Even their paper figures show continuing deficits into 1986. But they then deduct an additional \$30 to \$45 billion of "hoped for" savings, which even their economic gurus have been unable to find, in order to project a "balance" at the end of the period.

The entire budget projection, like the military part of it, has to be corrected to a realistic inflation rate of at least 10 per cent. On this basis, Reagan's budget deficit will rise to \$89 billion in 1983; \$112 billion in 1984; \$155 billion in 1985; and \$194 billion in 1986. Even bourgeois economists are predicting deficits in the \$80 to \$90 billion range as early as 1982.

Unquestionably such deficits will contribute to raising the rate of inflation and interest rates. There is a great increase in the probability that thousands of medium-sized and even large financial and industrial corporations which have been operating on the brink of bankruptcy will collapse. And this could readily get beyond the ability of Washington to shore up with Chrysler-like adjustments, plunging the country into the worst financial crisis since the 1930s. The international repercussions of such fiscal irresponsibility would be very serious in the entire capitalist world.

Invariably, the masses of the working people will be the prime victims of these economic and financial calamities.

THE "SAFETY NET" TRICK

Reagan, while ruthlessly undermining most social programs, leaves almost intact what he calls the

"social safety net," consisting primarily of social security, medicare, unemployment insurance and veterans benefits. These happen to be the largest areas of non-military spending.

Unquestionably the beneficiaries of these programs are entitled to and need them as a "safety net." But by-and-large the recipients of food stamps, aid to dependent children, holders of CETA jobs, etc. — that is, those whose benefits are drastically to be cut or wiped out — need the "safety net" no less.

The Reagan strategy is one of *divide and rule*. It aims to isolate the poorest, most exploited, most discriminated against on account of race and sex from the rest of the working class. By promising not to deprive senior citizens and veterans, the administration aims to hold off political action from the active and relatively powerful senior citizens' and veterans' organizations. In this way, the Reaganites hope, only limited numbers will participate in demonstrations and other actions against the anti-people programs.

But if the Reagan cuts go through, the senior citizens and veterans will not be spared for long. Already there is a tremendous clamor for slashing, or even ending, the indexation of social security pensions.

"The Reagan administration," notes the *New York Times* (March 11, 1981), "chose not to propose cuts in these areas, largely for political reasons. The Reagan aides believed that budget reductions would be easier to achieve if applied to programs that each affected a relatively small number of Americans."

Budget Director David Stockman said that not enough could be saved in the short run to offset the political cost of going after social security at present. But he indicated that he would go along with chipping away at it now — if others did the chipping.

And that's where the Democrats come in. While Senator Metzenbaum and Representative Savage and the Black Caucus, among others, attack the Reagan program, the Democratic leadership and most of the press strive to "correct" it on the spurious grounds of restoring fiscal responsibility. They refuse to advocate fiscal responsibility in the key areas of the military budget and taxation of corporations and the wealthy.

All sorts of formulas are advanced for cutting real social security benefits, which are currently adjusted each mid-year for the increase in the consumer price index. A major argument is that since workers' real wages are being cut, retired workers' real pensions should also be cut. So, it is said, either do not permit a rise in pensions exceeding the percentage rise in money wages, or manipulate the consumer price index so that it goes up more slowly. The fact is that already the consumer price index, far from "overindexing" inflation, underindexes it. It should be revised upward, not downward. And instead of cutting real social security, medicare, etc., the erosion of real wages should be stopped and reversed.

The false advocates of "fiscal responsibility" are not only going after Reagan's "social safety net."

They are also striving to eliminate the nominal cuts in income tax rates for middle and lower-income taxpayers. If this part of the Kemp-Roth program is quashed, effective taxes on the majority of the people will rise more rapidly than ever before.

