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The Tenth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The tenth congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held in Berlin from April 11 to 16, 1981. Below are the abridged texts of the report made by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and of the speech by Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who headed the CPSU delegation at the congress.

Report by Erich Honecker

The tenth congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is an event of great historical significance in the life of our people. One can say with satisfaction that over the past five years our party has done a great deal in implementing the resolutions of the ninth congress. In doing so it was actively supported by the working class, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all other working people. Indeed, one may say that all we have done in the period under review is the achievement of millions of working people and the result of the firm, unshakable trust between party and people.

The German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state of workers and farmers on German soil, has, despite rabid attacks on the part of the enemy, given proof of its political stability, raised its economic potential, and revealed itself as a pillar of peace in Europe. We may note with gratification that peace was successfully maintained in Europe in the second half of the 70s as well. In this the German Democratic Republic, at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, has played an active part.

The experience of the years that lie behind us has reinforced the masses in their conviction that the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community constitutes a firm foundation for peace and the further development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR. In future, too, we shall always consolidate and strengthen this alliance.

The supreme law governing our actions is and will remain proletarian internationalism, international solidarity with all peoples fighting for their freedom. All peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation, for independence, democracy and progress, may continue to rely in future on the unfailing solidarity of the German Democratic Republic.

In the hard class battles with imperialism, our socialist German Democratic Republic has always lived up to its national and international responsibilities. With our domestic and foreign policy we have created favorable starting positions for tackling the tasks of the 1980s. With absolute justification we may declare from the rostrum of our tenth congress:

together with the working people of the GDR, our party will fulfil the tasks of the 1980s with honor.

The German Democratic Republic, thanks to its close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, is in a position to continue to ensure in the future its steady and dynamic development as a firm component of the socialist community of states.

A few weeks ago the 26th congress of the CPSU was held in Moscow. The congress of Lenin's Party — we are fully entitled to say — was an event of powerful significance for the continued advance of the Soviet people toward communism, for the socialist community, and for international developments as a whole. Once again the historic role of the CPSU and the USSR in the world struggle for peace and socialism was convincingly demonstrated to all. The resolutions of the 26th congress combine two basic tasks: the building of a communist society and the securing of peace. This is a truly Leninist program, consistently directed toward the welfare of mankind and the progress of the peoples.

The 26th congress of the CPSU has continued and brought up to date the peace program of the 24th and 25th congresses with new, comprehensive peace initiatives. At the same time they offer the forces of peace excellent opportunities for intensifying their offensive.

The wide international response so far indicates that the imperialist circles cannot let these proposals pass unheeded. The implementation of this program would bring about significant advances in the struggle to secure world peace.

Processes entailing far-reaching revolutionary changes and a fierce struggle over the vital interests of mankind are now under way. The struggle for socialism and peace, for the national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples, for their independence, and against imperialism has reached a new stage. More than ever, it is the consolidation of peace which lies at the heart of this mighty struggle and which, in the end, is the deciding factor in the life of mankind now and in the future.

Thus diametrically opposite trends are at work in international development. These become evident

in the struggle of those forces which are for consolidating peace, for curbing the arms race, for continuing détente, for defending the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples, and those forces which undermine détente, accelerate the arms race, and pursue a policy of threats, boycott, interference in the internal affairs of other states and suppression of the peoples' struggle for liberation. As always, that positive basic trend is decisive, which has been successfully furthered above all thanks to the strength of the Soviet Union and our whole socialist community, thanks to their tireless efforts. One of the most significant results which serves as proof — this, is that it was possible to break the disastrous war-peace-war cycle. It must never be set in motion again.

It is in this spirit that the Central Committee has always worked to fulfil the foreign policy tasks decided upon by the ninth congress. Our prime consideration has been to deepen our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and to contribute actively to the unity and cohesion of our community. In accordance with the foreign policy agreed upon within our alliance, we took such measures and initiatives which above all served the cause of halting the arms race and furthering both the limitation of armaments and disarmament, in short, of supplementing political détente with military détente.

The ninth party congress set the task of making an active and constructive contribution to the consolidation of peace at the side of the Soviet Union and our other allies in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and creating the most favorable external conditions for the building of socialism and communism in our countries. As the results show, successful work was carried out to accomplish these tasks. For us communists there is no more noble task, in the interests of the peoples, than to work with our whole energy and passion for peace. The policy of peaceful coexistence is the only feasible way in which the danger of a new world war can be banished and a lasting peace can be assured. There is no acceptable alternative to this.

It is becoming increasingly clear that imperialism, with its crises, its aggressive nature, and its profit-oriented policy is a threat to the peace and progress of mankind.

Imperialism sets itself against the democratic rights and freedoms of the people and human dignity. Intellectual freedom is replaced by anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism, which are today reviving the cold war to an unprecedented extent in the ideological field. The new and unprecedented dimensions of ideological preparation for war are not only designed to give the proponents of rearmament justification for an escalated arms build-up, but are also designed to serve as an excuse for all the ills and crimes, and all anti-humanitarian manifestations that the present system of imperialism is generating both at home and abroad. All this enhances our responsibility for the destiny of the world.

The great community of the socialist countries

has made it absolutely clear that socialism, and socialism alone, means material security.

We may state with profound satisfaction that in the period under review cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and the fraternal countries developed at a rapid pace in all spheres of life and was enriched by valuable experience. For our people the indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm ensconcement of our Republic in the community of socialist states, is and remains — and this we want to reaffirm at our tenth party congress — the stable foundation of its security and of its successes in building an advanced socialist society.

As in the past, we shall continue to contribute to strengthening the unity and cohesion of our community. This is the key both to its successful advance and to the successful development of each of its members. This is the source of its growing influence on world affairs and the effectiveness of its joint activities in the international arena, above all those aimed at securing peace.

Precisely in this respect the German Democratic Republic was able to make good use of the wider possibilities offered by worldwide official recognition. Today it maintains diplomatic relations with 131 countries. It is a member of the UN and its specialized agencies. In international life, it enjoys both equal rights and a respected position.

Only the FRG deems itself capable of causing serious damage to this great achievement of our people by means of practices which contravene international law. However, it is clear to all that this does not speak against the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which is inspired by a desire for peace and international understanding, but rather testifies that the FRG is at odds with international law. Today more than ever, with the securing of peace being the primary duty of any state, the peoples of the world can see that it is fortunate for mankind that a socialist state, the German Democratic Republic, should exist on German soil for the first time in German history.

Last year we deepened our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union above all, in all fields. This was done on the basis of the USSR-GDR Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of October 7, 1975, which is bearing rich fruit in practice.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have indeed become allies, comrades-in-arms and friends. To this end, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have done an enormous amount of political work. This fraternal alliance is a great revolutionary achievement and will never be destroyed.

Our relations with the other socialist countries, too, have seen major developments. This is evidenced by the diverse and intensive relations between our countries' fraternal parties, governments and social organizations, by political and ideological, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. Important impulses for solving what are at times

complicated problems connected with the building up of socialism and cooperation are given by the sessions of the Political Consultative Committee and the meetings of leading representatives of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, the sessions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the annual meetings between CC General and First Secretaries and comrade Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea.

Our socialist community has proved its worth as a totally new type of alliance based on similar socio-economic and political foundations, the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the uniformity of communist goals and interests and the international solidarity of the working people. It has stood the tests of the class struggle and of the confrontation with imperialism and has found effective solutions to many problems it encountered in the process. From our own experience we know that true friendship is tested above all in difficult situations. This is also true of our relations with the Polish People's Republic. As we all know, the grave difficulties with which the Polish United Workers' Party has to contend continue to exist. From the very outset, our party has declared its fraternal solidarity with the Polish communists, with all patriots in that country striving to defend and strengthen socialism in Poland. We have acted in this spirit and will continue to do so. The more so as the Polish comrades at the Moscow meeting of leading representatives of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in December 1980 declared that, despite all the machinations of the counter-revolutionary forces, the Polish People's Republic was, is and will remain socialist.

It would be of considerable import in the struggle to resolve the most burning issues facing mankind, for the peace, progress and independence of peoples, for the struggle against imperialism, if such a great country as the People's Republic of China would also make a positive contribution.

Unfortunately, we are compelled to note that the opposite is still the case. Foreign policy collaboration between China and the USA is benefiting the policy of confrontation practised by the most reactionary circles of world imperialism. This is especially true of Peking's anti-Sovietism and its hostile attitude toward the countries of the socialist community. Overcoming the Maoist legacy which even the current Chinese leaders describe as baneful, is proving to be a complicated and contradictory process. Only time will tell what result will issue from the changes which are now becoming apparent. As for the GDR, we are prepared, now as ever, to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference. We are convinced that a policy of peace and normal relations is also in the interests of the people of China themselves.

For some time now, the international situation has been markedly deteriorating as a result of the machinations of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, in particular the USA, and because of the arms drive policy of NATO. The change of course

from the policy of détente to that of confrontation, which powerful circles of monopoly capital are intent upon, goes hand in hand with blatant preparations for war. This can reduce to naught all that has been achieved at the cost of great effort in the way of détente, especially in Europe, and that has perceptibly eased international relations.

Those in NATO for whom peaceful coexistence has always been a thorn in the flesh are clearly intending to gain a military and strategic advantage over the states of the socialist community. At the same time, they are well aware that it is precisely the existing military and strategic balance which is of fundamental importance for the maintenance of peace, normal relations between the states of the two social systems and alliances and international cooperation. But it is not just a question of them acting against their better knowledge. In various parts of the world, such as the Middle East and Western Asia, they are also generating tension and trouble spots. It is known that the USA has already declared half of the world to be its "sphere of interest." All these facts give cause for concern.

In this situation, when everyone is aware of how much is at stake for the future not only of Europe but of humanity as a whole, comrade Leonid Brezhnev once again submitted a major action program for peace at the 26th congress of the CPSU. His proposals concerning arms limitation and disarmament, confidence-building measures and containment and elimination of trouble spots are of utmost political importance for the world. I would like to announce at our tenth party congress our full support for the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, which are in the interests of all peoples.

"If the longest period of peace Europe has known in this century is to continue, success must be achieved in bringing about a turn toward disarmament in the 1980s. The plans of NATO politicians to step up the confrontation must be thwarted.

We shall continue to abide strictly by the Helsinki Final Act in its entirety, looking upon it as a program for the consolidation of détente in all its main directions. We support all efforts which can possibly help to promote relations with those NATO states which for their part are willing to develop relations based on equality and equal security with the states of the Warsaw Treaty.

This also goes for our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. We consider that the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is of no mean importance, not only for the two German states, but also for the general situation in Europe.

In matters concerning the two German states the important thing is not to ring the changes on all-German themes, nor should one attempt in political discussions to get past the fact that there exist two German states that have long since acknowledged their status as independent subjects of international law. It is not only in the national interest of the GDR but also in the national interest of the FRG to draw the necessary conclusions in practical politics and,

as far as the FRG is concerned, to part with the arrogant claim to speak "on behalf of all Germans."

We have always been willing to make a constructive contribution to the development of normal and even good-neighbor relations between the GDR and the FRG. Yet the relations between the two German states cannot be detached from the international situation. Those who press on with NATO's arms build-up and who are out to upset the military and strategic balance in Europe with new nuclear missiles are militating against the further normalization of relations between the two German states and putting at risk what has been achieved.

It is necessary, therefore, in developing relations between the GDR and FRG to acknowledge without reservation the existence of two mutually independent and sovereign states with differing social systems. The relations between them can only be those of peaceful coexistence.

The GDR is in favor of West Berlin living in peace and normality. This requires the strict observance and full implementation of the Quadripartite Agreement, especially its key provision which says that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the FRG, nor will it be governed by it in the future.

The following are the foreign policy priorities of our party in the years ahead:

- Systematic strengthening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community on the basis of the friendship treaties that have been concluded. A determined effort to strengthen socialism in every possible way and to raise its international appeal by bringing out and using its advantages ever more fully.

- Unswerving, indefatigable work for the safeguarding of peace and the cessation of the arms race with the aim of defending and expanding political détente, and especially of stabilizing it and making it irreversible through measures toward military détente and disarmament.

- Active anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. Development of broad cooperation with the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Support for the struggle to establish a new international economic order based on equality.

- A consistent striving to expand relations based on peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. Intensification of contacts and accords with the aim of strengthening cooperation in the interests of peace and for mutual benefit and of foiling the confrontation policies of aggressive quarters.

The historical process of deep-going political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes is well under way in our country and has embraced every sphere of society. After the ninth congress, the productive forces have been further developed at a dynamic pace and the socialist relations of production have been perfected. The population's material and cultural standard of living has risen steadily in a multitude of ways.

During the last five-year plan period the national income amounted to 812.5 billion marks, the in-

crease being 25.4 per cent. The manufacturing output of our national economy amounted to 1,625 billion marks between 1976 and 1980, that is, 32.2 per cent more than in the preceding five years. The GDR has upheld its place among the 10 leading industrial nations of the world.

Stable economic growth is indispensable for socialism.

Between 1976 and 1980, three-quarters of the increase in the national income was accounted for by industry. It accounts for 93 per cent of the GDR's total exports.

We note with satisfaction that socialist agriculture has been further consolidated politically, economically and socially. It has once again shown itself to be a stable factor in our social development.

The socialist production relations in agriculture have grown stronger. By way of cooperation we have successfully proceeded toward a division of labor and the concentration and specialization of production. This in turn has created favorable conditions for an expansion of the productive forces. Modern cooperative forms have emerged, along with state farms for crop farming and animal husbandry.

With a view to the further raising of yields we also devote special attention to privately farmed plots. Experience shows that the promotion of private plots and of the Association of Allotment Gardeners can result in an additional, important contribution to the food supply.

In the light of the changes on the international scene, foreign economic ties have become increasingly important as a key factor in national economic growth. Compared with 1975, the GDR's foreign trade turnover rose by 61 per cent in 1980. A reliable basis for the stable and dynamic development of our economy is and continues to be fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries.

The higher level of performance achieved by the national economy has also made it possible to achieve step by step the aims we set ourselves in the field of social policy. We have attained everything proposed by the ninth party congress in the way of improving working and living conditions for our people, through subsequent joint and detailed decisions adopted by the Central Committee, the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (CFG TU) and the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

In our economic strategy for the 1980s we shall concentrate on the following 10 points.

1. It is necessary to take a radically new step with regard to combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution have now become the main reservoir feeding our efforts to improve the performance and efficiency of the national economy. The most favorable conditions for taking these big steps to advance the productive forces to a higher level are being created by the ever closer integration of the national economies of the GDR

and the USSR and collaboration within the CMEA.

2. Our economic strategy for the 1980s aims at considerable increases in labor productivity. In key sectors we plan to multiply productivity by way of rationalization, which will release manpower for other jobs.

3. Our economic strategy for the 1980s has the aim of using raw materials and fuels to even greater advantage throughout our economy. It requires that we utilize the fixed assets at our disposal more efficiently.

4. The striving for high quality in our products takes an important place.

5. There is the central task of decisively increasing the efficiency of our work and to this end we must make use of the latest developments in science and technology.

6. We must concentrate on comprehensive socialist rationalization: from the modernization of existing plant and equipment and the renewal of the production process at a high scientific level to ensuring optimum working conditions. In this decade, socialist rationalization will have an increasingly close connection with automation.

7. Our economic strategy also sets new standards for investment policy as a driving force behind scientific and technological progress. This is why we are concentrating our resources on socialist rationalization, implementation of advanced techniques, which save time and materials and, in fact, considerably increase the efficiency of whole sectors of the economy.

8. Our economic strategy involves producing more and better consumer goods. The production of these goods must develop on the basis of our own raw materials or those which we are able to obtain from socialist countries.

9. Both social production and national income are to increase at a highly dynamic rate.

10. Our economic strategy is based on intensive expanded reproduction. Developed socialist society and, in particular, its material and technical basis are inseparably bound up with intensification as the main road to higher economic performance.

The "Directives of the Tenth Congress of the SUPG for the Five-Year Plan for the GDR's National Economic Development 1981-1985" have been submitted to the tenth party congress for adoption. They reflect the goals of the further construction of a developed socialist society in the GDR.

Within the framework of socialist economic integration the GDR will expand and intensify economic, scientific and technological cooperation with all countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. A solid basis for this is provided by the five long-term programs adopted by the CMEA for the period ending 1990. These are a detailed amplification of the comprehensive program of the CMEA. The corresponding sections of the long-term programs will become an integral part of

the five-year plan for the GDR's national economic development.

In the 1980s even higher standards will be set as regards the quality and efficiency of our socialist culture and art.

In the period under review, our party has done everything to continue strengthening our socialist workers' and farmers' state. We have consistently worked to enhance its role as the main instrument in the hands of the working people led by the working class. The Leninist principle of democratic centralism has been consistently implemented in all spheres of society.

The CFGTU, with its nearly 9 million members, is making an important contribution to the shaping of a developed socialist society and to the all-round strengthening of our socialist state. Through the trade unions, which represent the most comprehensive mass organization, millions of workers are directly involved in the management and planning of social processes. Every day, they help to mold socialist democracy.

The continuous enhancement of the leading role of the party in all spheres of social life is an objective requirement. It guarantees the political stability and dynamism of socialism.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is a party committed to revolutionary action. It epitomizes the harmony of revolutionary theory and practice, of word and deed. Always heeding the voice of the working people and drawing on their wealth of experience, our party is leading the way, instructing the masses while at the same time learning from them. In this we find the main reason for the great confidence placed in it by the people.

The unshakable foundation on which the successful activity of our party rests is the ideological and organizational unity and cohesion of its ranks.

Tried and tested a thousand times over in the fire of class struggle and in tackling the problems of socialist construction, Marxist-Leninist theory is the guarantor of our new victories. It alone enables people to find the right orientation in complex domestic and foreign policy issues, to take a stand meeting the interests of the working class and to struggle for the just cause of all the working people.

Our tenth party congress will map out a clear, Marxist-Leninist course for the future. This will be a period of new initiatives and creative work, a period in which the German Democratic Republic will continue to grow in strength and prosper.

As the party of the working class and all working people in our country, we shall not move from our basic principle: nothing that we do is done for its own sake, everything is for the good of the working people. Ever faithful to this principle, we are marching forward together on the sure course of our party program, strengthening our socialist fatherland and enhancing the strength of the socialist community and the revolutionary world movement.

Speech by Mikhail Suslov

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the 17.5 million Soviet communists and of the entire Soviet people, the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends warm and fraternal greetings to you, delegates attending the 10th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and to all communists and working people of the German Democratic Republic.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of our party's Central Committee, has asked me to convey best wishes for the success of your party congress, for the continued thriving of the German Democratic Republic and the happiness of its people.

Together with you, comrade delegates and esteemed foreign guests, we have listened with close attention to the report of the SUPG Central Committee delivered by comrade Erich Honecker. This document sums up the brilliant results achieved at an important stage of the struggle to build a developed socialist society on German soil, brings out in a business-like way the reserves that still exist, and formulates large-scale tasks for the period ahead.

It is most gratifying to see how steadily your country has been advancing from one five-year period to another, raising its economy, science and culture to a new level and improving the life of the working people. The impressive economic record of the past five-year period is due to the maximum utilization of the advantages of the socialist system and of intensive factors of growth production, and to the GDR's close and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

The broad masses of working people are staunchly behind the social and economic policies of the SUPG. A striking expression of this may be found in the countrywide socialist emulation campaign, and in the mass movement for innovation and rationalization in production to mark the 10th congress of the SUPG. The successes scored in building a developed socialist society are eloquent proof of the vitality of the policy pursued by the SUPG and its Central Committee led by comrade Erich Honecker, the highly esteemed party and state leader and eminent figure of the international communist movement.

Just as older generations of fighters for socialism laid the foundations for the achievements of our day, so you, comrades, are now laying the groundwork for the successes of tomorrow, paving the way for those who will carry on the communist relay. This sense of responsibility for the future is clearly evident from your consistent efforts to reduce social costs and the input of working time — a matter which Karl Marx saw as the chief criterion of progress — and from the unflagging attention paid by the party to ideological and educational work among the working people. The most salient feature of the concern for the well-being of future generations is the concern for the mental, physical and moral development of the young, and for the satisfaction of their aspirations and requirements. The socialist state spares no effort to ensure that its young people

grow up to become healthy, vigorous and industrious citizens devoted to the cause of communism, true patriots and dedicated internationalists.

Herein lies the guarantee that the task of building a new, just and flourishing society on German soil will be accomplished.

We know that you, like other fraternal countries, have had to face some intricate problems. But the most important thing is that the party is aware of these problems and mobilizes the creative energies of the country's workers, farmers and intellectuals for their solution. The close and living ties between the working people and the vanguard of the working class is the best possible guarantee of the successful implementation of the party's plans.

Today, on the eve of the 35th anniversary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, it is a special pleasure for us to recall that the founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, sprang from the midst of the German people. Building upon their work, Russia's great son Vladimir Ilyich Lenin upheld the principles of Marxism in the face of opportunist attacks, elaborated it in accordance with the conditions of the new era, the era of the triumph of socialism, and held high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The theory of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is true, Lenin said. The experience accumulated in the course of over 60 years of victorious construction of the new society in the USSR, and the successes of the GDR and other fraternal countries confirm this incontestable truth, and show that only consistent and strict application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching ensures the triumph of the socialist ideals. There is no other way, and any deviation from our revolutionary theory is bound to have disastrous consequences. This is borne out, in particular, by the bitter lesson of China, where gross distortions of the principles of scientific socialism occurred.

Comrades,

The last few months have abounded in political events of international significance. I have in mind the 26th congress of the CPSU, the 12th congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the 10th congress of the SUPG.

These party congresses have demonstrated the unity and strength of the great community of fraternal socialist countries and of the international communist movement.

The documents of the fraternal parties' congresses make it plain that, despite the wealth and variety of paths and forms taken by socialist construction in different national and historical conditions, the basic uniformities are the same. Lenin regarded as one of the guarantees of the success of our work, unconditional loyalty to the fundamental principles of communism and a policy "which will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions." It is precisely this line

which is clearly evident in the general orientation of the domestic and foreign policies of the GDR and the other fraternal countries.

It is a source of deep satisfaction to us to see that both the report of the Central Committee of the SUPG and the whole atmosphere of your congress are permeated with the ideas of fraternal solidarity between our peoples and of the all-round cooperation between the SUPG and the CPSU, that the communists of the GDR highly appreciate the friendship between our parties and countries, and are doing everything in their power to strengthen and advance it.

This friendship is embodied today in the extensive relations that have taken shape between our countries in all fields of social activity. Economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union has long been an important instrument in tackling our economic tasks.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, which are actively cooperating within the framework of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, are carrying on together with the other countries of the socialist community a consistent struggle against the danger of a new world war, for stronger peace in Europe and on all continents, and for the unification of all anti-imperialist forces.

As everyone knows, the international situation has recently become much more complicated. A shift has occurred in the policy of the leading imperialist power toward exacerbating the confrontation with the world of socialism and the liberation movement, and toward a stepped-up arms race. The danger of war posed by the aggressive imperialist circles is intensifying because the Peking hegemonists are joining up ever more closely with these circles.

That is why, as Leonid Brezhnev said in this connection at the 26th congress of our party, "nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being — the right to life." At the congress, Leonid Brezhnev presented a package of constructive proposals which may with absolute justification be described as the peace program of the 80s, and which has been widely welcomed on an international scale.

Comrades,

On June 22 it will be 40 years since Hitlerite fascism launched its treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union. Our people suffered immense losses in the struggle to liberate their homeland and all of Europe from the fascist oppressors. Other peoples, too, had to go through great suffering. The fascist adventure turned into a cruel tragedy for the German people as well. Mindful of the millions who lost their lives, and moved by a feeling of responsibility for the lives of present and future generations, we have the duty to do everything for the security of the socialist community, for its unshakable unity, for the inviolability of its frontiers and the safeguarding of peace among nations.

Another reason for drawing attention to the ter-

rible days of the Second World War is that the virus of fascism is still alive in the FRG and that the forces of reaction and aggression are seeking to turn Europe once again into a staging area for the preparation of a new war, this time a nuclear missile war. This is being done against the will of the European peoples, above all in the interests of U.S. monopoly capital.

The atmosphere on our continent is being clouded by the attempts of the reactionaries to erode our community and undermine the foundations of socialism by interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, by ideological subversion and provocations, by psychological warfare.

It is our duty to remain on the alert, it is our duty to wage a persistent and uncompromising struggle against revanchism, neofascism and the ideology underlying them.

It is now more important than ever before that the international revolutionary movement, the peace movement, should speak out loud and clear against the new twist in the arms spiral, against the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, against the neutron weapon and the implementation of other militarist plans.

Comrades,

This congress of the SUPG, just as the 26th congress of the CPSU in Moscow, is attended by delegations from most of the communist and workers' parties, national liberation movements and progressive organizations of the world. Our movement has long since become a mighty international force, exercising a strong influence on the course of international events. The current situation calls upon the communists of all countries to unite on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to mobilize all the peace-loving and progressive forces in the interests of peace. We are convinced that the communist movement will make a worthy contribution to the solution of the complicated problems facing mankind in the 1980s.

The Soviet people have got down to implementing the resolutions of the 26th congress of the CPSU with great enthusiasm, resolutions that have opened up new horizons in the building of a communist society, in the struggle for peace and social progress. And we are inspired by the awareness that the Soviet Union has true friends and comrades-in-arms in this struggle and that the fraternal socialist countries are marching ahead in serried ranks.

Let me thank the Central Committee of the SUPG, your congress and your party for the active support extended to the ideas of the 26th congress of the CPSU, to the new Soviet peace initiatives, as expressed in the report of the SUPG Central Committee in such convincing and clear-cut terms. This support is another proof of the close cooperation between our countries in solving the questions of building a new society, in the struggle for peace, détente, disarmament and international security.

The foreign policy pursued by our countries meets the interests of all peoples, and this is the wellspring of its strength. We have every reason to look to the future with optimism, for the future be-

longs to socialism. This historically progressive nature of socialism finds expression in the fact that it champions universal human interests, above all the unfaltering striving of all peoples for a life in peace on the Earth.

Dear friends,

We are convinced that the 10th congress of the SUPG is an important milestone on the road toward

implementing the objectives of the party in building a developed socialist society on German soil.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you every success in all your endeavors!

Long live the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic!

Long live peace and communism!

Doing Things Lenin's Way

A meeting to mark the 111th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin was held at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on April 22. Below is the abridged text of a report by Konstantin Chernenko, Member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau, entitled "Looking to Lenin, Doing Things Lenin's Way."

We are paying tribute to Lenin's memory today in what is a special period in the life of the party and the nation, when the communists and the whole Soviet people have got down, with enthusiasm and vigor, to carrying out the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU.

The congress has made abundantly clear the triumph of Leninism as translated into the actual deeds and plans of the Soviet people. Everything that was said at the congress, the guidelines it laid down for the various aspects of the theory and practice of communist construction and of the effort to improve the political system, develop our economy and culture, and its assessments and conclusions with regard to the worldwide revolutionary process and foreign affairs, everything is closely connected with Lenin's teaching. All of this embodies the transforming power of Leninism and its revolutionary spirit. That is why we say: "Lenin is with us."

Lenin was a great thinker, a great theorist. But saying this is saying far too little. Lenin combined revolutionary thought and revolutionary deed. He created the party of Bolsheviks, a party of communist fellow-fighters, which has followed the Marxist-Leninist teaching and has led our people forward to epoch-making achievements.

It has long since been recognized that truly historic personalities have a kind of hold over time. As decades and centuries go by, their role in history and their profound impact on the destinies of mankind stand out in ever bolder relief. Lenin, Russia's great son, occupies a special and, one could say, unique place among the personalities of this caliber.

An uncommonly gifted man, a genius in the full sense of the word, Lenin strikes one by the wealth of his creative individuality, which is to be seen in everything: in his mode of thinking and political activity, in the amplitude and diversity of his interests, and in a unique combination of the qualities of a thinker and professional revolutionary.

Lenin's brilliant intellect assimilated the best of the world's cultural values and gave a powerful impulse to the all-round development of Marxism. His ardent heart beat in unison with the hearts of millions upon millions of oppressed people thirsting for

freedom and justice. He directed all his knowledge and all his hatred for the exploiters toward one goal: to break up and destroy the old world and to build a new one, a world of emancipated labor.

Lenin and the party he created performed that titanic feat. The epochal turning point in the history of social relations — the Great October Socialist Revolution — is associated with the name of Lenin, with his teaching, with his passionate, all-absorbing activity of a revolutionary. The entire history of our socialist homeland is linked with Lenin's name and teaching.

Lenin was destined to live less than 54 years. And what a succession of years these were: prisons, exile, emigration, which he described as a "time of ordeal," the bitterness of defeat, and an unending struggle, unending work for the sake of the revolution, for the sake of victory.

When the revolution finally triumphed, Lenin became the leader of the first socialist state. And then came yet another spell of terrible ordeals: the civil war, intervention and blockade, economic dislocation, and stabs in the back. There was superhuman tension and a superhuman effort. But we say, and with good reason, that a great goal generates great energy. Lenin carried his faith in the inevitable emancipation of the proletariat through every difficulty and obstacle, through his whole life.

Lenin was perfectly well aware of the people's thoughts, feelings and aspirations. One just cannot imagine him being out of constant touch with the people, with his associates in the party and with the masses. And that not only because this was demanded by his main profession, the profession of a proletarian politician and revolutionary. That was dictated by Lenin's very nature.

He was a sociable, energetic and affable man who valued friendship, was an attentive and keenly sensitive conversationalist. Complacency, self-satisfaction and posturing were foreign to him. That is the way Lenin is remembered by his associates, by his friends and even by his enemies. That is the way he was — a truly popular leader of the broadest popular movement in history.

Lenin's legacy is immense. It is our state, the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is our battle-stepped party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is the time-tested theory and methodology of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Lenin's legacy has always had a tremendous impact on the whole of this world and on the entire epoch we are living in. Look at the present alignment of world forces, at the major world contradictions, at the main problems of the liberation struggle. Their roots and their sources go back to those unforgettable years when Lenin and the Leninists made the first breach in the worldwide system of imperialist exploitation.

More than six decades have gone by since then. The emergence of the new world is a difficult and sometimes painful process. But the wind of revolution, Lenin's ideas continue to fill the sail of social progress, holding out hope to mankind.

DECISIONS OF THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU: THE PARTY'S LENINIST STRATEGY

Lenin always emphasized the need for a realistic, well-thought-out and innovatory approach to the problems of socialist development. He bequeathed to us his allegiance to the revolutionary theory of Karl Marx, which, as Lenin put it, gives one the opportunity of a "bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement." It is exactly this Leninist approach to theory and practice that determined the atmosphere at the 26th congress and the nature of its conclusions.

With Leninist thoroughness, the congress formulated and examined the pressing economic and socio-political problems of developed socialism — a law-governed and historically long stage on the way to communism. In doing this, the congress of the Soviet communists made a substantial contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and to practical communist construction, laying down reliable guidelines for many years ahead. The party will follow these in its everyday work, and will take them into account in preparing a new draft of the party program.

The 26th congress has continued the line of basically switching the economy round to face the diverse tasks of raising the Soviet people's well-being. "Concrete concern for the concrete person," the report of the CPSU Central Committee points out, "for his needs and requirements, is the alpha and omega of the party's economic policy."

This fundamental principle is embodied in the program for the development of consumer goods production and services, which is now being worked out. As you know, the plans for the current five-year plan period provide for the accelerated development of the Group B industries. What is more, this does not involve a mere rearrangement of accents or a mechanical redistribution of funds and forces. The need is, so to say, to pull up the rear to the main forces and to keep advancing along every line of communist construction.

The party attaches primary importance to the development and implementation of a special food program. To ensure the people's uninterrupted sup-

ply of food within the shortest time possible — this is the objective and this is how the problem is spelled out. The principal way of attaining this goal is to ensure all-round development of agricultural production and of all the branches of the agro-industrial complex. It is essential to link agriculture still closer with the branches engaged in storing and processing its products, and their marketing. In other words, it is essential not only to step up the output of farm produce, but to ensure that every pound of grain, meat, vegetables and fruits reaches the consumer without losses.

This is an important and large-scale task. People's demands are growing all the time. Besides, far from everything works out as it should right away. In every job, one always has something to correct or on which to put the finishing touches. It is perfectly obvious that the fulfillment of the food program calls for special attention, perseverance and purposefulness. It calls for faster eradication of any manifestations of irresponsibility, lack of discipline, inter-departmental disunity and poor management, and for a bolder search for new and untrodden paths. It is quite natural, comrades, that the raising of the people's well-being must rest on a firm economic foundation and on a balanced growth of all branches of the national economy. "The whole art of government and policy-making," Lenin taught, "consists in being able to assess and know in good time where to concentrate your main forces and attention." Following this methodology of Lenin's, the 26th congress of the CPSU has called on the party and the Soviet people to concentrate their main efforts and attention on intensifying public production, on raising labor efficiency and quality and on speeding up scientific and technological progress. To complete the transition to the predominantly intensive way of development — such is the imperative of our time.

Maximum output with minimum input — that is what we are working for. That is the essence of the slogan — "The economy must be economical!" — proclaimed at the congress. This calls for a more zealous approach to economic management, demanding the shedding of old habits and stereotypes and the resolute abandonment of the way of thinking and the practice that are primarily oriented toward quantitative indicators and underestimate the qualitative ones. The point made here is that every part of the economic mechanism and the whole of it should run rhythmically and in a coordinated manner, without slips. This is one of the most crucial guidelines in the party's economic policy for the coming period.

The development of the economy in the conditions of mature socialism is inconceivable without further improvement of democracy and without higher consciousness and initiative on the part of the working people. In short, it is inconceivable without what we call the socio-political and spiritual progress of society.

The congress has approved the *Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990*. The

very title of this document is symbolic. It underscores the idea that economic issues are tackled in close connection with social tasks. The party views the country's future not only as the growth of its economic and scientific and technical potential, as the improvement of the Soviet people's well-being. No less important is the task of further developing the social-class and national structure of the Soviet society.

Under mature socialism, processes of tremendous social and political significance are under way. This refers to the growing social homogeneity of Soviet society, to the increasing closeness of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia and of all the Soviet nations and nationalities, to the development and consolidation of Soviet national statehood, etc. All these changes are reflected in the new constitution of the USSR.

Leonid Brezhnev made this important theoretical point at the congress: a classless society will take shape mainly within the historical framework of mature socialism. This conclusion, comrades, puts a high obligation on us. It clearly indicates the orientation of the party's social policy in the years ahead.

This policy includes accelerated construction of housing and cultural and communal facilities, particularly in the less settled areas; a reduction in low-skilled and arduous manual work; rises in pay and pensions; and improvement of the whole sphere of distribution. The party believes that all these issues — and they are of immediate concern to millions upon millions of people — are of national importance. And they should be approached as such.

Changes in the social sphere are directly connected with the political superstructure. The Soviet political system, in which the trade unions, the Komsomol and other associations of the working people play an active role under the party's leadership, makes it possible to reckon with most attentively and concert the interests of different social groups, to harmonize them with the interests of the society as a whole and with the tasks of building communism. And, it goes without saying, the Soviet political system involves ever broader masses of the working people in really running the affairs of society on a day-to-day basis. That is the source of our strength, and the guarantee of our future successes.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee ties into a single whole the main tasks of economic and social policies with the molding of a new man and with the all-round development of the individual. It is a vivid distinctive feature of the documents and decisions of the 26th CPSU congress that they abound in questions which are of immediate concern to the working people, and relate its ideas and propositions to every man and woman, to their interests, thoughts and feelings.

The party's humane objectives and policy are inseparable from uncompromising struggle against everything that prevents the Soviet people from living a life of peace and dignity and from working effectively. "... All organizational, fiscal and juridical levers should be used to close, once and for all, every opening for parasitism, bribery, profiteering,

unearned incomes, and infringements upon socialist property," Leonid Brezhnev said. The CPSU Central Committee expresses the confidence that all the party committees and all the government and mass organizations will follow this instruction in their practical activities.

In discussing these far from simple matters, the congress pointed out that their solution, like the molding of the new man generally, should be based on the sound foundation of socio-economic policy. If all negative phenomena are merely reduced to "survivals of the past" in people's minds, we lose sight of the shortcomings whose causes will be found in present-day practices and in the miscalculations of this or that worker. It is here that a gap may open between education by word and education by practice. That cannot be allowed to happen.

The congress demanded that the ideological and political-educational work should be backed up everywhere with attentiveness to people and to their working and living conditions. If concern for the needs of the people is pushed into the background for the sake of production or under any other pretext, not only people but also production suffer as a consequence.

The Leninist approach to every endeavor is a blend of concern for and trust in man with high exactingness. This is precisely what the party does. The whole spirit and content of the congress demands that the best qualities be brought out in everyone, that broad vistas be opened for initiative, and that esteem for honest work be raised. The face of our society depends on the face of man, on his work. The party has always proceeded and continues to proceed from this idea of Lenin's!

THE SOVIET PEACE PROGRAM FOR THE 1980s

It is common knowledge that the beginning of the 1980s is marked by a serious aggravation of the international situation. The policy of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, threatens to obliterate much of what was achieved in the 1970s on the road of détente. By escalating the arms race, the bellicose NATO circles strive to upset the military-strategic balance between socialism and capitalism and change the correlation of forces on the world scene in their favor. In so doing, they actively use China's present foreign policy, which is hostile to the cause of peace. As a result, serious obstacles have emerged in the way of détente. The threat of war which to some extent diminished in the middle of the last decade has again increased.

It is understandable, therefore, that the world intensely looked forward to the 26th congress of our party. Will we let ourselves be provoked? What will Moscow say and what will be its response to Washington's declarations and actions? This is what was deliberated and argued about in other countries on the eve of the congress. There is nothing to argue about any longer: the 26th congress of the CPSU has advanced a broad and constructive program aimed at consolidating international security.

The maintenance of détente, the curbing of the

arms race and the consolidation of peace accord with the interests of all the peoples. Any nuclear clash would inflict incalculable calamities upon mankind. It must be prevented! Such is the meaning of the CPSU's approach to the most burning question of our time, the question of war and peace.

Never before have weapons of monstrously destructive force been accumulated so rapidly. Never before have attempts to use these weapons as a means of resolving disputes and conflicts posed a threat to the whole of civilization and even to life on Earth itself.

Hence this incontestable conclusion: it is a crime to regard thermonuclear war as a rational and almost "legitimate" continuation of politics. Today, any responsible statesman must know: reliance on strength and on the use of nuclear-missile weapons jeopardizes the future of humanity.

Unfortunately, the statements and actions of some politicians on either side of the Atlantic show that they do not or refuse to understand this. What is more, holding forth about a so-called "limited" or "dosed" nuclear war, they strive to habituate people to the idea that a nuclear-missile clash is admissible and acceptable. That is why, comrades, it is so important that all the peoples should be fully aware of the disastrous consequences of a thermonuclear conflict. Accordingly, the 26th congress of the CPSU has approved the proposal on setting up a competent international committee of the most eminent scientists from different countries to demonstrate the vital necessity of averting a nuclear catastrophe.

Assessing the foreign policy program of the 26th congress as a whole, one cannot but see that the CPSU's line in international affairs is not subject to short-term fluctuations; it does not pursue any narrow egotistical aims, and is not aimed against any people or state. It is aimed against war and the forces of militarism and neocolonialism, and is designed to ensure peace and improve the entire international situation.