THE FIGHTBACK

Evidence is mounting that the majority of the people are opposed to Reaganism in both its political and economic aspects. Reagan's decline in popularity polls, the large turnouts for demonstrations against intervention in El Salvador, the overwhelming New England town meeting votes for ending nuclear weapons production, the response to calls for marches on Washington against the Reagan war program, for jobs, for the needs of youth, the overwhelming majority of Congressional mail in opposition to the belligerent line of Reagan, Haig and Weinberger, the alternative budget of the Congressional Black Caucus — all these and other developments show that there is a potential in the country for a really powerful, mass, victorious struggle against the big business, Reaganite program of war and poverty.

What is required, above all, is for the many trends of opposition to particular Reagan programs to unite into a massive struggle against all parts of it, and for a minimum program to be evolved to meet the people's urgent needs, to end racist discrimination and segregation, and to restore détente and make a start toward disarmament.

This is a rich country with a highly skilled working

class. By drastically reducing the \$226 billion military budget for 1982 and using the funds saved for a five-year civilian program, much could be done to provide a decent life for all the American people, including:

- Construction of 3 million homes per year, publicly owned, good quality, unsegregated, to be rented at 10 per cent of the tenants' income;
- Provision of a good transit system, including commuter lines, for every large city in the country;
- Subsidy of frozen prices of foodstuffs and all other necessities;
- Provision of free education, health and cultural facilities for the entire population;
- Ending of all taxes on people with incomes under \$25,000 and reduction of taxes on those with incomes between \$25,000 and \$40,000;
- Through job creation programs, including the above, and a shorter work week with no cut in pay, the provision of jobs for all able and willing to work.
- Enactment of an effective affirmative action program, including quotas, to increase employment, income and access to quality education and unsegregated housing for Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian peoples.
- These economic possibilities can become political realities through united political and economic struggles of the working people of the country, people of all races and nationalities.

Victor Perlo

Abridged from *Political Affairs*, May 1981

For a Nuclear-Free North, Against NATO's Missile Line

Mr. Haig is beside himself, the Federal Chancellor is irritated, and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is in a rage. The idea that is being discussed in the North of our continent in such an animated way is totally at odds with the intensifying line for a missile build-up. Some politicians and NATO generals in Washington, Brussels and Bonn are very worried about the idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. This idea is the leading press topic in Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen. It is also the crucial demand of the peace movement that is gathering momentum also in these countries.

The plan for a nuclear-free zone embracing the Nordic countries was proposed back in 1963 by Finland's President Urho Kekkonen as an element of the nascent détente. A few months ago, that prominent politician, supported by the socialist countries, once again came out with this plan. He is now proposing it as a defensive measure on the part of the Scandinavian countries against the consequences of NATO's Brussels decision on missiles adopted in December 1979.

In effect, it is a matter of juridically formalizing the actual nuclear-free status quo of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Today, the territory of at least two Nordic states is already closed to NATO missiles: that of Sweden in view of its neutrality and of Finland in view of its treaty with the Soviet Union. Norway and Denmark, which are NATO members, have banned the deployment of nuclear weapons and the establishment of foreign bases on their territory in peacetime. It is now a matter of entrenching this state of affairs in international law without any limitations.

The debate on a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe was given a fresh impulse when the Soviet Union recently specified its generally known positive attitude to this idea. In an interview with the Finnish newspaper *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev once again declared that the guarantee of non-use of nuclear weapons against the countries constituting such a zone was the Soviet Union's most important pledge with respect to these countries. Moreover, the Soviet Union does not rule

out 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."

During a recent visit to Moscow, SDP Chairman Brandt was also informed by the Soviet side about this standpoint and, upon his return, recommended his party associates and the governments of the Nordic countries to intensify their dialogue with the Soviet Union on this issue.

The governments of the Nordic countries take an essentially positive, but differentiated stand on this issue. In Finland, where the idea was first formulated, the formation of a nuclear-free zone is approved unconditionally, and its parliament has already adopted a resolution to this effect. Sweden's conservative Prime Minister Falldin has described this plan as a point that must be welcomed. His government, he said, would establish contacts with the governments of neighboring countries in order to work out a common stand on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the North as a step to a nuclear-free Europe.