Working for a radical improvement of the international atmosphere and putting forward concrete initiatives, the Soviet Union makes no ultimatums. It has no intention at all of saying: either this way or no way at all. The Soviet proposals are an invitation to negotiations and a dialogue in the course of which any initiatives could and should be discussed, so long as they facilitate the solution of urgent international problems. The Soviet Union is prepared for such a dialogue at all levels both within the framework of bilateral relations with the United States, France, West Germany and other countries, and in the UN Security Council. As comrade Brezhnev recently stressed, we do not set any preconditions.

As for the attempts of some Western circles to talk with us in the language of threats and their dangerous balancing on the brink of détente and the cold war, our party firmly declares: we will not allow anyone to infringe on the legitimate interests of our country and of our allies.

It is in uniting, in pooling the efforts for peace with the struggle of the peoples for social progress that

Lenin saw a real possibility for erecting a firm barrier to the imperialist policy of wars, plunder and violence. To this day, this approach continues to serve our party as a reliable compass in world affairs.

Our party ties its peace policy into an organic whole with its support for the just cause of freedom, democracy and national independence. But no one will ever be able to prove that Soviet assistance to other countries and peoples pursues some selfish aims. There are no such facts. But there are facts of a different kind. Soviet specialists are bringing knowledge to those who were doomed to spiritual ignorance by colonialism. Where misery once reigned, industrial and agrarian centers are springing up, with our help. Our support helps peoples confronted with power pressure from imperialism to safeguard their independence. We have the right to be proud of such an internationalist, Leninist policy. And we are proud of it.

In putting forward its Peace Program for the 1980s, the CPSU is determined to continue strengthening the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries. Our party will consolidate the international unity of the world communist movement and expand and deepen the bonds of comradely cooperation with all Marxist-Leninist parties. Joint action with them in the fight against the arms race and for peace and social progress serves the peaceful future of mankind. The Soviet Union has been and will continue to be a loyal friend of all the peoples which are forging their own way to a just life in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of the past.

It is difficult to establish peace through disjointed action. Only a worldwide coalition of anti-war forces is equal to such a task. Such a coalition is not a utopia. It is being called into being by the vital need of the peoples to unite together for the sake of peaceful aims, jointly to remove the threat of a thermonuclear conflict. This country is prepared for broad and constructive cooperation with countries of the other social systems, with all those who intend to work sincerely for a lasting, just and democratic peace.

FOR THE LENINIST STYLE IN WORK

Comrades, the party of communists, Lenin's Party, is at the center of the constructive effort — absorbing and complex effort — launched since the 26th congress.

The party does not regard its role of the leading and guiding force of Soviet society as a privilege. That role has not been granted to it by some decree. It has been won in the selfless struggle for the happiness of the working people. And the communists understand very well that prestige and influence are not given once and for all. By each of its decisions, the party must daily reassert its right to lead society. And the CPSU is successfully doing so.

Leninist style of work in all the sectors of the party, state and economic apparatus is of tremendous importance for the fulfillment of our plans, for the life of the country. Both from their own experience and from the experience of others, the Soviet

communists know that a high price has to be paid for any deviation from Leninist principles.

Perhaps the most important of Lenin's requirements is to increase and deepen the party's ties with the masses. These ties are a source of the party's strength and influence. They are an indispensable possibility for finding and supporting what is new, and they prevent us from taking inaccurate, erroneous steps. These ties are the most essential prerequisite for making correct decisions.

There are numerous channels by which the party is linked to the concerns of people and to their thoughts. These include open party meetings, communists' reports to working people, letters to party committees, and nationwide discussions of major party and state documents.

It is safe to say that the party feels the pulse of popular life very well. And it seeks constantly to renew its ties with the masses, to make them, so to speak, superconductive and to react sensitively to the changes and new developments occurring in society. There is a live current of thought running from the party to the masses, and from the masses to the party.

Lenin thought a great deal about the party, which had become a ruling party, and kept warning the communists against conceit. He taught that the party's attitude to its own mistakes is one of the main criteria of its seriousness, its ability in practice to fulfil its obligations to its class and the working people. Pride in successes should not lead to intellectual laziness, and the enthusiasm for work should go hand in hand with a restless feeling of dissatisfaction. "... Self-criticism," Lenin remarked, "is vitally essential to every live and virile party. There is nothing more disgusting than smug optimism." A critical and self-critical approach to one's job is a necessary remedy against stagnation and a guarantee of progress.

The explanation of the decisions of the 26th congress is now continuing in the country. By and large, this is being done well. But it must be owned that some party workers, economic executives and journalists with them prefer to talk more about successes and achievements. As for the problems and difficulties of concern to people, they are somehow often mentioned in passing, casually.

But in life the good and the bad, the joyous and the sorrowful live side by side; failures occur along with successes. Truthfulness is a party hallmark. This is the point to recall these words of comrade Brezhnev's: "It is very important that propaganda should not sidestep sharp issues and that it should not be afraid to refer to the so-called difficult questions."

No one will deprive us of our achievements and our victories. But no one will overcome our difficulties for us, either.

The Leninist style of work is inseparable from constant concern for the promotion of party democracy. In all the party organizations, the voice of each communist must ring loud and clear. The active role of each member of the party bureau or committee must be felt in all the elected party bodies. It is

through good teamwork that the best solutions can be found. Besides, the prestige of a leader at any level will only stand to gain when he can hear out the various viewpoints, even if they do not coincide with his own.

As Lenin worked out the science of the political guidance of society, he paid special attention to questions of organization. "... Nothing can be done at one go, by thrust or enthusiasm alone in predominantly organizing activity in economic development," he said. "It is the most durable work of organization, projected for years ahead, that can carry us to a real victory." That was what Lenin said in 1920. But that is one of the truths that never grow old.

Success in the work of organization implies a natural blend of competence, consistency of purpose, effective performance and resourcefulness. Administration by fiat, hustle and bustle, futile decision-making on paper instead of a businesslike approach are counter-productive in this work. And, of course, organization the Leninist way is inconceivable without strict discipline. "... If we are conscientious in teaching discipline to workers and peasants, we have to start with ourselves," Lenin said.

Success is ensured by the proper selection of people and by verifying performance. It would seem that this demand of Lenin's is not too difficult to follow. But, unfortunately, now and again things turn out the other way. It happens that a decision that has been taken sinks in the sand, as it were. So more and more decisions are taken exactly like the first one. But the reason decisions are taken at all is not "to admire them," as Lenin used to say.

Verifying performance cannot, of course, be reduced to an impassionate recording of successes and failures. To be strictly objective and impartial, it must imply adopting well-considered recommendations as to how best to organize the work. That will be real verification, that will mean doing a real job, not just the semblance of a job.

The party now has 17.5 million communists. This is a great force, a real treasury of talent, of people working with self-sacrifice in the most diverse sectors of communist construction. The party's prestige is tremendous. It must be treasured and enhanced.

That is why, proceeding from the directions of the 26th congress, the Central Committee has raised the exactingness on cadre at whatever level, persistently raising the standards of efficiency in the work of the party apparatus, and ensuring the influx of fresh forces into it. And, of course, the party is strict in calling to account those who fail to carry out party decisions, those who show no sense of responsibility in doing the job they are expected to do, or those who abuse their social standing or public office, and those who behave contrary to the principles of party ethics.

Marxism-Leninism is the creative foundation of the organizing, political and theoretical activities of the party, and of the whole of Soviet social life.

The record of the revolutionary struggle and the record of socialist and communist construction teach us to be resolute in opposing dogmatism, fossil mentality and thoughtless application of ready-made schemes and patterns. Marxism, Lenin stressed, is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Leninism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, Lenin's followers say. Being true to Lenin means immersing oneself in the creative ideas which permeated the theoretical and practical activities of the founder of our party. Being true to Lenin means resolutely opposing any attempt to distort our revolutionary teaching — whether from the right or from the "left."

The stream of life is rapid. The problems already solved give way to those yet to be solved. What was right yesterday may be wrong tomorrow. Hence the need to notice and identify new phenomena and processes in due time, to analyze and generalize them, and to produce further theoretical guidelines for practical work.

That was exactly how Lenin acted. And that is what he taught the party, the attacking vanguard of the working class, to do. All facets of Lenin's personality, as the organizer and leader of the liberation movement of the Russian and world proletariat, were most fully unfolded in the struggle to create and strengthen such a party, a new type of revolutionary party. We have every right to say over and over again: Lenin's genius lives on and is triumphant in the party's deeds and accomplishments.

Communists are not inclined to oversimplify or idealize the world situation. Capitalism is still strong. By using the methods of neo-colonialism and relying on a network of international monopolies, the major centers of capitalism keep on exploiting most of the third world countries. A complex interlocking of imperialist pressure, social conflict and struggle between various national and religious groups is seriously destabilizing the situation in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Global problems, including those generated by the scientific and technological revolution, which is tak-

ing place in a disunited and socially heterogeneous world, are being aggravated.

These are the realities of our time, convoluted, conflicting, stamped with the clash between the old and the new. It is, naturally, the new that we stand for in this struggle. We are convinced that the world can and must be better, and we, communists, Leninists, will work to make it better.

Lenin's idea that all nations will arrive at socialism, but each in its own way, has been and still is the guiding star in the progressive social remaking of the world. As we listened to the speeches by the envoys of revolutionary forces at the 26th congress, we were convinced over and over again how much one can gain by being able to use Lenin's theoretical legacy and apply Lenin's methods in choosing the forms and methods of struggle in specific and different political situations. There is a vast field, indeed, for creative history-making, for the historical activity of the masses.

Of course, notions of socialism do not always or everywhere accord with Lenin's criteria, but the spread of socialist ideas and ideals everywhere does show that capitalism has discredited itself. The peoples are looking for a different way to follow, and that means that sooner or later they will arrive at scientific socialism, that they will come to Marx and Lenin.

The aspiration for social progress is now inseparable from the struggle for a lasting peace all over the world. That is why Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence remains the cornerstone of the foreign policy of socialism and the demand of all the democratic peace forces. To pull back from the dangerous brink and remove the threat of a nuclear-missile disaster — that is what the peoples are demanding. And we, Leninists, will do everything possible to save the future of humanity.

To blaze the trail of social progress, to work for stronger peace, to rally and weld together the working people in the struggle for these great goals — that is the noble and humane mission of Leninism.

Pravda, April 23, 1981

Peace Must Be Fought For

Leonid Brezhnev's speech at a ceremonial rally to mark the opening of the memorial complex "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" in Kiev is presented below.

Dear Kievans,

Esteemed delegates of the glorious hero-cities of our country,

Dear comrades,

Allow me first of all to convey to you heart-felt congratulations from the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet government on the occasion of this true holiday of the whole people — Victory Day.

There is not a single spot in our vast country or a single Soviet family where this holiday is not marked

with profound emotion and feelings of sacred grief and great patriotic pride. Indeed, for all of us, this holiday, shot through with gun-powder, is, as the popular song goes, joy with tears in our eyes.

It is right to open this majestic memorial to the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people on this very day. As a man who fought in that war from the beginning to the end and who took part in the battles for the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine and its glorious capital, I am deeply moved by this ceremony today.

The Great Patriotic War began 40 years ago. Those who are of the older generation probably remember well the fair summer day of June 22, 1941. The day when the most sinister forces of imperialism, the forces of blood-stained fascism, brought down on our country the fiery squall of war. They made no secret of their goals. They wanted to destroy socialism. They wanted to wipe off the geographical map the very country whose people had dared to throw off the yoke of capital. They wanted the dark night of fanaticism, sadism and brazen drill-sergeant ignorance to fall on mankind for years to come.

Fascism had been preparing for its perfidious aggression for a long time. Relying on the support of world reaction, it had built up and concentrated huge might. Together with its allies, it had conquered almost the whole of Europe and a sizable part of Asia. At the time, it seemed to many people in the West that nothing could resist its pressure.

But the Soviet people decisively blocked the way of the fascist plague. Rallying round Lenin's Party, they rose to the defense of their country, their freedom, their fundamental ideals. Thanks to their staunchness and heroism, the Soviet people succeeded in reversing the course of events.

We were not alone in our struggle against fascism. We remember well our fearless comrades-in-arms — the partisans, the heroes of the Resistance in many countries occupied by the Hitlerites. We remember the soldiers of our allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. But we cannot forget the obvious fact that it was the Soviet people who bore the brunt of the war.

Our Motherland lost 20 million of its sons and daughters. They could have become heroes of labor at plants and in the fields, engineers or scientists, poets or explorers of space, in other words, builders of our people's great happiness. But destiny decided otherwise. Their lot was to give their lives for the Soviet people's happiness. And they did give their lives. So that their comrades, their children and grandchildren could realize their vision, so that people could live in peace.

Fighting at the front, the war heroes knew and felt that the whole country and the whole people were behind them. Front and rear were one single whole. And those who in the years of the war worked selflessly in the rear did the virtually impossible to bring on the victory.

The grand monument which we unveil today is a monument to all of them — to all the victors.

It is a tribute of respectful memory to those who fought for the life and happiness of the Motherland, for the delivery of the peoples of Europe and other continents from fascist slavery.

It is a tribute of gratitude and profound respect to those who forged the weapons of victory in the rear.

Immortal is the feat of those who fought against fascism and defeated it. This feat will live through the centuries.

The war ended long ago. In our memory still ring the voices of our relatives, our comrades-in-arms who died in the war. We see their faces, our hands feel the warmth of their firm handshakes. We re-

member what they said, what we dreamed of together.

Death has no power over them, for they still live in our hearts, in our deeds and accomplishments. They are by our side on work day and festival. In the generations which have risen up since the war we clearly see their radiant features, their indomitable will, their sincere faith in the triumph of our revolutionary ideals.

In the unforgettable victorious spring of 1945, we frontline soldiers believed that that world war would be the last one. We believed that never again would our children hear the roar of explosions and the piercing wail of the air-raid sirens, would never see the blood flowing or the flames destroying their homes. This belief multiplied our forces in the decisive battle against the enemy. So thought millions upon millions of people in our country and on all the other continents. Their hopes cannot and must not be deceived. For this, the Soviet Union has been and is doing everything in its power.

The Soviet people have shown that they can make good use of the fruits of peace. The dreams of frontline soldiers, of all the people who lived through the horrors and privations of the war years, about how mighty and beautiful our country would be after the victory, have come true.

One of the vivid testimonials of that is your beautiful city of Kiev, a hero-city resurrected from the ruins and more resplendent than ever before. How many more cities there are in our country which rose from the ashes at the will of the Soviet people. The traits of the new life can be seen everywhere in our country. There are the cascades of hydropower stations on the Volga and the Dnieper, on the Yenissei and the Angara, the shops of the Kamaz Motor Works and the Baikal-Amur Railway, which cuts through the hitherto inaccessible wilds of the taiga. There are the oil and gas fields of Tyumen, the space rockets and the atom at the service of the people's peaceful life, the millions of modern houses, the new schools, the universities and theaters, the cozy nursery schools.

The decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU have set clear-cut guidelines for building communism in our country.

But in order to realize our plans we need peace.

Meanwhile, events in the international arena provide ever more persistent reminders that peace is not a boon that is given automatically. Unfortunately, this is not so. Peace is being threatened, and threatened seriously. Peace has to be fought for.

There are many sober-minded people among those who now shape the capitalist countries' policy. They understand that in our day and age, the emphasis on strength, the emphasis on war in relations with the socialist world is madness, that there is only one reasonable way — peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation.

But there are also statesmen in the capitalist world who, judging by everything, are accustomed to thinking only in terms of strength and diktat. They actually regard the attainment of military superiority over the Soviet Union as their main political credo.

The solution of international problems through negotiation and mutually advantageous agreements appears to be way down on their list of priorities, if they have given serious thought to it at all.

Some among them openly declare that peace is not the most important matter, that some things are more important than peace.

Just think, comrades. Can one imagine a more monstrous attitude, more cynical disregard for the destinies of the peoples, including one's own people, for the lives of hundreds of millions of people?

For it is a fact that the means of warfare, the means of mass destruction have now acquired such scope that their use would put in question the existence of many nations and more than that, the whole of modern civilization.

For this reason to repulse the policy of those who like military ventures, to come out for the strengthening of world peace now means to come out in defense of the very life of mankind, in defense of all the great, lofty and priceless things that have been created by people throughout the millennia.

I say nothing about the absurdity of the plans to use threats, economic blockade or military aggression to impede the socialist countries' development or the peoples' struggle for national freedom and social justice. The Second World War and the three and a half decades since have shown with sufficient clarity that such methods not only fail to benefit the imperialists but also produce the very opposite of the desired results. But it seems that some people do not learn the lessons of history.

As to the Soviet Union, it is not the first time that we have to hear inventions about our policy, slanders and threats. But we cannot be intimidated. We have strong nerves and we have been well seasoned. We are not advocates of the arms race, we are its opponents. We could find totally different use for the means that it absorbs. But if we are compelled, we shall find a swift and effective response to any challenge of belligerent imperialism. Because it is our prime and most sacred duty to ensure the security of our country and its allies, to ensure reliable peace for the Soviet people.

The experience of the postwar years shows that war can be prevented. Consider the dangers that have arisen in the past three and a half decades! There was the cold war. There were dangerous moments and, one could say, critical ones. But the imperialists failed to push mankind into the abyss.

We succeeded by our weight, by our policy, in influencing the international climate and making it less rigorous. For a whole decade, international relations developed under the sign of détente. That is the most valuable achievement of the 1970s. It is a result of the persistent joint efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal countries of socialism, all sober-minded forces of our time.

Fear and prejudice, falsehood and hatred — these

are the worst enemies of peace. And they are being cultivated by imperialist reaction as it aggravates international tension.

In the present situation the need has never been greater for circumspection and a balanced approach, but also for honest, bold efforts for the sake of accord, for the sake of international trust.

Comrades, the recent congress of the CPSU confirmed that peace is the supreme aim of the Soviet Union's international policy. The people have named the complex of initiatives set forth by the congress the Peace Program for the 1980s. And we well know that in the struggle against the dangerous plans of the preachers of a new war, in the struggle for lasting peace all the peoples of the world are on our side.

The advancement of the program is, of course, only the beginning and not the end of the matter. All the work, all the struggle still lies ahead. We lay no claim to monopoly in the cause of strengthening peace. We favor a broad dialogue and any constructive idea will always find understanding on our part.

No matter where the talks are conducted and no matter what problem they deal with, we have always given and will give pride of place to the interests of peace and peaceful cooperation.

We stand and will continue to stand for eliminating the imperialist-produced crises and hotbeds of military conflict and putting an end to all wars, whether declared or undeclared.

The international situation can be better or worse, but it is essential not to stray from the right path. We shall work perseveringly to ease tensions, to preserve détente and ensure its further development. This is the key issue.

Our thoughts are pure and noble. Our might is great. But we shall never turn it against other peoples. It serves and will serve the cause of peace.

The freedom and security of other nations is an essential condition of our own freedom and security. At the same time, our freedom and security is a necessary prerequisite of the free and independent development of other countries.

Great is the people which constantly feels a vibrant bond with its history, which can use all that is best in its historical traditions and make it an asset of the present day. The Soviet people is in full possession of this remarkable feature. And the opening of this memorial is fresh proof of this.

I am sure that this great memorial complex, which has risen on the high bank of the Dnieper, will be cherished by all Soviet people. It will symbolize the victory of life over death, of reason over insanity, of good over evil.

Glory to the Soviet people, a heroic people, a victorious people!

May peace triumph on the earth!

Pravda, May 10, 1981

Seventeenth (enlarged) Plenum of the CC, People's Party of Iran

Communiqué of the CC PPI Office

The Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran held its 17th (enlarged) plenary meeting in March 1981. The meeting was attended by full and alternate members of the CC as well as by a group of leading party functionaries.

In conformity with the agenda,

1. The meeting heard a report by Nureddin Kianuri, First Secretary of the PPI Central Committee, on the work done by the CC Political Bureau during the period between the 16th and 17th plenary meetings. It unanimously approved the report after discussing it and adopting some amendments.