The governments of Norway and Denmark, led by the Social Democrats, also approve the formation of a nuclear-free zone. As NATO members, however, these countries have to reckon to a greater extent with the politicians in Washington, Bonn, and NATO's Brussels headquarters, who are advocating an intensive missile drive. Nevertheless, it was Norway's Foreign Minister Frydenlund who during his official visit to Washington expressed the Scandinavians' desire to withdraw from NATO's missile policy. After a very lukewarm discussion at the State Department, he told journalists that his anti-détente-minded colleague Haig had not shown "the least understanding," and had rejected the idea in

principle. During a visit to Bonn, Norway's Prime Minister Harlem-Brundtland was invited to Federal Chancellor Schmidt, who gave her to understand in an extremely brusque form that the Federal Government was not in the least interested in having the status quo in Northern Europe formalized in international law. The Chancellor said that he considered the idea of a nuclear-free zone in that region unacceptable. The FRG's Foreign Ministry declared in this context that the countries forming the northern flanks of NATO regard Norway and Denmark as particularly important, because they must protect the military supply routes across the Atlantic.

At a joint press conference in Bonn on the session of the Presidium of the Socialist International, the heads of government of Denmark, Norway and Finland — Jorgensen, Harlem-Brundtland and Koivisto — declared that the plan to set up a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe remains on the agenda in spite of U.S. objections. "It is not for Mr. Haig to decide this question," said Anker Jorgensen in connection with Washington's interference. At the session of the Nordic Council to be held in Copenhagen in early September, it is proposed to adopt a common line on this issue to be followed by all the Nordic states.

In the course of the discussion, the parties have also raised the question of U.S. nuclear warheads stockpiled at bases in the Federal Republic just a few kilometers from the border with Denmark. But, as the Soviet news agency APN writes, the actual boundaries of a future nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and the "measures with regard to Soviet territory" are a matter for discussion among the countries that are directly concerned. And the Moscow newspaper *Izvestia* adds: "Concrete questions are a subject for concrete talks."

Unsere Zeit, July 30, 1981

Aim of U.S. Arms to Pakistan

The U.S. has decided to release, almost immediately, an unspecified number of its superplane — the F-16 — to Pakistan. This decision represents a change, not to say a reversal by the U.S. of its non-proliferation policy. Until very recently America's policy has been to cut off economic and more specially military aid to Third World countries who attempt to make nuclear weapons. The mere refusal by India to accede to the highly discriminatory Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has been considered sufficient reason to cut off innocuous fuel supplies for Tarapur, to which this country is entitled under the 1963 Agreement between the U.S. and India. Furthermore, the U.S. is fully aware that India's nuclear program is devoted to peaceful purposes only.

In the case of Pakistan there has been enough evidence to show that it has been obtaining by devious methods, from the U.S. and West Europe, criti-

cal items needed for operating ultra high-speed centrifuge vessels for enriching uranium. There is also evidence that Pakistan has stockpiled natural uranium, is endeavoring to produce highly enriched uranium as well as plutonium for use in weapons. Under the circumstances, resumption of American arms and economic aid to Pakistan would need special Congressional authorization, because of the Symington Amendment.

The present administration is planning to sidestep this requirement by getting Saudi Arabia to pay (reportedly 640 million dollars) for 40 F-16 fighter bombers to be released to Pakistan almost immediately. This would be in addition to the 3 billion dollars military equipment supply deal agreed to by Under-Secretary of State James Buckley earlier this month.

U.S. officials have argued that Pakistan has security problems and that it would be in the U.S.'s

strategic interest to provide Pakistan with super-planes (totalling about 100). Besides aircraft, precision air to air to ground munitions, guided weapons, surveillance radar advanced airborne warning systems such as the "Hawkeye" are likely to be supplied to Pakistan. Significantly U.S. officials have also argued that as Pakistan's nuclear capability increases, it would need sophisticated weapons to defend itself.

Thus three things are clear. Firstly the U.S. wants Pakistan to fight some country and at least outwardly wants to be seen as anxious to provide powerful weapons to Pakistan. Secondly, the U.S. has recognized that Pakistan has become or is on the point of becoming a nuclear power. Thirdly, the U.S.' so-called non-proliferation policy is quite elastic. The U.S. is seemingly anxious that Pakistan is able to defend itself effectively. But what is the source of threat to Pakistan? Certainly not India. Threat from the Soviet Union too is most unlikely.

Why is the U.S. so keen that Pakistan should have air strike weapons which can reach targets in Bombay, Rajasthan and Delhi? Because, Pakistan, using F-16 attack aircraft and the precision and heavy munitions it would carry, may destroy most of India's nuclear plants. What sabotage attempts could not accomplish during the period 1974 to 1978 (destruction of Indian heavy water plants, damage to nuclear fuel fabrication plants, etc.), the U.S. would now like Pakistan to accomplish for it. If India is subjected to such attacks, Indian forces may react in self-defense and strike at Kahuta. Thus the U.S. wants to trigger another Indo-Pak war so that the two countries may destroy each other's high technology and other high value targets.

People in India are aware of U.S. machinations. We are convinced that the need of the hour is unreserved cooperation between Pakistan, India and other developing countries. Without such cooperation, both countries are likely to suffer — Pakistan as much as India.

The vicious Israeli attack on Osrak must have convinced Iraq, other Arab states and all developing

countries that their real enemies are the U.S. and Israel, not their Third World neighbors. Even before Israel's attack on Osrak, Shaikh Zayed, President of the United Arab Emirates, had observed that "the real enemy of the Arab nations was Israel and not the Soviet Union."

Likewise, not India but the U.S. and Israel are the real enemies of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan especially Baluchis, Pakhtoons, and Sindhis realize this, though not perhaps their military rulers. By obtaining massive arms aid from the U.S., Pakistan is in fact aligning itself with the U.S., whatever its rulers may say. This means that Pakistan is once again becoming a U.S. tool firstly to further shatter West Asian unity; then to harm India and finally to harm itself.

The way the U.S. has been treating client states and leaders of such states once its purposes are achieved, is well known. The Shah of Iran, President Diem and Thieu of South Vietnam, Lon Nol and Lon Non of Kampuchea paid the price for having been pawns in U.S. hands. Their countries are still paying for the folly of these leaders.

President Zia ul-Haq and Foreign Minister Agha Shahi are astute diplomats. They are not unaware that the real danger to their country as well as to themselves personally, comes from the U.S. and Israel, not from India. They are also not unaware that they will be doing a disservice to their own people as well as to their friends in West Asia, if they fall into the trap set up by the Americans and seek to divert attention from Israel to India. Such diversion of Pakistan's attention from Israel to India would suit Israel and its patron the U.S. But is that the best that Pakistan's rulers can do for their people?

In contrast, by developing cooperation with India, Pakistan would be freed from its imaginary security worries (imaginary because no one in India wishes Pakistan ill). Pakistan can then assist West Asian friends (with India's wholehearted cooperation), the better to stand up against Israeli encroachments.

Abridged from *Patriot*,
June 30, 1981

In Brief

ARGENTINA

The Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) has called on all democratic forces to cement their unity in combating the crisis affecting the country.

In a statement distributed in Buenos Aires, the CC CPA stresses the need for a national emergency economic plan whose main thrust would be to improve the position of the broad masses. Drastic measures are needed to streamline the production system and ensure effective work of all the elements in the national economy. The plight of the working class is such, the document notes, that an emergency plan must be drawn up and implemented without delay.