2. The CC Political Bureau submitted to the meeting a draft program of the PPI for the current stage of the Iranian revolution. The meeting discussed, amended and unanimously approved the draft.

3. The Political Bureau asked the meeting to make some amendments to the party rules. The meeting unanimously approved them.

4. The meeting unanimously adopted an appeal to all fellow-members, to the allies and friends of the party.

5. The meeting unanimously adopted a message to all revolutionary forces and all organizations and organs of the revolution.

6. The meeting unanimously elected an addi-

tional number of comrades to be full or alternate members of the CC, and unanimously re-elected the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee.

7. The meeting unanimously elected Nureddin Kianuri First Secretary of the CC, People's Party of Iran.

8. The 17th (enlarged) plenary meeting of the CC PPI took place in days decisive to the history of our revolution and country. It adopted important documents that will determine the subsequent work of our party. This fact and primarily the unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity in the leadership and ranks of the party itself lent the meeting particular historic significance.

The meeting unquestionably has opened a new stage in the history of the party and in its struggle for the lofty ideals of the working class, for the sovereignty, freedom and progress of our country.

The decisions adopted by the meeting can and should mobilize all the forces of our party to stabilize, consolidate and extend the achievements of the anti-imperialist and popular revolution in Iran.

The documents approved by the 17th (enlarged) plenary meeting of the PPI CC will be published in *Nameje Mardom*.
April 8, 1981

Plenary Meeting Resolution

The 17th plenary meeting of the People's Party of Iran adopted a resolution, which starts out by assessing the Iranian revolution and Imam Khomeini's special role in the struggle of the Iranian people for national liberation and social emancipation, and also by exposing the imperialists' attempts to use the Iran-Iraq conflict in their own selfish interests. It then goes on to say, in particular:

As the CC Political Bureau's report sets forth in well-substantiated detail, the triumphant anti-imperialist and people's revolution overthrew the rotten dictatorial monarchy in Iran, founded the Islamic Republic, and struck a crushing blow at the domination of U.S.-led world imperialism, domination based on plunder and coercion. In view of the incessant intrigues on the part of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, and also internal counter-revolution, it is now going through a difficult and, at the same time, crucial period.

On the one hand, in order to advance, that is, to strengthen and deepen its gains, the revolution is carrying on a desperate struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, it is fighting various counter-revolutionary and opportunist forces. The counter-revolutionaries and conciliators have been using diverse methods and donning different masks to undermine the revolution from within. But despite

the numerous difficulties and relying on the urban and rural population, on the support of the progressive forces the world over, the revolution has managed to defend its gains, set up revolutionary state institutions, and thwart the successive plots and treacherous plans of imperialism and Zionism.

The People's Party of Iran played a vigorous and effective role in the great revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Iran, when it supported the anti-imperialist line of Imam Khomeini and his followers, came out against the counter-revolutionary forces, and helped to expose the counter-revolutionary intrigues. In this dedicated struggle, the members of the party have never spared either effort or their very life. The meeting regards as principled and correct the party's policy of support for Imam Khomeini's anti-imperialist and popular line, the line of consistent struggle against imperialism, Zionism and counter-revolution, and also against liberalism,

dogmatism and attempts to monopolize power. The plenary meeting also believes that the party's line for an alliance with Iran's revolutionary democracy is correct and principled, while maintaining its critical attitude to the latter. From the positions of revolutionary Islam, it played an important role in the revolution and is now taking part in the struggle against the internal and external enemies of our country and of the revolution. The meeting instructs the new Political Bureau to do its utmost and take the necessary initiative for a further implementation of this line.

The meeting notes with satisfaction that both in the revolutionary period and in subsequent years, when imperialism, reaction and the conservative conciliatory forces made the People's Party of Iran a target of slanderous attacks, psychological warfare and various insinuations, the CC Political Bureau and its organs, acting, on the one hand, with bold initiative, and on the other, with principle and restraint, managed to adopt a correct stand in complicated conditions, defending the revolution and solving difficult political, organizational and ideological problems. The meeting approves such a line and deems it necessary to go on working in this direction.

The meeting discussed and adopted the draft of a new party program. The central question is that of ways for the country's economic, social, political and cultural development after the revolution, the renewal of society in accordance with the people's interests, and also ways to ensure the country's independence, prosperity and development, and the people's happiness and well-being. The meeting maintains that since the 16th plenary meeting our party has done a great deal in this area, and is now pointing out in its new program the most logical way to progress in every field. The party must do its utmost to ensure the broadest possible implementation of this program, couched in the spirit of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The meeting instructs the newly elected Political Bureau to supplement the draft program taking into account the exchange of opinion that has taken place, and also to inform the competent organs of the Islamic Republic of the party's views on various matters on the basis of the new program. As in the past, the Political Bureau must take vigorous and consistent action to defend the country's independence, democratic liberties and social justice.

Annexation-minded imperialism resorts to treacherous intrigues in a bid to turn the Middle East into a dangerous hotbed of wars and provocations and retain its plunderous positions in this region of the world. U.S.-led imperialism is bent on eliminating the results of détente, which it was compelled to accept by the anti-imperialist forces of the world, the socialist countries above all.

Imperialism and its henchmen are bent on overthrowing the revolutionary regime in our country. In these conditions, the sacred task facing the party and its leadership is to advance the cause and ideas of the working-class party, to stabilize, strengthen and deepen the gains of the revolution. The meeting

wishes the whole party and its leadership successes in fulfilling this great task, and hopes that the Iranian revolution will win through to a final victory. This will be an event of vast importance in the life of the enslaved peoples, a major contribution by our people to the history of our epoch. The members of the People's Party of Iran must continue to display courage and strength of mind, and must take a consistent and principled stand in every area. They must do their utmost to continue the traditions of our country's revolutionary movement, to advance in its front ranks, and strengthen the party mainly by drawing ever more workers and other working people into it.

The meeting expresses its deep gratitude to the parties, revolutionary and progressive organizations across the world that have come out in support of our revolution, helping to defend it from the incessant plottings of imperialism and counter-revolution. Only with such solidarity and mutual assistance can the peoples of the world remove from the path of history the bloodthirsty monster of imperialism and open up the bright horizons of mankind's liberation.

Nameje Mardom, April 13, 1981

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The World Needs Peace

Speech by Fidel Castro at a meeting in Havana to mark the 20th anniversary of the victory at Playa Giron.

April 19 is unquestionably a historic date that steadily takes on greater importance for our country, for our continent and for the world revolutionary movement.

Playa Giron was not an isolated event; it was preceded by an interminable number of actions with which the imperialists tried to destroy our revolution. A whole arsenal of measures was used against our country.

They began by curtailing our trade credits, and followed by canceling our oil supplies. Later, they took away our sugar quota, and finally they imposed a strict, total economic blockade on us.

All these measures were accompanied by a vast propaganda campaign against the Cuban Revolution. Then they organized hundreds — I repeat, hundreds — of counter-revolutionary groups with the support of the exploiting classes that had been ousted from power, and the whole host of corrupt politicians who were allied with the imperialists.

They set in motion a methodical plan to eliminate the leaders of the revolution and devised a program within the country to sabotage systematically our industry, transportation and the economy in general.

They organized a plan to deprive our country of doctors, technicians and qualified personnel in general. They made every possible effort to prevent us from buying weapons for our defense. They launched pirate attacks against our port facilities. They promoted the organization of counter-revolutionary bands in all provinces of the country.

They infiltrated dozens upon dozens of tons of weapons and explosives by sea and air. Throughout the world, the CIA haunted our diplomatic officials, seamen, technicians, foreign trade officials, etc., offering them vast sums to defect. They carried out a tremendous propaganda campaign against the revolution throughout the world, availing themselves of their powerful mass media. They engaged in all kinds of diplomatic maneuvers to try to isolate us and force other countries to join the blockade against Cuba.

They used the sugar quota they had taken away from us, accompanied by promises of credits, to bribe Latin American governments into isolating our country. They expelled us from the OAS and adopted all sorts of agreements against Cuba on the premise that socialism was incompatible with the American system, long before the socialist nature of the revolution was proclaimed and all we had done was to carry out the Moncada program.

Giron was the last recourse, the coup de grace with which they expected to destroy the revolution that was proving so resistant to destruction.

What were the factors that determined the defeat of the whole program, of that grand-scale operation?

First of all, the spirit of our people, the fact that

our people were prepared to meet the attack. The militia had been organized very quickly, our armed forces were engaged in a crash training program, and dozens and dozens of people's battalions were organized and trained, more than 50 of them in Havana alone. The tank, artillery and infantry units went through a crash training program, and the forces located on all the coasts were put on the alert: several days before, platoons had been stationed at every place where a landing might take place.

Only 68 hours passed from the moment the first mercenary set foot on our shores to the moment they were dislodged from Giron. A great deal has been written and said about these events and you are well acquainted with them. The factors I have mentioned played a determining role, but international solidarity was just as important.

We recall with heartfelt emotion General Lazaro Cardenas' gesture of asking for permission to come to our country to fight shoulder to shoulder with us. However, international solidarity had made itself manifest before that, when we were trying to purchase weapons, since we could see the attack coming; when all our efforts to purchase weapons in some Western countries — so as not to give the imperialists a chance to say that we were receiving socialist weapons — had failed. A few months before Giron, even weeks before Giron, we received the first socialist weapons from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The change that had taken place in the world balance of forces was an important factor in the victory of Giron, and a very important role was also played by the prestige of the Soviet Union, which had just launched the first man into space: the unforgettable flight by heroic cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin.

The Soviet government's rapid, forceful statements denouncing the attack and expressing its support for and solidarity with Cuba were most important. They helped to cut short the imperialists' adventurous schemes and to dampen the United States temptation to use its warships, planes and marines. Of course, this would have been a new attack, because at the point when they were discussing whether or not to do it, there were no mercenaries left in Giron.

An important role, a very important role, was played by international solidarity with Cuba, by the solidarity of communists the world over and all the democratic and progressive forces. The mobilization of world public opinion also helped to thwart the imperialists' intentions. Nor can we forget the mass demonstrations staged by the peoples of Uruguay, Chile and other Latin American countries, and the many expressions of solidarity our people received.

Giron became an obsession with the imperialists, a permanent trauma. They were unable to resign themselves to what happened in Giron, and so they

began to evolve plans for a direct attack on our country.

This fact is very important for understanding a number of past events. It was precisely because the imperialists clearly could not resign themselves to the existence of the Cuban Revolution that Cuba assumed the stand it did in the agreements it signed with the Soviet Union to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in our country.

We knew that this would crucially put an end to the idea of a direct U.S. invasion of Cuba. Therefore, the October crisis was inextricably connected with the events at Giron, and the crisis was solved once the imperialists had agreed to give up the idea of invading Cuba.

The crisis was solved and a pledge had been wrung from the imperialists. Needless to say, from then on the imperialists never ceased devising plans to harass our country, to promote subversion and sabotage. They continued plotting to assassinate the leaders of the revolution, and we are still not sure whether those plans have been fully discarded. At least, we have no evidence of it, nor can we be sure that they would not be capable of reviving such plans at any time. They tightened the economic blockade, and they have tried in one way or another to evade the pledges they undertook at the time of the October crisis.

What did Giron itself and that experience really demonstrate? First of all, it demonstrated all the immorality and illegality of the imperialists' policy.

That experience showed us all the rottenness, lack of scruples and immorality of the system, of imperialism. It also taught us what a people can do when they know how to use the resources they have; we had very few planes and fewer pilots. But the events showed what people can do when they make good use of the weapons they have.

There are millions of us defending a just idea, gun in hand. At Giron, for the first time in the history of imperialism the USA was unable to impose its will on a people of our America. Until then, all that the peoples of our America had known were attacks, intervention, coups d'etat, governments imposed every time those countries clashed with the interests of the United States.

In Giron, they were unable to repeat the formula used in Guatemala and in many other countries; they couldn't resort to a coup d'etat because there was a people's army here. In short, they were unable to impose their will. Thus, the outcome was different for the first time in the history of our America, a history that is well known and that is worth recalling, for the history of aggression against the Latin American peoples began when the imperialists robbed Mexico of more than half of its richest territory and continued for decades with all kinds of direct or indirect intervention in the Caribbean area, Central America and the rest of the hemisphere.

The course of that history of domination, without a single exception, ended at Playa Giron. At last, a people — it did not matter how small or how poor — living next to that powerful neighbor, was able to establish and then defend their sovereignty and in-

dependence, which is what the revolution meant to us.

The events at Giron have taught us a great deal, even if only in terms of Marxism-Leninism and sociology. Giron was a real school for our people.

The socialist nature of our revolution was proclaimed during Giron, and it was also at that time that our party was practically forged. It was just at that time that we were engaged in the task of uniting all the revolutionary forces into a single organization with a single leadership. This is why we can say that it was at the time of Giron that our party began to take shape. And this is why April 16, the date when the socialist nature of our revolution was proclaimed, was also the date marking the foundation of our party.

Our revolution and our people have taken great strides forward since then, and I referred to this on April 16. I drew attention to how much the party, which now has over 400,000 members, has grown in the last 20 years, along with the Young Communist League, whose membership also runs to over 400,000; how much our mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, students, Pioneers have grown and become consolidated; how much our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces have grown and developed; and how much experience our tempered Ministry of the Interior has attained. Our people's economic and social development has also been extraordinary. I'm not going to repeat the facts and figures here because I mentioned them a few days ago. However, we can say that, while what we have achieved so far is truly encouraging, what the future has in store for us is even more encouraging.

In recent years, our people have fulfilled important internationalist missions, helping other peoples who have been attacked by imperialism, as in the case of Angola and Ethiopia. At the same time, the world balance of forces has been tilting more and more in favor of socialism. In spite of a few notorious acts of treason and a few setbacks, there is no doubt that the change has been consistently in favor of socialism.

A number of changes have also occurred in our hemisphere. Other peoples have embarked on the road of revolution, and there is, for example, the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua.

The experience of Giron is very much alive for us. Nobody is going to catch our country with its guard down, catch it unawares. As we said at the second congress of the party, Cuba is a hard nut to crack, a tough bone to chew that could stick in the aggressor's throat and kill him! Also mistaken are those who think that socialism in our country can be weakened, that we are going to soften up, that we can be destroyed from inside. What the last 20 years have shown here is that socialism is growing stronger all the time. We well know how to protect it and how to take advantage of the experience of others; of those who began by attacking the Soviet Union, those who espoused anti-Sovietism, and wound up falling straight into the arms of imperialism; the experience of those who neglected the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We, who have engaged in direct battle with imperialism for 20 years, know very well what internationalism means, what the friendship of the socialist community means and, most especially, what the friendship of the Soviet Union has meant to us.

Next to the history of imperialist iniquity, aggression, hostility, blockade, threats, etc., we have the edifying history of our relations with the USSR; of the support received from the very beginning in every field; of the economic support; of the excellent trade relations between our two countries. There hasn't been a single occasion in these 20 years when we needed something and requested it from the Soviet Union and did not receive it.

This applies to every field, and I'll mention just one example: I said here that one of the first measures taken by the imperialists was to cut off the oil supplies, and, for the last 20 years, in spite of the energy crisis, in spite of the present price of fuel, in spite of the distance, not a single machine in our country has stopped running for lack of Soviet fuel.

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The Soviet Union's relations with our country have been truly fraternal, truly internationalist, truly exemplary. And they have never demanded anything from us. The Soviet Union has never cast even the slightest shadow over our country's independence, sovereignty and dignity.

How could we possibly be anti-Soviet? We will never forget the importance of international solidarity. We will never forget the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and will never relent in strictly applying these principles. As we said in the main report to the second congress, when these principles are applied consistently, they make the revolution invincible.

We have learned from our mistakes, but we're also going to learn from the mistakes of others. Therefore, those who think that socialism in Cuba can be weakened are dreaming. I believe that the years we have spent in resolute struggle, the years we have spent facing up to imperialism, give us the right to have confidence in the future of revolutionary ideas in our country. We don't want to add fuel to the fire of international tension and conflict. Imperialism has adopted a bellicose, provocative and threatening policy, a policy of the arms race, not only in regard to Cuba but also in regard to the socialist community and the whole revolutionary movement. However, all conscious people the world over realize the great problems that threaten the world: the poverty that plagues thousands of millions of people who live in the so-called underdeveloped world; the energy crisis; the food crisis; the overpopulation of some areas; the hunger; the disease; the ignorance; the increasing pollution of the air, rivers and seas.

No policy favoring the arms race, cold war and international tension can ever be the framework in which to solve these problems. As I said at the UN, "bombs may kill the hungry, the sick and the ignorant, but they cannot kill hunger, disease and ignorance."

Now, more than ever before, the world is in need of peace, détente and international cooperation. Socialism, whose goal is the well-being and progress of humanity, cannot be in favor of war and has no use for the arms race or international tension. On the contrary, all the resources that are dedicated to weapons are subtracted from development. Those who know that the future belongs to them cannot desire the destruction and death of humanity.

We are a revolutionary people. We were not born of submission and political wheeling and dealing. We were born of the struggles of 1868, 1895, 1933, the Moncada, the Granma, the Sierra Maestra and Giron. We are a people who owe a great deal to internationalism and who, in turn, practise international solidarity. We can assert that we are a fighting people.

But we prefer victories based on peace and creative work to victories based on weapons. As revolutionaries, as patriots, as socialists, as internationalists, we desire peace and are aware of the need to fight for it.

Abridged from *Granma*,
April 21, 1981

Tenth Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee

The 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, was held on April 29 and 30. Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, delivered a report of the CC Political Bureau on the party's tasks during the run-up to the ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP.

He said that the Political Bureau proposes the convocation of the ninth extraordinary congress on July 14-18. This date coincides with the July festivities, which are of symbolic importance. The memorable days of July 1944 mark the beginning of the new era in Poland's history, an era of independent and secure existence within new frontiers, the era of socialist Poland, brotherhood and alliance of the Poles and Poland with the Soviet people, the Soviet Union.

The 10th plenary meeting, Kania said, is to consider two major documents: "Programmatic Principles in the Development of Socialist Democracy, and the Strengthening of the Party's Leading Role in Socialist Construction and in Stabilizing the Socio-Political Situation in the Country," and also "Draft Changes in and Amendments to the Party Rules." A common feature of the assessments and ideas contained in these two documents is that they continue the policy-making political line charted by the sixth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee and elaborated at subsequent plenary meetings. Numerous debates are now under way in the party. Their predominant feature is a common will to continue that line, the line of socialist transformations in social life. This is also what millions of working people want.

As everyone knows, the speaker went on, the economic situation in our country is very complicated, we are not fulfilling our plans. Due account has to be taken of a further decline in the national income. The difficulties in the market caused by a decline in supplies and a considerable increase in the population's money income have been extremely exacerbated. In the sphere of cooperation with other countries, confidence in Poland is declining. We are not meeting our trade commitments, and there are increasing difficulties in the repayment of our debts. This is mostly due to the mistakes made in the past period, and the difficulties caused by the bad crop failure. But — and this is not to be forgotten — it is also largely a result of the economic chaos, the slackening of discipline, the strikes and the constant tension of the past few months. That is why the main task of the party, the working class and all those who are concerned for the country's future is to maintain a normal working rhythm and conscientious

economic management, and to look for effective ways of extricating the economy from the crisis. There is no more important task than everyday work.

It is good that the stand taken by the PUWP Central Committee and all the social forces with a sense of responsibility for the country helped to prevent a general strike. The sense of relief was universal, but it was coupled with concern over the possibility of a recurrence. Some of the leaders of Solidarity made no secret of their dissatisfaction over the calling off of the strike and publicly came out against the trade union's leaders who took part in the negotiations with the government. Evidently, there is no lack of people who know no bounds in political adventurism, and refuse to reckon with the interests of the state and with those of the workers, whom they allegedly represent.

Confidence in the government and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and also the support for the decision to refrain from strikes over the next two months are of particular importance. This attitude on the part of the Sejm has met with broad public support. We must do our best to ensure that our government and its leader Wojciech Jaruzelski feel concrete support for their action to improve the situation in the country.

Concern for internal order, for the scrupulous fulfillment of one's duties by every person, and respect for legality are today a national priority. The key to overcoming the crisis lies in the party, which plays the leading role in socialist construction. The process of socialist transformations cannot be carried out without a renewal of the party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, without a revival of socialist ideals. It is a matter of turning in practice to the historical sources of socialism. In these we find lasting values, which time has left intact, but which, however, have often been deformed in practice. Elimination of the phenomena that caused the crisis does not imply the need to discard the values that have grown out of the experience of revolutionary, social and national movements guided by humane ideals, the experience of the revolutionary working-class movement above all.

The proposed changes in and amendments to the PUWP rules, especially those aimed to enhance the role of elective organs, the role of party organizations, to extend the rights of party members, and also to strengthen the organs of control, are well in agreement with the idea of party democracy.

Over the past few months, new forms of contacts and discussions have emerged in party life. We regard the various commissions and debates as an

expression of greater activity and vigor in party life. It must be clearly emphasized, however, that this activity must not serve to undermine or replace Lenin's historically tested idea about party construction, to undermine the party's monolithic nature, for this would be directed against the party's unity and would entail a split and factionalism.

The elections in the party organizations are already under way, the speaker said. In this context, attention must be paid to broader participation by workers in the party organs and as delegates to the congress, for the workers are the main force of the party and the people. Today, they are also the main force in the socialist renewal process, and play the decisive role in framing the party program, laying down the PUWP's policy, and putting it into effect. In the present situation, the party must make sure that the ninth congress is a workers' congress.

Centralism is the second pillar of the party's whole structure and activity. It is not an alternative to democracy, just as democracy does not contradict centralism. Without democracy, unity will remain a shallow and meaningless concept, it will be lifeless and impotent. United action by the whole party is the main condition for ending the crisis.

It is necessary to improve the mechanism for the activity of the party and its members in all the elective representative organs, especially in the people's councils and the Sejm.

The programmatic theses for the congress, Stanislaw Kania went on, point out the main lines for carrying out socialist transformations, developing socialist democracy, strengthening the party's leading role, and stabilizing the socio-political situation in the country. It is necessary to make a just assessment of the whole period of the existence of People's Poland. In this period, mistakes have been made, and there have been defeats and crises, but it has been a period of achievement by the working class and the development of its creative powers. All the estimates, according to which our crisis is mainly due to a violation of the principles of socialism and its economic laws, are correct.

The speaker went on to note the important role of the trade unions, including Solidarity, the sectoral and the autonomous trade unions. He emphasized that the party's program is addressed to all the social sections. The problems of the youth have a special place in it.

Having noted that an improvement of the deteriorating situation in the economy calls for great efforts and discipline, Stanislaw Kania pointed out the importance of fundamental changes in the economic structure, the need to boost coal output and improve basic consumer supplies to the population.

He came out in favor of deeper economic cooperation with the USSR and other CMEA countries, cooperation in which Poland is deeply interested.

All the enemies of socialism pin their hopes on the crisis. They want to use the public discontent over the consequences of the mistakes as a weapon for striking out at the foundations of socialism. They pose as champions of the workers' interests, as

heralds of the discontent. They want to create a state of anaesthesia, that would deaden the reaction to the so-called peaceful takeover of power, to creeping counter-revolution.

We want to overcome our difficulties, while they are trying to use these for their own ends, and that is where the dividing line runs. There is a whole mechanism for paralyzing the local authorities and the activities of public order bodies, and also diverse methods of blackmailing people who defend the principles of socialism and the party's policy.

All the adversaries of socialism pin their hopes on influence within Solidarity, on the possibility of using that organization for their purposes. We are deeply convinced that they will be unable to do this on a large scale, for it is a workers' organization with hundreds of thousands of party members whose duty is to display concern for its socialist make-up and activity appropriate to the character of a trade union.

Our position, our attitude to Solidarity is determined by two factors.

First, by our intentions with respect to Solidarity since its formation. We have built these relations on the strength of the declaration made by its organizers and written into its Charter, which says that the trade union abides by the principles of socialism, recognizes the party's leading role in the state and our international alliances, that it will not lay claim to the role of a political party.

The second factor determining our attitude to Solidarity is the trade union's actual practice, the actions of its units and leaders. There are many causes for concern. The strike weapon has been used much too thoughtlessly, and there are cases of enterprises being taken over during strikes. Many trade union publications contain attacks on the principles of our system, our alliances and the party. The statements made at trade union meetings by well-known adversaries of socialism from the KOS-KOR leadership and their real influence in the trade union are another cause for concern.

The ostentatious support given to Solidarity by the extreme right forces in the West and by subversive cold-war centers should be a cause for serious reflection.

Many remarks can also be made on the recently published programmatic document, whose purpose is to map out the guidelines for Solidarity's activity. That document reflects the views on many questions, formulates the demands the trade union is to make, and says what it intends to control. It also sets out Solidarity's views on the major questions of state policy. These statements indicate greater ambitions than trade union status would warrant.

At the same time, the document has very little to say about the joint responsibility that Solidarity intends to assume in our country, in our state. In conclusion, the program says that Solidarity is the main guarantee of the renewal process, and asserts that there is no other force that could substitute for it in this endeavor.

We declare: we object to any monopoly on a guarantee of renewal. Our party sees the guarantee

of the renewal in a different light. First of all, the renewal must be socialist, for any other type would mean regress rather than progress. That is why we advocate an accord, an alliance of all the forces which are anxious to save our national existence. Such an accord and alliance provide the basis for a successful socialist renewal. We shall do our best to promote and create favorable conditions for such an alliance. Our party will promote it together with the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. We see this as a platform for broad cooperation with all the trade unions: sectoral, Solidarity, and autonomous, and also with youth and women's organizations and with the church, whose constructive action and possibilities we appreciate, as a platform for interaction with people holding different views, with all the patriotic forces.

Poland is today in need of such an alliance, for it would create a real guarantee of an end to the crisis. The efforts to weaken Poland, to undermine its socialist substance and time-tested alliances are directed to weaken the whole socialist community and to undermine all the factors that have for 36 years now been the basis for our national security, independence and safe borders.

We are fully aware of the deep concern of the communist parties and the fraternal socialist coun-

tries, their anxiety over the fact that Poland is the scene of intensifying tendencies and processes which are aimed to weaken the economy and undermine the socialist state. Such feelings were expressed in Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th congress of the CPSU, and at recent congresses of other fraternal parties. At the same time, these congresses have expressed internationalist solidarity and a conviction that our party, acting in accordance with the line mapped out by the sixth and subsequent plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee, will overcome the difficulties and lead Poland into the path of harmonious development on the basis of socialist principles and ideas.

We shall do our best to maintain and strengthen socialism in Poland. We shall not allow anyone to encroach on the foundations of our alliance with the Land of the Soviets, with all the socialist community states. This is a patriotic and internationalist duty of the PUWP and all its members.

The forthcoming congress is of historic importance, Stanislaw Kania emphasized in conclusion. Everything must be done to ensure the best possible course of the pre-congress campaign in order to guarantee that the congress justifies the hopes pinned on it by the whole party.

Pravda, April 30, 1981

A Shameful Farce

Statement by the Communist Party of Chile

On March 11, as a result of a shameful farce, which caused the wrath and indignation of the bulk of the people, Pinochet installed himself in the Moneda Palace, proclaiming himself life-long president and putting into effect his own fraudulent and fascist constitution.

This move demonstrates the moral unscrupulousness of the tyrant, who ordered the assassination of Salvador Allende, Chile's true constitutional president. Pinochet has laid his hands on the historic presidential palace, the palace he ordered to be bombarded in September 1973, and where Allende, democratically elected by the people, had adopted the slogan proclaimed by O'Higgins — "To live with honor or to die with glory" — and lost his life in defending, arms in hand, his people, democracy, the constitution and the honor of the homeland.

The assassin's return to the scene of the crime in order to rule as a constitutional president is a new affront to the country and the armed forces themselves. This revolting farce is added to all the iniquities committed by the tyrant and his lackeys. Pinochet had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the ground forces by President Allende himself, had taken an oath of allegiance to the constitution, and then treacherously broke that oath.

We must remember that the fascist coup led by Pinochet was designed by the sinister Central Intel-

ligence Agency of the USA and was financed by big U.S. transnational corporations, by the very same imperialist groups which today, under the Reagan administration, are hastily trying to organize a military intervention in El Salvador with the criminal purpose of stamping out the just struggle of the heroic Salvadoran people with fire and sword. The Chilean people remember that the coup of September 11, 1973, had the support of the most powerful economic clans of the country and the most reactionary pro-fascist politicians.

For the Yankee imperialists, as well as for the big financial groups of Chile, the coup proved to be a good investment, for it installed in power a lackey who runs the country on their instructions, enabling them to plunder it and to appropriate the fruits of the labor of all Chileans.

Today, the dictatorship is intensifying its repression and terrorism. It has given a carte blanche to the CNI (National Information Center) criminals for assassination, kidnapping and torture, and, believing this to be insufficient, has been setting up military councils, threatening the fighters against fascism with the introduction of the death penalty on the pretext of combating terrorism. But the chief terrorist in Chile is Pinochet himself, who, as it was pointed out at the United Nations, is practising the worst kind of terrorism. Moreover, a countrywide informers' system is being introduced to increase

the sense of insecurity among the population.

It is no accident that on the very first day of his so-called eight-year constitutional period, the first thing Pinochet did was to prolong the state of emergency and decree a "state of danger of interior perturbations." This once again reaffirmed the substance of the regime: throughout the transitional period and under the so-called "constitution of liberty," the fascists will continue their repressive policy.

The bulk of the population has resolutely rejected Pinochet's constitution, which perpetuates one-man rule and all forms of personal tyranny. It eliminates once and for all representative democracy, the forms of popular participation in the exercise of power, and national institutions. The military junta has assumed all the legislative functions as an accomplice of the tyrant and as a substitute for the National Congress, while the latter, when it begins to function, will be nothing but a club of the dictator's personal friends, whom he appoints and dismisses just as he does the members of the State Council, the Constitutional Tribunal, and the National Security Council. The organs of justice will continue to do their utmost to curry favor with the fascist regime.

This constitution holds the people up to mockery. It is a reactionary product, which whips up hatred for the Chilean democrats and patriots, and especially for the working people. This constitution does not leave the working people the slightest opportunity to voice their opinion, or, moreover, to organize their ranks. It effectively deprives the citizens of the right to form political parties.

In this situation, the armed forces are taking upon themselves an enormous responsibility. Without saying a word, they terrorize the people and support Pinochet's odious policy. We have no doubt that senior officers from the tyrant's entourage are involved in realizing this anti-national and anti-popular plan. We have no doubt that the dictator is also trying to involve in this plan the whole officer corps and is taking various repressive measures to maintain blind obedience in the armed forces. But the officers must know that they will ultimately be called to account for all the crimes in which they were accomplices of the senior fascist command. We are aware that not all officers, non-commissioned officers and men have steeped their hands in blood, that not all of them are corrupt, that their conscience is open to the voice of the people, and that the people's struggle convinces many of them that right is not on the tyrant's side.

We also draw a justified distinction between the armed forces institutions and the CNI. The dictatorship seeks to involve the carabineros in the repression, making them detain and imprison patriots, but it is the sinister CNI, personally controlled by Pinochet, which is the main repressive fascist organ, whose methods are opposed by many members of the armed forces.

All patriots and democrats take a resolute stand against the fascist repression, which cannot stop the just struggle being carried on by various sections of

the people for their rights and against Pinochet's reactionary policy.

In spite of the almost eight years of trampling on the people's freedoms, their democratic traditions are still alive, as well as the traditional unity of the working-class movement and the determination to win back, with the use of all means of struggle, the gains which the working people secured in the past and which the dictatorship has destroyed one by one.

The working people will continue waging an ever more resolute struggle for the right to work, against unemployment, for higher wages and salaries, to frustrate the odious trade union plan of the authorities, and to cancel the reform of the social security system.

Nor has the dictatorship managed to suppress the urge to liberty and to participation in social life among the students, workers in culture and the arts, diverse professional circles, and the middle strata.

The struggle of tens of thousands of homeless families is this year acquiring even greater scope. The students and university teaching staff have not accepted and will never voluntarily accept a law abolishing the universities and converting higher education into a commodity accessible only to privileged groups. We are sure that the professionals will go on defending their associations and their professional level, which could be destroyed as a result of the implacable application of the junta's economic and political model.

The struggle for liberty must be invigorated. The organizations fighting for human rights must redouble their efforts with the support of the whole people in order to put an end to the torture and raise to a new level their struggle to dissolve the sinister CNI, to ascertain once and for all the destiny of the thousands who disappeared without a trace, to bring about the repatriation, without any conditions, of all exiles, to ensure the release of all political prisoners and deportees, and end the state of emergency.

The campaign to invalidate Pinochet's installation as president and his constitution, fraudulently adopted on September 11, 1980, is gathering momentum.

The Chilean people will never recognize this fascist constitution as valid, and it will be abolished as soon as the tyrant is overthrown.

Most Chileans are aware that opposition to the dictatorship is on the increase, that the struggle is intensifying and gathering momentum every day. It is also clear that the tyrant has sealed off all the channels for the democratic expression of opinion, that he refuses to listen to any circles which disagree with his policy, that his only answer is to resort to threats and brutal repression, and that he has been attacking such respectable institutions as the Catholic Church for defending human rights.

We communists express our full conviction that the masses' struggle, the frontal attack on the fascist regime, the joint battles of the whole people will blast Pinochet's pharaonic ambitions.

The Communist Party calls on the workers, on the

people, on the democratic circles of the armed forces to rise up against the dictatorship, abolish its decrees and laws, and also its illegitimate constitution. The Communist Party calls on them to use in practice new and bold forms of struggle in every area until the whole country rebels against the tyrant. The Communist Party urges them to realize the people's right to overthrow the tyranny and restore full freedom.

We are convinced that in the decisive struggle against fascism, the sons of the people within the armed forces will break the fetters and fight shoulder to shoulder with the working people and other patriots.

A proud and courageous people cannot live on its knees. Pinochet has barred all the roads to liberty, leaving open only one road: that of struggle. Broad mutual understanding among all democrats, all forces and parties opposed to the fascist dictatorship is a binding and basic condition of the people's victory.

A perspective of joint struggle to organize a mass

uprising in order to overthrow the dictatorship is open to the patriots and democrats. This perspective presupposes all forms of struggle, both those that have been used up to now, and new forms being created by the people themselves in their quest for justice and democracy.

The upsurge in the liberation struggle in the capitalist world, especially the examples set by Nicaragua and El Salvador in Latin America, inspire the Chilean people with new hopes and faith. Shoulder to shoulder with them stand the working people of the whole world, all the anti-fascist forces, the democrats and, most important of all, the powerful socialist camp.

Out with the usurper from La Moneda! May the unity and the struggle to overthrow the tyrant strengthen! Raise higher the banner of the people's struggle for democracy!

With certainty in our right and strength, we shall win.

*Communist Party of Chile,
Santiago, March 1981*

To All the Revolutionary Organizations and Forces of Guatemala

Call issued by the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

The Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor calls on the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Armed People's Organization (ORPA), the Revolutionary Party of the Working People of Central America (PRTC), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and the other revolutionary organizations of Guatemala to start joint and concerted armed action against the common enemies. This will give a new impulse to the revolutionary process and will be a real expression of the militant solidarity of the whole people of Guatemala and its revolutionary contingents with the struggle of the other fraternal peoples: the people of El Salvador, who are fighting under the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front; the people and government of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front; and the people of Belize, who are fighting for their right to national independence and territorial integrity.

This call reflects the firm and profound conviction of all Guatemalan communists that it is necessary to continue developing the process of unification of the various revolutionary forces by coordinating the tactics and strategy of struggle. This will precipitate the final defeat of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and imperialism, help to win power, democracy and national independence, and put us on the road of the people's well-being, peace and social progress.

The document was adopted at a plenary meeting of the GPL Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor maintains:

1. The Guatemalan Revolution is an integral process. Regardless of the will of the forces taking part in it, it is an indisputable objective reality and calls for the unification of all organizations in joint struggle.

2. We advocate the unity of all the revolutionary forces without exception.

3. It is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary unity in order to overthrow the military dictatorship, to set up and strengthen a broad people's revolutionary front. This is the only way to win power and establish a revolutionary-democratic government, which would organize the struggle to defend and strengthen the people's democracy, national independence and the well-being of all the country's working people.

We maintain that if we are to advance along this way, measures have to be taken to unite all the forces on the basis of coinciding standpoints, and to overcome in the process the existing differences, which must not cause a split in our ranks.

4. Cohesion and unity of action meet the demands and conditions of our struggle: they are necessary to strengthen the joint combat operations against the common enemies — who are using repression against the revolutionary movement — to organize and mobilize the whole people of Guatemala. In organizational and tactical terms, our action must be

brought into line with the fact that the integral revolutionary process is a reality.

The greater our successes in strengthening our ranks and intensifying our people's struggle, the more effective will be the solidarity of the people and its revolutionary contingents.

The Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor is aware that ways to the formation of a united movement will inevitably open up in the course of the struggle. This is a real tendency engendered by the revolutionary process. But in the

present conditions all the organizations and forces must use the common positions for the further development of the revolutionary process. What is necessary now is the unity, organization and militant solidarity of the whole revolutionary movement of the Guatemalan people.

We are prepared to do our utmost to achieve this goal.

For Guatemala, the revolution and socialism!

Central Committee, Guatemalan Party of Labor
Guatemala, February 1981

from the press

The White House and Terror in Guatemala

The following article was reprinted by the Cuban journal *Bohemia* from the tabloid *Frente* of the Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression issued outside Guatemala.

During his recent visit to Guatemala U.S. journalist Allan Nairn working for the Council for the Western Hemisphere met with various persons and made an investigation which led him to the conclusion that President Reagan's closest advisers were intimately associated with the policy of general and massive terrorism conducted by the Guatemalan government against democratic and popular forces. His report shows that Reagan is involved in a collusion with Guatemalan businessmen and government officials linked with "death squads," the so-called Anti-Communist Secret Army being one of their main exponents.

Reagan had proposed that arms supplies to Guatemala and military training of its police and army should be resumed and even stepped up, that an end should be put to the State Department's criticism of the mass-scale violations of human rights by the Guatemalan regime, and that prospects for a U.S. military intervention to help the Guatemalan government should be studied. In 1980, Guatemala was frequented by leaders of patently conservative organizations, such as Young Americans for Freedom, Moral Majority, National Federation of Young Republicans, American Conservative Union, and Citizens of the Republic. During those visits the activists of U.S. ultra-right organizations met with Guatemalan government officials and businessmen, namely: Roberto Alejos Arzu, Manuel F. Ayau, Raul Garcia Granados, Eduardo Carrete, and Jorge Garcia Granados. The purpose of those meetings was to provide conditions facilitating, after Reagan's coming to power, the granting of military aid to the Guatemalan army and police and the organizing of a powerful support to the Guatemalan government, including paramilitary groups trained to kidnap, assassinate or torture Guatemalan patriots.

Official spokesmen of the Guatemalan govern-

ment often place the responsibility for the terror and violence in Guatemala on ultra-right and extreme left groups "out of the government's control." However, the sources close to the regime of Lucas Garcia say that serving in the "death squads" are army men and policemen acting as commanders on instructions from President Lucas Garcia, Donaldo Alvarez Ruiz, Minister of the Interior, and a group of top-ranking generals backed up by Colonel Hector Montalvan, the president's Chief of Staff, and Colonel German Chupina Barahona, chief of the national police. According to those sources, individual entrepreneurs help to finance the "death squads" and draw up the lists of persons to be assassinated. Raul Garcia Granados said in an interview that the "death squads," operating for a long time under succeeding governments, had been organized under the patronage of the armed forces. "They have lists of persons suspected of being involved in communist activities. These people are being killed. It is a war between communists and anti-communists," said Garcia Granados, a Guatemalan businessman directly linked with those groups.