On the internal political situation, the CC CPA stresses that there is a mounting demand in Argentina for a lifting of the restrictions on the activity of

political parties and trade unions. There must be united opposition to those forces which, aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, are trying to destabilize the situation in the country and are impeding the creation of the necessary conditions for democratization of society.

CANADA

The Communist Party of Canada has called on the Canadian government to proclaim the country a "nuclear-free zone."

In a letter to Prime Minister Trudeau the party's General Secretary, William Kashtan, expressed concern over the threat of a world nuclear holocaust which has become more real as a result of the dangerous course of the Reagan administration aimed at stopping the process of détente and at confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on Canadian territory makes Canada hostage to the Pentagon's "first strike strategy," William Kashtan points out.

The letter notes that the Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it will never use nuclear weapons against other countries which renounce the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territory. Canada must conclude such an agreement with the Soviet Union on this important issue.

William Kashtan called on the Canadian government to urge the U.S. administration to pursue a policy of détente and positive response to the Soviet initiatives put forward by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU.

GREECE

A preparatory meeting of the representatives of communist and workers' parties of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and the Red Sea countries took place in June 1981, the press office of the CC, Communist Party of Greece, announced.

Taking part in the meeting were representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), the Commission for Organizing the Working People's Party of Ethiopia (COWPPE), the Communist parties of Egypt, Greece, Jordan, Iraq, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Turkey.

The participants in the meeting noted the increased international tensions which is the result of the subversive actions of imperialism against the policy of détente, peaceful coexistence, against the revolutionary forces in the world.

The representatives of the communist and workers' parties stressed that imperialism's actions in the Middle East and in the Eastern Mediterranean are becoming more and more dangerous and could spark an armed conflict whose flames would spread throughout the world. The responsibility for the growing tensions in the region rests squarely on the United States, Israel and Arab reaction, says the announcement.

The participants in the meeting decided on joint measures to mobilize all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces in their respective countries to combat the threat to their independence and sovereignty, and promote peace and democracy.

ISRAEL

The sixth plenary meeting of the CC, Communist Party of Israel, discussed the results of the recent

out-of-term parliamentary elections in Israel. In a resolution, the meeting notes that the results of the elections indicate a new shift to the right in Israeli politics. This shift has been brought about by a more extremist stand taken by the members of the ruling Likud bloc and other members of the coalition government and by the growing influence of right-wing elements inside the leadership of the Labor Party. The CC, CPI states that a new Likud-led government would mean a further onslaught on the rights of the working people, discrimination against the country's Arabs and a graver danger of fascism and war.

The resolution notes that in spite of the conditions of terror and violence, nationalist and militarist hysteria that marked the recent elections, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality led by the Communist Party of Israel has preserved its positions and its influence among the country's peace-loving people has not been weakened.

LEBANON

Georges Haoui, General Secretary of the CC, Lebanese Communist Party, called for greater solidarity with the Libyan people against whom imperialism, Zionism and reaction are weaving a web of conspiracy.

The Israeli-Egyptian plan of aggression against the Libyan Jamahiriya, he stressed in a statement in Beirut, has been worked out and is being implemented with the direct participation of the United States. The plan is aimed against the Libyan revolution that dealt a blow at American interests in the Middle East and has, together with the other members of the National Front for Steadfastness and Resistance, been vigorously resisting the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Georges Haoui called on all the Arab national liberation forces and movements to support the Libyan Jamahiriya and foil the aggressive plans of the USA, Israel and the traitorous regimes in Egypt and the Sudan with regard to Libya.

TUNISIA

The country's authorities have lifted the ban on the Tunisian Communist Party imposed in January 1963. The party is shortly to resume publication of its weekly newspaper *Al-Tarik al-Jadid*.

President Bourguiba of Tunisia received Mohamed Harmel, First Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party. The news agency notes that Mohamed Harmel expressed satisfaction with the Tunisian President's "important and positive initiative" aimed at bringing about a healthier political atmosphere in the country.

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