Francisco Villagran Kramer, who last year retired from the post of Vice-President, said that his former colleagues were assured by Reagan's associates that the activities of the "death squads" would not be obstructed by the White House or the State Department. "They are convinced that Mr. Reagan will neither denounce them nor put moral barriers in their way," Kramer said. These revelations confirm that the Reagan administration will ignore the violation of human rights in Guatemala and, furthermore, will assist the terrorist groups operating under the direct control of the army and the government and responsible for the murder of thousands of Guatemalans. The Reagan administration is aware of the existence of the "death squads" and of the government's policy of genocide, but it will do nothing to

end the extermination of people. On the contrary, it will support those responsible for it. A U.S. official priding himself on his connections with the chief of the Guatemalan police, German Chupina Barahona, said recently: "Why should we be worried about the 'death squads'? They eliminate communists, our enemies. I would have given them broader opportunities. Hell, if I only could, I would take up arms myself and do just the same . . . So why attack them? I'm all for the 'death squads.'"

Depressed by the cancellation of military aid and the criticism for human rights violations under the previous U.S. government, the ultra-right circles see in Reagan their last hope to stay in power. When Milton Molina, a notorious landlord in Guatemala who financed and led "death squad" attacks on dozens of people, was asked about the terrorist groups, he said: "There must be something for us to do," and added that he and his friends supported Reagan "one hundred per cent, he is our only hope." The actual rapprochement between the Reagan group and the Guatemalan rightists began during the visit to Guatemala of a delegation of the American Security Council, an ultra-right military organization, in December 1979. One of its advisers is John Trotter, ill-famed manager of a Coca-Cola branch in Guatemala. Trotter had a hand in the assassination of many workers and trade union leaders at his factory and recently was dismissed from his post after the International Trade Union Federation, the workers of the food industry and religious organizations called a boycott in protest against the conditions at the Coca-Cola factory in Guatemala. Trotter is also the chief of the Guatemala Freedom Foundation, an international group organizing support to the Guatemalan regime. It was founded by Roberto Alejos, an even greater extremist than members of the Friends of the Country Association. It was Alejos who organized the visit by the American Security Council delegation headed by two persons who are close to Reagan — Ret. Gen. John K. Singlaub and Daniel Graham. Being Reagan's adviser, Graham is a co-chairman of the Coalition for Peace from the Position of Strength, an organization of retired military men demanding in Washington an increase of the military budget. They had meetings with Manuel F. Ayau and Roberto Alejos. Ayau, a member of the National Liberation movement, a party of ultra-rightist orientation, maintains direct contacts with the "death squads" and is considered to be an ideologist of the extremist circles of the private sector. Singlaub, former commander of U.S. troops in South Korea, was dismissed by Carter for disobedience. He maintains close contacts with an informal network of ultra-right mercenaries backing up dictatorships around the world. Last year he was seen on a "farm," a paramilitary training school in Powder Springs owned by Mitchel Webell, a well-known mercenary and arms dealer. About one-third of Singlaub's trainees were "fighters" from a very controversial, if not lunatic Labor Party of the USA (neonazi). Singlaub said in an interview last August that he was tremendously impressed by the form in which the Garcia regime was desperately trying to

promote human rights. He expressed regret that the fact that the government lost U.S. assistance was creating the impression among the people that something was not right. Singlaub called for an attitude of sympathy toward the "death squads," motivating this by the fact that the Carter administration's refusal to assist the Garcia regime in its efforts to liquidate its enemies has created a situation in which the regime, trying to preserve the system of private initiative and continue progress in the name of political and economic development, takes the solution of the problem into its own hands. In private conversations, Reagan's advisers were even more sincere and categorical. A high-ranking spokesman of the Guatemalan government, who met with Graham and Singlaub, and afterward discussed the results of the visit with the government and his military colleagues, said that the delegation had made it clear: "Mr. Reagan admits that a good deal of 'dirty work' has to be done." A few days after the visit by the American Security Council delegates, the number of assassinations sharply increased and it was said in government circles that tougher measures would be taken when Reagan became President. "In private conversations everybody says there would be a change when Reagan comes to power," said a Guatemalan who had regular meetings with government and private sector leaders. "I have no doubt," he added, "that they feel more confident now and will try to liquidate any opposition in the country."

At the invitation of the Guatemala Freedom Foundation and the Friends of the Country Association, the USA was visited by numerous Guatemalans who met with the Reagan group and Reagan himself. The leaders of that rightist association admit that concrete agreements were concluded between Reagan's advisers and themselves, that is Juan Maegli and Manuel F. Ayau. Full understanding was reached during those meetings: the Guatemalan rightists and Reagan's advisers realized that they shared the same views and, in principle, had nothing to negotiate.

It has been noted by Guatemalan and U.S. businessmen and Guatemalan government officials that the talks with Reagan's representatives were held along four main lines: first, there is an agreement, to quote Maegli, "on excluding the Guatemalan army from the black list," which means a resumption of the deliveries of arms and ammunition, and also spare parts for U.S.-made helicopters, and provision of combat and transport planes for the air force and supplying both the army and police with special outfits and equipment for dispersing demonstrations and combating insurgents; second, an obligation was made that the Pentagon would resume the training of the army and police, teaching them methods of surveillance, data collecting and interrogation. According to Robert Merrick, a Guatemalan landowner of U.S. origin who had direct contacts with the circles close to Reagan, Fontaine promised him and a group of Guatemalan businessmen that Reagan would do everything possible within the law to assist in training the Guatemalan police; third, and

perhaps the most important, Reagan's advisers agree to end U.S. criticism of the "death squads," criticism which, in the opinion of the Guatemalan regime, undermines its political and financial positions in the international arena. "We understand that as soon as Reagan gives up such practices," said Raul Garcia Granados, "there will be no more pressure which has been used against us by certain circles." Said Raul's brother Jorge, secretary of President Lucas Garcia: "We are waging a real war. Of course, it is bad to kill, but when a war is on and one has to kill, he kills;" fourth, the Guatemalan government and business circles also hope, if not so openly, that President Reagan will launch a military intervention in case the Garcia regime is threatened by a popular uprising. "I feel that it will be so, because such is Reagan himself," said Garcia Granados.

The businessmen anticipated the need for such aid in future and, financing and supporting Reagan during his election campaign, saw him as the last hope for retaining power. Apart from the \$120,000 granted to Deaver and Hannaford in the first half of 1980, the Guatemala Freedom Foundation remitted \$35,000 to the McKenzie-McCheyne company engaged in establishing contacts with the public (and which previously worked for Anastasio Somoza), in exchange for services in the publication of commentaries, organizing press conferences and distributing certain newspaper clippings. Besides, Guatemalan

businessmen allocated huge sums in cash for the Republicans' election campaign through a California-based committee. For no obvious reasons the organizers in Reagan's election campaign tried to conceal the data on the sums granted by U.S. citizens residing in Guatemala. These gifts are quite legal but the situation is more serious in regard to the "gifts" made for the election campaign by Guatemalan citizens, which is forbidden by law in the USA. Reagan's ardent supporter, Bennet, said that his colleagues among businessmen were investing their money, that precisely Guatemalans were actually investing capital in that campaign. "As far as I know, they are remitting pretty big sums," he added.

Meanwhile, in the United States Reagan's advisers come openly to the aid of the "death squads" and the Garcia administration. Retired General Gordon Summer, former chief of the Inter-American Defense Council and one of Reagan's major advisers, declared at a press conference that he defended the "death squads." He alleged that, although it was deplorable that the need for such measures existed, "in fact, there is no other way." In this context the Guatemalan government was given a free hand for acting on its own and through the "death squads." The recent assassinations, showing that governmental terrorism has surpassed itself in brutality, are evidence of that.

Abridged from *Bohemia*, March 13, 1981

For Higher Quality and Greater Effectiveness of Ideological Work

On April 20, an All-Union conference of workers in ideology opened at the CPSU Central Committee. Its participants discussed the course of the study and propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee's report and other documents of the CPSU's 26th congress, explored the ways of restructuring ideological work in accordance with Leonid Brezhnev's instructions, and exchanged experience on the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Education Work."

The seminar was attended by CC secretaries of the communist parties of the Union Republics, and of territorial, regional, district, and a number of city committees in charge of ideology, by workers of the political organs of the Soviet Armed Forces, heads of ministries and departments, the central mass media and news agencies, and responsible functionaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

In his opening speech, Mikhail Suslov, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau and CC Secretary, said that the 26th congress of the CPSU was an outstanding event in the life of the party and the people. The CPSU Central Committee's report was regarded by the party and the

Soviet people as another major contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, as a document of great political and theoretical importance, giving an all-round analysis of all the vital problems of our day.

The congress provided, to quote Lenin, "coherent, systematic and precise answers to crucial questions." Its historic importance primarily springs from the fact that it opened up new horizons before the society of mature socialism, showing how to realize its potentialities most effectively, and how to muster all its creative forces, the whole of its economic, scientific, technical and spiritual potential.

The congress put forward new and constructive proposals aimed to strengthen peace, deepen détente and curb the arms race. These proposals are a direct follow-up to the party's Peace Program.

The 26th congress convincingly showed that Lenin's Party confidently carries the banner of communism, the banner of labor and peace, and that the CPSU's general line is aimed to strengthen the country's economic might, to sustain the steady growth of the Soviet people's well-being and culture, ensure peaceful conditions for their constructive work, and

guarantee the right to life, the supreme right of every human being in the world.

The paramount task of workers in ideology is to convey the ideas of the CPSU Central Committee's report and the decisions of the congress to every communist and YCL member, to all the working people in a way that is clear and carries conviction, to organize their in-depth study and help party organizations to muster the masses' energy and initiative for the successful implementation of these decisions. It is for the conference to discuss, Mikhail Suslov said, how best and most effectively to carry on this work.

The atmosphere at the congress, he emphasized, was exceptionally business-like, just as the tenor of the Central Committee's report. The congress was marked by a highly exacting attitude to the questions on the agenda, realistic assessments, bold and critical exposure of shortcomings, and a search for ways and means to overcome them.

The exacting, critical and constructive spirit of the congress must determine the content and style of the whole organizational and ideological work among the masses. The real contribution of workers in ideology to the solution of economic, social, and all other questions formulated by the congress is to assert the principled Bolshevik approach and the spirit of creative activity in the life of every collective, to foster an irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings and to any deviations from our way of life and our morality.

Our propaganda must actively promote the fullest possible realization of the Soviet people's creative potentialities, help to boost the efficiency of their constructive work, and ensure absolute fulfillment of the targets set by the 11th five-year plan.

The party assumes that effective ideological activity is impossible without an all-round assessment of our society's socio-political and spiritual realities, the enhanced educational and cultural standards of the Soviet people, and the experience of the party's work in political education.

Fuller account must also be taken of the intensifying ideological struggle in the international arena. Our class adversaries are increasingly brazen and crafty in their schemings. Resorting to slander, appealing to various preconceptions and survivals of the past in the minds of men, and presenting a vicious interpretation of the shortcomings, failings and difficulties in our life, the enemies are trying to "erode" the people's class consciousness and faith in our ideals. And it would be wrong to ignore the influence of alien ideology on the minds of a certain section of the people. We must be uncompromising in the battle of ideas, actively exposing anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and taking a resolute stand against any echoes of alien views.

The present state of ideological, political-education work was examined at the congress in depth and from a critical angle. The congress pointed out that the basic tasks facing the party organizations in this field were formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's resolution of April 26, 1979, which, as it was pointed out in the Central Committee's report, is of a

long-term nature. It is a comprehensive program for the party's activity in ideological education.

To implement the CPSU Central Committee's resolution and the decisions of the 26th congress, the party organizations must constantly improve and, as the report put it, restructure many sectors and areas of ideological work.

The party's main concern here is consistently to strengthen the connection between propaganda and life, to make it more effective and relevant. Spelling out this demand, Leonid Brezhnev said at the congress: "We want actual unity between the party's ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work."

This unity of word and deed, when word matches deed, and deed matches word, is the source of the success of our propaganda, and not only propaganda but the whole of party work. It is also a source of the authority commanded by the party organizations, the basis of effective work among the masses. In fact, it is a matter of further expanding the party's ties with the millions of working people. And for the communists, Lenin said, the most serious politics begins and the main line of organizational and political-education work runs, where millions are involved.

Life confirms that violation of the unity of word and deed and substitution of political verbiage for concrete actions have an adverse influence on people's moods, on the moral atmosphere in the work collectives and the whole of society. The failure to match word and deed, which is always inadmissible, becomes particularly dangerous when it is expressed in a relaxation of control over the measure of work and the measure of consumption. Such a relaxation could bring to naught any educational and propaganda efforts.

Lenin's demand for "the strictest control on the part of the society and the state over the measure of work and the measure of consumption" must especially be borne in mind in solving the questions of incentives to work and improvement in distribution. Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th congress: "Under socialism the main criterion of distribution can only be work — its quantity and quality. Regrettably, this is not always the case in practice. All sorts of leveling and instances of paying wages for merely appearing at work and not for its results, and the granting of undeserved bonuses — all this affects production and the psychology of people very harmfully."

The paramount concrete task in this area is to widely assert the prestige of honest, conscientious and creative work. This is the key to successful struggle against consumer attitudes, relapses into philistinism, and the petty-bourgeois mentality. The molding of the new man, his ideological seasoning, and full assertion of the norms and principles of the socialist way of life predetermine the need for a skillful and accurate selection of everything which is new and advanced, and which has to be maintained and developed, and for a persevering and consistent struggle against everything that slows down our progress. This is the only way to ensure that prop-

aganda is backed up by deeds. And this is the most convincing form of our propaganda.

Theoretical work has always held a very important place in the ideological activity of the party, Mikhail Suslov said. Dealing with the major achievements in this field, the congress stressed, above all, the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. The party uses this concept to determine its long-term and immediate tasks and to work out its strategy and tactics. The materials of the congress give a fresh impulse to further research in philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, in all the social sciences.

The more resolutely and energetically our social science will rid itself of the elements of scholasticism and dogmatism, the more fruitful and effective this research will be.

In this connection special importance is attached to improving interaction between the theory and practice of communist education. Science must promote educational work more actively and supply our ideological workers with clear-cut and well-grounded recommendations, specifically in such an important sphere of molding the younger generation as public education.

It has always been the main aim of all our ideological work to equip the Soviet people with a knowledge of the laws of social development, with a clear understanding of the party's policy, to foster their desire and ability to build communism. There is no doubt that an important place in this respect belongs to party experience and economic education. Examples of the creative attitude to this work were mentioned at the congress. However, not everything by far is satisfactory today in the field of party education.

Many party committees put up with the fact that this education is insufficiently geared to the solution of pressing socio-economic problems. Formalism and cramming in this field have yet to be fully overcome. Seminars are often held without a lively exchange of opinion and creative discussions. Instead of a profound analysis of urgent and acute problems which are of interest to students, such seminars are sometimes confined to a mechanical repetition of general ideas. This is largely due to a shortage of well-trained propaganda specialists and insufficient work among them.

Leonid Brezhnev said at the congress that the main thing in the field of party education was its effectiveness, that people should learn, as Lenin taught us, "to act as is really required by communism." At this conference, we must think of how to implement this very important idea, how to live down formalism and cramming, and what forms and methods of party education to introduce into practice.

The party and its Central Committee attach great importance to the press, television and radio, which largely determine the substance of the whole of society's ideological life.

It must be said that after the CPSU Central Committee's resolution of April 26, 1979, party committees and communists of editorial offices have

done much to improve matters. There has been more circumstantial coverage of various aspects of economic activity, the socialist emulation movement, the spread of advanced know-how and the use of scientific and technological achievements. Concrete criticism is combined, as a rule, with efforts to correct the mistakes and overcome the shortcomings. The press has been paying more attention to various questions of party life and moral education. It is *Pravda*, our party's central organ, that sets the tone in this serious and very important work.

However, there is still much to be done to have newspapers and magazines present interesting material, with a serious analysis and generalization of facts. It is also necessary to make fuller use of the truly immense possibilities of our television.

Persevering efforts must be made to enhance the effect of critical, as well as positive material, including that which is designed to spread advanced experience. Much in this respect depends on the ability of party committees to make proper use of the potential of their publications, television and radio, and to support their initiative. And, of course, those who ignore or cannot tolerate fair criticism on the part of the press must be strictly called to account.

The Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev personally set an example of close attention to the press, supporting all principled and important critical remarks.

A great part in ideological and political-education work is played by Soviet literature and art, which carry a powerful ideological and moral charge and have a powerful emotional impact. In the context of the intensifying ideological battle, professional associations and editorial offices must devote as much attention as possible to the ideological aspects of art, to its ideological commitment, party approach and devotion to the people. Their primary duty is to help the workers in the arts to take an active part in communist construction and to uphold by their creative work the advanced and humanistic party ideals.

It is, as everyone knows, the cadre who ultimately decide the success of any undertaking. What should workers in ideology be like? They must be well educated, intellectually rich, and capable of listening to, understanding and convincing other people. Every party worker, must, to quote Lenin, learn the art of "consciously choosing the means, ways and methods of struggle, capable of producing the greatest and most durable results with the least effort."

These are high requirements. But they arise from the very nature of the present stage and from the strategic objectives of communist construction. In short, we must advance to new frontiers in our day-to-day political, organizational and educational work.

In conclusion, Mikhail Suslov said: The supreme concern behind all our aspirations and plans, behind everything that the party is doing, is to promote the people's well-being and their advance to communism. The Soviet people have wholeheartedly approved the decisions of the 26th congress of the CPSU as an inspiring perspective for the country's

development. Today it is particularly important to have every person, every worker thoroughly understand the close connection between his own vital interests and the realization of the congress decisions and see clearly what he personally can and

must do to carry them out. This must be the purpose of the entire political, organizational and educational work of the party committees and of the whole of our party propaganda.

Pravda, April 21, 1981

How Independent are U.S. Unions?

A tremendous amount of literature has been published in the United States in recent months greeting strikes in Poland for what is termed "independent" unionism and headlined reports of labor reforms implemented there abound. This same press is strangely silent about the limited independence of U.S. unions and their dim prospects for achieving labor reforms.

We need hardly deal with the basic question: the role of workers and their organizations within the framework of production enterprises. In Poland, as in all socialist countries, the workers have a say and influence on matters far beyond wages and working conditions. If disputes do occur, they are usually over distortions or violations of the system, and how to correct them. But in the United States anything that is not related to wages and working conditions is strictly a holy prerogative of the employer.

And only in establishments under union contract do the workers have a say on wages and working conditions. The latest semi-annual survey of the Department of Labor shows only 19.7 per cent of the U.S. work-force in unions. The 80 per cent not in unions have no say on anything in the establishments where they work. They have a "take it or leave it" relationship with their employers. Our main concern in this article, therefore, is with the fifth of the working class (23.6 per cent of the non-agricultural work-force) who are organized in unions. Are they really independent?

It was only in 1935 that the Wagner Labor Relations Act (National Labor Relations Act — NLRA) was passed. It set, for the first time, procedures by which workers desiring union representation could choose a union to represent them, through a government-controlled ballot. Also, employers were required by the Wagner Act to engage in collective bargaining with the chosen union under the provided procedures. Enactment of the Wagner Act was hailed in trade union ranks as creation of a labor "Magna Carta."

Prior to the passage of the Wagner Act, unions were subject to prosecution for "restraint of trade" under the Anti-Trust Law of 1890. (Even since then, in a more limited way, unions have been liable to such restraints.) And once passed, the Wagner Act did not take effect overnight. The historically long-established anti-union forces in the U.S. fought just as hard to prevent its application as they had to prevent its enactment. Their legal strategists flooded the courts with cases challenging the law on numerous grounds to prevent its validation...

Aided by the cold war hysteria and the division in trade union ranks, the anti-union forces won passage of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. While that law was technically an amendment to the Wagner Act, it actually gutted the Wagner Act beyond recognition. While the original labor law had been passed to protect the right of workers to organize, choose a union and engage in collective bargaining, it was turned by the Taft-Hartley Act into a *weapon of employers to restrain those rights* through a maze of barbed wire entanglements. It became, in effect, an obstacle course to be surmounted on the way to realization of supposed rights.

The Taft-Hartley Act achieved only some of the goals of the anti-union forces. Another intense drive was then launched, climaxing with the 1959 enactment of the Landrum-Griffin Act, designed to put the *internal life* of unions under the tight control of an assortment of government agencies...

Let us see how the shift from the Wagner Act to a Taft-Hartley-Landrum-Griffin pattern was accomplished. The NLRA is administered by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and its 50 regional offices. In practice, most cases are processed and settled at the regional level.

In petitioning for a union representation election, a union must present signatures of 30 per cent of the number of workers to be polled. Even that initial step is fraught with obstacles. Only the employer has the full list of employees. He exercises an intimidating influence over prospective signers and the cooperation of the usual number of "loyal" employees. But that step is relatively easy, assuming, of course, that there has been an effective organizing drive. The NLRB must still decide the conditions for the balloting and the sections among the employees to be covered, often grounds for dispute and delay.

The conditions for election campaigning are more difficult today than in earlier years, when employer interference was more strictly barred. With advice from anti-labor "consultants," employers take part more openly, often with threats over a plant loudspeaker and with letters, or through phony committees of "loyal" employees. Such interference is forbidden in the law, but this prohibition is widely ignored.

Even if an employer is certain of a pro-union majority, he strives to get a strong pro-company minority. *A narrow majority for a union today is a long way from victory.* If the union wins by less than a two-thirds vote, the employer, advised by his

"consultants," is very likely to challenge some votes, claim irregularities, or raise other issues to stretch processing at the NLRB for months. Then follows a stage of make-believe bargaining and other ways of procrastinating, using the time for some "psychological" tactics among employees. In the end, it often happens, the company may provoke a strike, counting on exploiting the substantial anti-union vote to defeat it. Today it is well understood in union organizing circles that most often *the major struggle is still to come after a representation election is won*, especially where larger corporations are involved.

The other major function of the NLRB is to process "unfair labor practice" (ULP) charges from unions or employers. The NLRB's own annual reports carry a chart that shows the overwhelming majority of cases before the NLRB in earlier years were petitions for representation elections among newly-organized workers. In 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Act took effect, only 27 per cent of the cases before the board were ULPs. The ULP percentage rose to 73 per cent of the cases by 1979. In 1947, 76 per cent of the NLRB cases were on petitions for representation elections. By 1979 the number of petitions for representation elections fell to 24 per cent. And that is not all. A steadily rising number within the 24 per cent consist of employer petitions for decertification of unions that had previously been certified as bargaining agents.

To round up the results for 1979: the NLRB reported on 8,043 elections petitioned by unions. 577,942 workers were eligible to vote; 506,040 voted. Labor unions won 3,623 elections and lost 4,420. Of the total votes there were 246,424 pro-union votes and 259,616 votes for no union. Representation was won by unions for 212,830 workers, 45 per cent of those who voted. The success of unions in earlier years was much higher, in certain years as high as 60 per cent.

The steep increase in the board's activities is not a reflection of greater union growth, but rather of the defensive position of unions. The 41,258 ULP charges in 1979, says the NLRB, is a record — "23,604 above a decade ago and 33,074 more than 20 years ago."

The consequence of this trend, as shown in NLRB data, has been a steady drop in the percentage of U.S. workers who belong to unions. In 1947, when the Taft-Hartley Act went into effect, the Department of Labor estimated union membership at 23.9 per cent of the total labor force. It stood at 19.7 per cent in 1978. The corresponding figure for union membership among non-agricultural workers was 33.7 per cent in 1947, down to 23.6 per cent in 1978.

That is still not the whole story by a long way. As already noted above, there was still the Landrum-Griffin Act, designed to give the government — that is, the state monopoly capitalist government — control and a club over the internal life of unions. To pave the way for that operation, all the stops were pulled out in the country's legislative, publicity and judicial organs to give the unions the ugliest image

yet. The televised Senate McClellan Committee hearings featured some of the notorious corrupt elements in the trade unions. The hearings fed headlines of some uncomplimentary affairs in labor ranks — something not hard to find — to "justify" legislation to control the behavior and life of unions in general.

That many unions in the U.S. need a cleanup and democratization is hardly a secret. But that was not the real objective of the drive that culminated in the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin Act. Ironically, the purpose of the law is to meet the "responsibility of the government to protect employees' rights." ... It outlines the requirements of a national or local union on choice of officers, the procedures that must be followed in elections, the duration of terms of office, the conduct of disciplinary action, fines, expulsions, trial procedure in unions, dues and instruction on about every detail that a union's constitution or local bylaws would cover.

After this initial window dressing come the stringent requirements on internal procedures, barring anyone convicted of a felony, and even ex-communists, from holding union office or occupying any appointive position. The anti-communist provision has run into court rulings that make its enforcement impossible or difficult. But, as in all such invalidations, the provision has not been repealed and remains on the books to be picked up at some future more opportune time.

But the real bite in the law is a requirement that officers of unions file separate reports on about a half dozen forms dealing with the officer's wages, financial relations, the union's audits, election data, copies of the union's constitution and bylaws and several other matters. After each of the requirements is an "enforcement section" specifying either a \$5,000 fine, a prison term or both for violations, or provision for civil court suits. The point is not so much what is required, but the club the government has over a union — its right to step into an office to investigate whether the reports filed are accurate, whether procedures in elections, financial accounting, reports of salaries for officers and their likely financial relations outside the union and such are accurate ...

The Landrum-Griffin Act, named "Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959," is administered by the Labor-Management Services Administration (LMSA). Let us see how this agency, supposedly charged by law with the protection of the rights of workers, is doing.

One of its major functions is to investigate charges of fraudulent or undemocratic elections in unions and to supervise new elections where allegations of violations are found to be true. Since 1960, when the law took effect, until 1978, LMSA conducted only 419 elections — only 21 in 1977, 13 in 1976 and 15 in 1975. LMSA says in its 1979 report that since July 1964 it "closed" 1,871 cases of charges of fraudulent elections in unions. But two-thirds of those cases were closed because LMSA termed the charges "invalid," not filed in time or because the "cases were not suitable for litigation." In only 35 per cent

of the cases did LMSA find violations that could have affected a union election and of those, in nearly half of the cases unions voluntarily agreed to have another election. This left just 356 cases since 1966 that LMSA had to take to court to force a union to conduct a new election. By order of the courts, however, only 235 elections took place — an average of 19 such elections a year, in a labor movement of 68,000 locals, many of which are affiliates of notoriously undemocratic, even racket-infested, international and district organizations. This gives a measure of the law as a "protector" of membership rights.

Or take the much-publicized part of the law that is supposed to safeguard unions from financial abuses, theft, corruption, unauthorized use of union funds for candidates for union office, false financial accounts and such. By 1978, in the 18 years since the law's enactment, LMSA reported 1,277 indictments of individuals for various violations. Of the number, 933 were convicted, mostly for false accounts or failure to keep accounts . . .

The combination of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin provides the numerous sharp prongs of the government's controls over unions, their bargaining relations, organizing and internal life and its authority to intervene in a union's affairs on any occasion in the guise of investigating compliance with 101 legal instructions — many of which carry heavy fines and jail sentences for violations. The so-called "Bill of Rights of Members of Labor Organizations," the opening section of the law, is just window dressing to cover up the club the government holds over unions — a more direct interference in the affairs of unions than exists over unions in any of the major capitalist countries.

Such is the state of labor relations as an AFL-CIO bureaucracy shouts from the rooftops for "independent" unionism — where workers and their organizations are in political and economic power, not imprisoned within a two-party system of state monopoly capitalism that denies even very moderate labor reforms. But this bureaucracy, while dutifully for 33 years noting the mounting menace from convention to convention, does little to fight it effectively.

At this writing, as the Reagan administration takes over, its Cabinet designees and new Senate committee heads are indicating plans for new assaults on unions and the allied Black, Hispanic and other minorities. Most prominent are plans to scuttle affirmative action; repeal the Davis-Bacon Act; cut Social Security in several ways and raise the retirement age to 68; reduce the minimum wage for youths; cut into the welfare level, and such like "reforms" to the Right. It is quite obvious that the chances for liberalizing labor reforms in the new Congress and administration are not encouraging. But if, as leaders of the AFL-CIO say, hopes are on the Congress two years hence, a mass coalition movement to counter reaction must get under way now, uniting the forces of labor, the minority sectors of the population, family farmers and the community movements in the cities. Only such a strategy, as spelled out in the post-election Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party, can both meet the immediate attacks and lay a firm basis for a fight for advanced reforms in the 1982 congressional elections.

George Morris

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Behind Assassination Attempts: Social Misfits or Misfit Society?

Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party USA

On March 30th a demented ex-nazi, son of an oil executive, emptied his pawn-shop pistol into President Ronald Reagan and three others. Only a few months before, John Lennon was struck down by an assassin's bullet. We have just marked the 13th anniversary of the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. We are now recalling with national dismay the long list of murdered and maimed presidents, political leaders and public figures. The shooting of the President comes at a time when millions, Black and white, are wearing green ribbons for the murdered and missing Black children of Atlanta; when the ugly specter of lynch-murder returns to haunt us in the city of Mobile; when neo-fascist and paramilitary groups, the Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan march, desecrate and terrorize with impunity; when

camp for killers and schools for mercenaries are openly and legally organized to train terrorists in the woodlands of our country.

As one who has been the target of assassins, I am well aware that there are those in official circles and the mass media who are reluctant to even probe for the underlying basic causes, especially when the attacks are directed against the working class and left forces. Many in these same circles are making a concerted effort to cover up the real causes with all kinds of smokescreen theories to divert and discourage people from looking beyond the surface, deeply into the very fiber of our social system, wherein lies the real cause — as well as the cure.

Reflecting the mass sentiments, the daily newspapers are filled to the brim with articles asking

questions and attempting answers. Everyone is asking: "What is there about America that produces such a pattern?" "Why are assassination attempts so frequent?" And the headline of a *New York Times* April 5 editorial states, "The symptoms surround us, but what is the malady?"

A popular theory portrays John W. Hinckley Jr. as a "social misfit," a "lone assassin," a "failure" and a "well-off dropout." Also being peddled is an attempt to cover up Hinckley's rightwing connections, as well as his father's, by painting a picture of him as a wealthy drifter infatuated with a teenage movie star, intent on impressing her with his superman act. Another theory blames the availability of hand guns and the lack of gun control and the strength of the gun lobby. Undoubtedly, the reduction of hand guns would reduce the number of killings. Many claim that TV violence promotes real-life violence, that there is a tendency toward mimicry — to try out in real life what is portrayed on the movie and TV screens. It is also claimed that we have become "increasingly desensitized, dehumanized and numbed to the effects of murder and violence that pervade our society." And numerous articles have been published pushing the idea of "a violent American mentality which developed in a violent society that goes back to our frontier, pioneering past, and therefore, that violence is inherent in our national character."

Some of these theories have some truth in them. Many are secondary causes of violent behavior. But they do not by themselves provide the primary, underlying and basic cause. While it is true that many of the assassins and would-be assassins have been psychotic, demented individuals, the questions remain: What made them sick? What set them off? And why is their violent behavior so often directed against political personalities? No, the blame cannot be placed at the door of "society in general." Capitalism is the sick element in our society.

In any society the dominant class, the class that rules, must accept the major responsibility for the behavior of its people because it is the main influence over the mass patterns of thought.

In our society it is the class of monopoly capital that exercises domination and control over the press, radio, TV, schools, books, magazines, movies and even sports — over the culture. The thought patterns, the values and the morals are those of the capitalist class. The individual acts of violence are reflections of and are stimulated by the policies, the ideology, the concepts and behavior of the dominant, ruling capitalist class. It is the corruption, the depravity and brutal violence practised and perpetuated by the capitalist class that must be held responsible for the patterns of violence of individuals who live under the influence of this thinking and behavior.

The root cause of corruption and violence is inherent in the monopoly lust for power and profit that propels and motivates the capitalist class and its socio-economic system of exploitation and racism. It is the system of private ownership and the drive for maximum profits at any price. That is the bottom

line, the essence of capitalist society. The lust for power and profits drives the owning and ruling members of the capitalist class to use any and all violent, corrupt means and instruments at their command to maintain and expand their profits, both at home and in foreign lands. This means they will always strive to pay the lowest wages for the longest hours of work — whenever, wherever and however they can. This is the brutal class exploitation of human labor. This is the violent inner-nature of capitalism.

No means of making money are too brutal, too bloody. The use of goon squads, police and frame-ups was rampant during the union organizing drives of the 1930s and are still used against strikers and organizers. Thousands of workers have been murdered and maimed fighting for decent wages and working conditions. The Ludlow Massacre, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Rosenbergs are but a few vivid examples of capitalist murder and violence.

The closing of plants, the laying off of thousands of workers and the resulting destruction of whole communities is nothing but criminal monopoly inhumanity against workers and their families. The callous corporate disregard for the lives, health, safety and working conditions of the workers in mines, mills, factories and farms of our country is capitalist class violence. The production and selling of defective and dangerous consumer products is typical of corporate greed, the Ford Pinto being only one small example of a product that kills.

Our land, air and waters are being polluted and poisoned knowingly by corporations who are saving billions at the expense of the health and well-being of our people and natural resources. There is no patriotism, no national human interests in the executive suites of the *Fortune* 500. The only interests, the only loyalty they have is to the "almighty dollar."

We must not separate the violence of contemporary monopoly capital from the roots and history of U.S. capitalism, upon which our system is built. Looking back to the beginning of capitalism in our country, we must study the genocide, the rape and pillage of the lives, lands and rich resources of the Native-American Indian peoples and the enslavement, exploitation and racism against the Afro-American people.

The true brutal nature of U.S. imperialism was exposed when it dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of elderly, children and women — contaminating the wombs of the women with radiation poison for generations to come. The U.S. imperialist lust for profit and power continued unabated in Korea, where "Operation Killer" was the master plan of General Matthew Ridgeway for the destruction of that country.

Methods of mass murder and destruction reached a zenith during the Vietnam War when the U.S. attempted to carry out the policy of General Curtis LeMay to "bomb them back to the stone age." And carried out it was, with the use of napalm and Agent Orange, ghastly weapons which the U.S. consciously dropped and sprayed the Vietnamese

people with, poisoning, burning and killing thousands upon thousands of men, women and children. The Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the mining of Haiphong Harbor and the thousands of My Lai injected into human history the ultimate, conscious, concentrated use of the most terrible weapons of mass annihilation and torture. It was the planned attempt to wipe out a whole people, an entire nation.

And yet, these heinous crimes were glorified by the late U.S. Cardinal Francis Spellman during a visit to Saigon, when he publicly stated: "War, in fact, has brought out the noblest instincts and the best traits of human courage and endurance in the annals of history!"

The Vietnam War and the depravity of such public figures as Cardinal Spellman is why the American people are now determined to stop the intervention and aggression against El Salvador with the slogan, "No More Vietnams!"

The Bay of Pigs invasion, blockade of Cuba, attempted assassinations of President Fidel Castro, support of counter-revolutionaries attempting to destroy the Afghan revolution, the "rescue mission" in Iran and years of support of the U.S. puppet Shah Pahlavi against the Iranian people and revolution, the assassinations of Premier Lumumba and President Allende and the counter-revolutionary activity against Chile, the support and aid to all the fascist military dictatorships in the world, including apartheid South Africa, are nothing but U.S. imperialist violence against all movements and peoples fighting for national liberation.

U.S. international terrorism is on a rampage throughout the world in its vain efforts to hold back and turn back the forces of national independence and socialism. Behind the myth of "the Soviet menace," assassination, counter-revolution, torture, mass murder and terrorism are the hallmarks of U.S. imperialism.

The history of our country is soaked in the blood, sweat and tears of all the victims of U.S. monopoly capital. And today the world lives under the ultimate violence of U.S. capitalism — the terrible threat of nuclear annihilation. Nuclear confrontation threatens the world's very existence — because U.S. monopoly capital refuses to accept a nuclear military balance with the Soviet Union, because the dominant monopoly circles refuse to reject the drive for world domination, nuclear superiority and a first-strike capability. This is U.S. capitalist insanity, a nuclear insanity which seeks to create and mass produce ever more terrible weapons of mass destruction such as the neutron bomb which "only kills people and leaves buildings intact."

In the final analysis, the source of all terrorism, all mass murder and violence and the source of all corruption is the futile but destructive attempt of U.S. monopoly to dominate and exploit the world.

Monopoly capital has no morality, no humanity, no sense of brotherhood, loyalty or patriotism. Its only god is private profits. Its creed is to feed the greedy by starving the needy. Its slogan is "profits before people." It is the basic philosophy behind the

anti-working class economic program and budget of the Reagan administration.

Hinckley seems mentally disturbed. But he began his path to assassination in the American Nazi Party. Racism is a part of the Nazi and Klan mentality that produces a Hinckley and the killers of King, Malcolm X and countless Black victims of racist violence.

That's why the Nazi Party, the Klan and all right-wing groups practising and preaching hate, bigotry and prejudice based on religion and race must be outlawed. As the very fabric of capitalist society decays and crumbles, violence becomes more and more prevalent, more and more a part of the crisis of everyday life. More and more, capitalism resorts to violence to defend itself because it has lost all semblance of a humane society.

Individual acts of violence are methods of a class that history is rejecting. The working class, the carrier of all that is progressive and the class that is leading the way toward social progress and a socialist society free of violence, relies on masses in motion, mass movements and mass struggles.

Daily World, April 17, 1981

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A Letter from Long Kesh Prison

Bobby Sands' Comrades Write to the French Communist Party

Despite police control, searches and constant surveillance, Mrs. Thatcher's Irish prisoners managed to smuggle out a message to the French Communist Party. Written in tiny letters on tissue paper, it arrived in Colonel Fabien Square late on Thursday afternoon. It was signed by Tony Hughes, an inmate of Long Kesh Prison, the brother of one of the hunger strikers.* Pierre Juquin immediately sent the first reply to Tony Hughes and his comrades on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of Liberties and Human Rights, which is presided over by Georges Marchais.

The Message to the FCP

Comrades,

In a few short weeks my comrades will be dead. They have been sentenced to death by the treachery and intransigence of the British government. They need help, your help. On their behalf, I address this urgent appeal.

Having invaded our country, the British have continuously sought to break the very soul of the Irish people, they have virtually destroyed our language and outlawed our culture. We are forced to live in a society alien to our people.

Our country has been torn to pieces by the sectarianism which they have deliberately fostered to divide our people. Unemployment, discrimination and cruel laws are the only "benefits" our people have gained from the foreign occupation.

But in every generation the British have been met by the spirit of resistance, the spirit of people who refuse to be conquered, people who despite their suffering continue to battle against their oppressors.

The British, in their turn, have always tried to present the Irish people who are fighting for their freedom, as criminals. It is incredible that the lawful right of an oppressed people to struggle against its oppressor should be considered a crime!

They made another attempt on March 1, 1976, by abolishing the special status, known as "political status," applied to us, imprisoned Republicans. They must have thought that we would ultimately allow them to bracket us with criminals. But we are not criminals and none of us will ever concede to this.

We refused to wear prison clothing and prepare prison food. This was the beginning of our blanket protest.*

Because we refused to accept this policy we were forced to live hour after hour and day after day in prison cells which resemble graves. Notwithstanding all that and the invariable cruelty of the prison authorities, we are united, determined and fully convinced that the important step taken by us will surely put an end to this terrible situation for ever, and that our lawful demand to be recognized as political prisoners will be satisfied.

We are fully aware of the intransigence and treachery of the British government, but we have learned a lesson from the mistake we had made: after

53 days of terrible suffering seven of our comrades stopped their fasting and accepted the British government's assurances that it would satisfy their demands. Only then did they see that they had been deceived by hypocritical statements and false promises.

This time, comrades, we shall yield to neither deception nor promises and shall continue the hunger strike until all our demands are satisfied and implemented. This time we demand complete, clear and unambiguous agreement.

And so, comrades, I call on you to help us now. Let everyone know your support. Join along with the masses who have taken to the streets, for it is only with this popular reaction that we can break down the callousness of Thatcher's rightist regime which says: "Let them die!" We need your support. Please don't fail us! Please help now!

Yours fraternally,

Tony Hughes

(Retranslated from the French)

UNTIL YOUR VICTORY...

Reply to Tony Hughes

Dear Brothers, Prisoners of Belfast,

We are deeply stirred by your message which we received yesterday, and assure you that we shall do our best for our answer to reach you in prison.

Your letter revives the voices and courage of our own comrades of the Resistance days.

Since long before Bobby Sands' heroic death we have been making daily efforts to mobilize the working people, democrats and the French youth, and appealing to their conscience. Last Wednesday, at Georges Marchais' call, Paris heard our protest and solidarity with you, which we took to the very gates of the British Embassy.

We swore in front of Bobby Sands' portrait, to which thousands of carnations symbolizing fraternity and struggle were brought, that we would carry on and broaden our struggle for your rights against all British colonialists, for the freedom of all Irish people, for the dignity of all Irish men and women.

We shall be with you until your victory, with you and with all the freedom-loving people the world over. We assure you that your prisons shall not be turned into graves. We shall save your lives, your rights and your freedom.

L'Humanité, May 9, 1981

*Patrick Hughes died on May 14 in the 59th day of his hunger strike — Ed.

*Blankets became the prisoners' only clothing — Ed.

The Party, the State and the Trade Unions

... Close and confidential relations between the party and the trade unions have been a cornerstone of the workers' and peasants' political power in the German Democratic Republic at every stage in the implementation of the SUPG's policy for the benefit of the working class and the whole people ...

The militant alliance between the party and the trade unions has its origins in the class battles of the German working-class movement. It reckons with the lessons of the past, and is a major political motive force behind the GDR's successful development since the day of its formation. ...

The founding of the SUPG in April 1946 met the vital requirements and interests of the working class and its newly formed Confederation of Free German Trade Unions. ...

The SUPG's Marxist-Leninist policy with respect to the trade unions was a major prerequisite for the historic decisions adopted by the third congress of the CFGTU in 1950. For the first time in the history of the German working-class movement, the trade unions set themselves the goal of building a socialist social system. That step was logically connected with the adoption of the working-class worldview — Marxism-Leninism — and recognition of the leading role of the SUPG, the party of the working class. The congress reaffirmed friendship with the Soviet Union and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The degree of the trade unions' ideological and political maturity was also reflected in a statement adopted by the congress on the formation of the GDR. It described the GDR as a state embodying the power of the working class and following a policy which served the cause of peace and democracy and met the interests of the working class. ...

The more than century-long development of the German revolutionary working-class movement had not been free of problems. Fundamental questions relating to the trade unions had to be decided in the course of acute and complicated struggle. The struggle over the trade unions and their attitude to the revolutionary party in all periods of the working-class movement and especially since the beginning of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions is also a reflection of the struggle between scientific socialism and opportunism. Lenin, who elaborated a teaching on the new type of party, taking the works of Marx and Engels as a point of departure, thereby also elaborated qualitatively new principles of mutual relations between the party and the trade unions. In fighting bourgeois ideology and its manifestations in the form of opportunism within the working-class movement, Lenin pointed out: "The class interests of the bourgeoisie inevitably give rise to a striving to confine the unions to petty and narrow activity within the framework of the existing social order, to keep them away from any contact with socialism, and the neutrality theory is the ideological cover for these strivings of the

bourgeoisie" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, p. 466).

It is known that after 1945, our country was also the scene of many attempts by the adversaries to drive a wedge between the party of the working class and the CFGTU. In the struggle against concepts advocating the "neutrality" of the trade unions, SUPG members carried on large-scale explanatory work in the trade unions. It was first of all necessary to make it clear in political terms that the trade unions can achieve solid results in defending the interests of the working people only if the solution of current problems is closely tied in with the struggle for socialism, if the workers and peasants keep a firm hold on state power, and if the working-class party exercises its leading role in the trade unions. As the trade unions matured as an active force consciously building the new society on the basis of our party's policy, they were also involved in the fulfillment of political and economic tasks that were totally new to the history of the German trade union movement. In this way, the theory of trade union neutrality — a theory alien to the working class — was overcome in the struggle for social progress and especially on the basis of the working people's own positive experience in carrying out the party's policy from the time of the SUPG's formation. This not only served to strengthen the solid foundations of the confidence between our party and the trade unions as the decisive force of our worker-peasant power, but also strengthened the unity and cohesion of the CFGTU and its sectoral trade unions. Thus, the CFGTU became a powerful social force in the organizational plane as well. ...

Trade union activity has a crucial influence on the party's ties with the whole class, with the whole people. Characterizing their fundamental importance, Lenin emphasized that "the trade unions are a link between the vanguard and the masses, and by their daily work bring conviction to the masses, the masses of the class which alone is capable of taking us from capitalism to communism" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 20-21).

The trade unions are the major class organization in the GDR and, simultaneously, a mass organization. At present, 97 per cent of all industrial and office workers and intellectuals — mostly non-party people — are members of the CFGTU.

The party exercises its leading role in the trade unions primarily through model work by the communists in the trade union organizations. The SUPG program emphasizes that convincing and model activity by the communists in the CFGTU is the crucial factor behind the trade unions' fulfillment of their responsible tasks in building a developed socialist society. ... In its trade union policy, the SUPG's constant assumption is that the trade unions operate as independent organizations with their own responsibility. Communist work in the trade unions is based on explanatory political work and the power

of example. It knows of neither tutelage nor regimentation.

The trade unions have obviously made a considerable contribution to raising the productivity of the national economy and thereby to the implementation of the most majestic socio-political program in our history. The broad socio-political measures adopted in this context have been reflected in joint decisions by the SUPG Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and the CFGTU Central Board. Take, for instance, the full implementation of the measures envisaged in the joint decision of May 27, 1976, and aimed at a further balanced improvement of the people's working and living conditions from 1976 to 1980. These relate, in particular, to increases in minimum wages, implementation of the wages policy under the principle of payment according to work, a further increase in pensions, payments and benefits within the social security framework, and also a gradual transition to a 40-hour working week and longer holidays. Over the past decade, payments to industrial and office workers under the social insurance system run by the trade unions have doubled. In this period, family allowances to mothers have been repeatedly increased, and pensions have been raised four times. All this has been done while contributions to the social insurance fund have remained the same for 30 years. . . .

The trade unions have been doing constructive and enthusiastic work to create, in accordance with the imperatives of the 1980s, the best conditions for a successful continuation of the party's policy, which serves the people's interests and is aimed to maintain and ensure peace. Consistent implementation of the program for full employment, the people's well-being, economic growth and stability calls for a new and large-scale economic efficiency drive — primarily through mass initiative in socialist emulation — in order to consolidate the present living standards and continue the gradual improvement of the people's material and cultural standards . . .

Our country and its development eloquently show that socialism on German soil has won out once and for all. We have been able to achieve this because we have always strengthened and ensured, as a matter of principle, the power of the workers and peasants, and have not allowed anyone to encroach on it. This stand also characterizes the attitude of the CFGTU, of the millions of trade unionists, to the question of power in the past, present and future, for the working people have drawn the lessons from the class struggle that was carried on by their fathers and grandfathers, and have also seen from their own experience that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and worker-peasant power is the decisive guarantee of a peaceful life under socialism and of a secure communist future.

The fundamental identity of the positions of the trade unions and state power in the GDR is due to their common class basis. The socialist state is the great political gain of the working class. The trade unions, for their part, are the most massive organi-

zation, which exercises state power and owns the means of production. Hence the common goals and tasks, and also the fact that the trade unions in the GDR are "not only the builders of our economy, . . . but also a political force building a new state" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 119).

A characteristic point to note is that Lenin devoted much attention in his theoretical and practical activity to the place of the trade unions in the political system of the new society. In substantiating the new role and elaborating the essential tasks of trade unions after the victory of the proletarian revolution, Lenin carried on an irreconcilable struggle against those who sought to spread anti-socialist views on the trade union question. He sharply criticized those who advocated so-called free trade unions, whose "freedom" and "independence" was to consist in a refusal to come out with initiatives or bear any responsibility for the fulfillment of tasks facing the whole state, for the building of socialism and communism. "In actual fact," Lenin wrote, "This view was and is either a bourgeois provocation of the crudest kind or an extreme misunderstanding, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday. . . . Hence to apply the slogans of the old trade unionism to the present epoch would mean renouncing the socialist tasks of the working class" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 215).

At present, this fundamental question is also at the center of intensive attempts by reactionaries to revive the slogan of "free trade unions" that would be "independent" from the working-class party and the proletarian state. "Concern" for trade union "freedom" and "independence" in the socialist countries is displayed precisely by those forces which in the countries where they are in power cannot assure the workers of such elementary human rights as the right to work. But without such rights, freedom and social security are also impossible. Trade unions in the capitalist world have no rights that would ensure their effective involvement and decisive influence in the framing of state policy, economic development and social life in general. Freedom for whom and for what purpose — this question has been and remains a class question. Only the socialist state guarantees broad rights for truly free trade union activity for the benefit of the working class and all the working people. Naturally, this also presupposes certain obligations and their scrupulous fulfillment.

The GDR trade unions — the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions — are free not only in name. From the day of their formation, they have been truly free and independent, because, according to the constitution, no one can limit or hinder their activity. Article 44 of the GDR constitution says: "The free trade unions making up the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions . . . protect the interests of industrial and office workers and intellectuals, taking an extensive part in state, economic and social administration." The constitution says that the solution of any problem in socialist construction, in economic planning and administration, in implementing the scientific and technological rev-

olution, improving working and living conditions, health care, labor protection, and culture calls for authoritative participation by the trade unions. They represent the working people's interests in every sphere of life.

So, there is nothing that does not concern the trade unions, nothing that can be solved without their participation. This participation is far from passive. Since the trade unions are responsible for the correlation between labor inputs and wages, for the material and moral incentives to work, and for the elaboration of social policies, notably, in such an important sphere as the rest and recreation service, they must come up with proposals and initiatives, and play an active part in taking and implementing decisions. The whole of past experience confirms that a sound policy toward the working class includes effective cooperation between the socialist state and the trade unions.

Unity of centralized state administration and the masses' creative initiative, democratic centralism and socialist democracy, especially the development of vigorous activity within the trade unions, is an essential factor of the constructive cooperation between the trade unions and the state. Convincing proof of this is to be found in the annual discussions of plans at the enterprises and combines organized by the trade unions. Their involvement is manifested in different forms, ranging from participation by the chairmen of sectoral trade unions in discussing plans with the appropriate ministries to the discussion of draft plans for the national economy in the Presidium of the CFGTU Central Board, where the State Planning Commission must substantiate this document before it is submitted for approval. Trade union organizations — from local trade union committees to the Central Board — express their views on the draft plan as a part of its discussion. Constructive cooperation between the state and the trade unions is guaranteed at every level: from the government to the production team, from the state plan to collective agreements at the enterprises. In this cooperation, the trade unions, while being guided by common class interests and political goals, perform their own specific tasks. Their participation in the exercise of power by the working class and its allies largely takes the concrete form of cooperation with the government, with state organs. Quite naturally, problems can arise both at this level and at the enterprises and combines themselves. But what is of crucial importance here is that the representatives of the trade unions consistently resolve these problems for the benefit of the working class and all the other working people.

Cooperation between the trade unions and the state is also effected through the deputies appointed by the CFGTU. Ever since the formation of our state, there has been a CFGTU group in the People's Chamber. At present, it has 68 deputies and 22 candidate members, and is the second largest group.

The constitution of the GDR enshrines the right of the CFGTU to submit legislative initiatives. . . .

Another important manifestation of the trade unions' active role and considerable influence in our

state is that they can protect the interests of their members right at the enterprise, at their place of work. Freedom of trade union activity in material production — the decisive sphere of social life — is a natural prerogative enjoyed by the CFGTU. This essential principle of trade union work cannot be realized in any of the capitalist countries, where it is obstructed by capitalist relations of production.

Now that the CFGTU has entered upon its fourth decade, there is every reason to say: the trade unions were never before able to uphold the interests of their members on such an extensive and principled basis as in the socialist GDR. Here they have the broadest field of action in the whole history of the German working-class movement. The CFGTU has always assumed that the struggle for peace is the fundamental task facing the trade unions in their representation of the working people's interests, for it is only in peaceful conditions that it is possible to maintain and develop all our achievements for the benefit of the working class and all the other working people, for their happy life. The trade unions' contribution to the efforts to preserve and ensure peace, the broad moral and material solidarity they display in a spirit of proletarian internationalism fully agree with the policy of the SUPG and our worker-peasant state. This is a major source of our strength and confidence. . . .

Harry Tisch

Abridged from *Einheit*, No. 4/5, 1981

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Let the People's Will be Fulfilled

Statement by the Democratic Convergence in Uruguay (DCU)*

I. ANALYSIS

The pronouncement made in Uruguay last November 30, was clear and unambiguous. It went beyond and meant something more than a rejection of a constitutional text. What the Uruguayan people wanted to and did express on the very first occasion on which they were consulted since the establishment of the dictatorship, was a rejection of the regime which has been set up, of the sum total of purely repressive solutions, complete suppression of civil freedoms and brutal terrorism on the part of the state. The regime was compelled to cast about for a semblance of popular respect and an institutional façade that would enable it to overcome a crisis resulting from discredit at home and abroad.

The people took advantage of the fact that they were asked for an opinion even though no conditions necessary for a legitimate pronouncement were provided, and managed to use in their favor even the situation marked by the absence of opportunities which had existed previously. Even in a climate vitiated by innumerable civic privations, they found a way of telling their truth, synthesized as a vastly significant *no*. They were asked to accept an executive authority denying all freedoms in a country where there are thousands of political prisoners, in an atmosphere of intimidation created and fomented by the regime, and where the freedom of speech, assembly and association is denied, with the trade unions persecuted and held down, with the political parties strangled, with leading party cadre decimated through exclusions, prohibitions, imprisonment and exile, with a ban on all dissent or dissidence. Thus, with thousands of political prisoners, with virtually half a million exiles cut off from the national life, and in the absence of a free press, the people were called on to validate the practices of a regime of brute force and found the strength and the way to say *no* in spite of all restrictions. They said *no* to the lack of freedom, to the violence applied by the regime, to the proscription of parties, to the institutionalized perpetuation of all authoritarianism, civilian or military.

This was the content of the people's civic pronouncement, made by an overwhelming majority in spite of the conditions in which it had to take place, a pronouncement that in normal conditions would have been stronger still even though it couldn't have been more emphatic conceptually.

Every serious and objective political analyst is bound to come to this conclusion, which makes the regime's current efforts useless and artificial. These efforts are aimed at minimizing the significance of the expression of the people's will, at reducing it to a simple non-acceptance of the text of a constitutional

draft. What gives indestructible validity to this popular verdict, which is especially expressive in view of the conditions in which it had to be passed, and stands out as the salient feature of its political lesson is not only its numerical aspect but its unanimity. Coming from diverse currents reflecting the citizens' will, it attained the stature of durable unity on the fundamental points constituting the platform of a distinct national will. The political parties and social forces which represent them and are the real winners of a battle fought in conditions in which they had no choice, gave their *no* a single content and lent it the meaning we have just noted.

In these circumstances, the efforts which the regime may make to relaunch its impaired program and reduce the effect of what has happened are doomed to dismal failure.

Democratic Convergence hails the heroic civic attitude of the forces which have fought this historic battle inside the country. It deems it necessary to specially point out the role played by Uruguayan youth, many of whom were involved in this kind of activity for the first time. This is encouraging and very promising. At the same time it is evidence of the futility of the efforts of the regime which for more than seven years has been trying to stop all creative democratic activity and every trend toward renewal among the Uruguayan younger generation.

Ever since it issued its Constituent Declaration, Democratic Convergence (CDU) has stressed that its members — diverse political and social currents forming Uruguayan public opinion — would not operate as separate exponents of these particular currents but would jointly express the sentiments of the vast majority of the nation. Its rise was prompted by the appearance of the so-called "chronogram" — the program which the regime intended to put into practice. The timeliness of the emergence of CDU and the relevance of the concept underlying it have proved perfectly correct and adequate in the light of the events that culminated on November 30. The vast majority of the nation took a stand against the "chronogram" and the system which had produced it, and showed its ability to unite around fundamental points having their roots in the democratic tradition of the Uruguayan people.

Some circumstances impart a distinct character to the case of Uruguay within the framework of current events in Latin America.

The first and most striking circumstance is the fact that a brutal dictatorship was defeated in a plebiscite it had itself held. The second circumstance is that the plebiscite has shown the unity of diverse political and social currents that reveals the validity of the factors lying at the basis of their diversity and pluralism. The very formation of Democratic Convergence had demonstrated the sentiments of all Uruguayans, both inside the republic and in exile. The third circumstance is that the Uruguayan

*The Democratic Convergence in Uruguay (DCU) includes the Colorado Party, the National Party and the Broad Front, of which the Communist Party of Uruguay is a part. — Ed.

dictatorship is beginning to betray its inborn weakness for all the ruthlessness of its methods. Lastly, it should be noted that the peculiarities of the Uruguayan process have induced the international democratic community to devote to it a very special attention. This translates into numerous acts and declarations of solidarity, among which we note the recent formation in Washington of the Commission for Democracy and Human Rights in Uruguay, a body including very prominent political leaders and personalities belonging to the widest ideological and geographical spectrum. It has come to be regarded as an unprecedented event in American political history.

These peculiarities make the political task of democratization in Uruguay a natural priority. The efforts involved in this necessary task would be a part of the common struggle of all the nations of the continent which are subjected to the tyranny of dictatorial regimes.

II. PROPOSALS

Democratic Convergence advances the following proposals, which are a logical interpretation of what the Uruguayan people expressed so recently:

1. Aparicio Mendez to be immediately relieved of the office of President of the Republic.
2. Restore freedom as a fundamental value. Nothing less than its full attainment will bring the nation a balanced and durable social peace on just principles. This means allowing freedom of the individual, opinion, trade union activity, assembly and associa-

tion and speech plus its inseparable concomitant, greater economic and social justice.

This commitment to restore freedom is incompatible with the preservation of the dictatorship. The latter must step down, for the people have explicitly stripped it of authority.

3. Release without delay all political prisoners and trade union functionaries being held in jail. This applies above all to General Liber Seregni, who embodies the finest qualities of a fighter. An equally urgent issue is to end every form of political proscription affecting individuals or parties, trade unions or social sectors, as well as to abolish all the regulations that the dictatorship has applied to the detriment of institutional and human values.

4. The political parties must be given complete freedom for their functioning and begin a broad nationwide dialogue, which is a requisite of the transition to a democratic solution.

5. Set elections for a Constituent Assembly or some other effective body of the same nature implying primarily participation by the people, that original and essential exponent of national sovereignty.

Juan Raul Ferreira
President

Carlos Martinez Moreno *Justino Zavala Carvalho*
General Secretary Executive Secretary

Diego Achard *Luis Echave*

Juan P. Eyherachar *Carlos Gurmendez*

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