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USSR — India: A Mighty Factor of Peace

On Leonid Brezhnev's Visit to India

From December 8 to 11, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, paid an official friendly visit to India.

In the course of the visit, Leonid Brezhnev met Indian leaders and parliamentarians, and also leaders of the Communist Party of India and activists of the Indian-Soviet cultural society.

During his talks with India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, there was a thorough exchange of opinion on Soviet-Indian relations, and also on major international problems of mutual interest.

Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi reaffirmed that the Soviet Union and India held common or similar positions on major international problems. They stressed the need for rebuffing the attempts by the enemies of peace to undermine the process of détente, impose another round of the arms race upon the peoples, tilt the military balance in the world in their favor, and multiply the seats of military conflict.

The parties exchanged views on the situation in the Indian Ocean region, including the Persian Gulf, and condemned the stepping up of military activity in that area. They came out in favor of dismantling all foreign military bases and turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union was ready for close cooperation with India and other coastal states for the sake of easing military tension in the Indian Ocean region.

The parties expressed serious concern over the dangerous situation in the Middle East, where external forces are preventing a peaceful settlement and encouraging Israel to make fresh aggressive moves against the Arab peoples, the Arab people of Palestine above all.

During the discussion of the situation in the Middle East, Leonid Brezhnev set forth the Soviet Union's consistent stand on the military conflict between Iraq and Iran. Evidently, he said, some people seek to make the conflict still more serious. This is being done to weaken both parties to the clash, and to enable the external forces to regain the positions they lost after the downfall of the shah's regime in Iran. The Soviet Union favors the earliest peaceful settlement of the conflict and is against any interference in it by other countries.

It was noted that the situation in Afghanistan was beginning to normalize in spite of the attempts by the organizers of the intervention to continue aggravating tension. The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev said, will fully perform its duty in rendering assistance to friendly Afghanistan. At the same time, we are doing our utmost to facilitate a political settlement, to help Afghanistan uphold its status of sovereign and non-aligned state. This is quite possible on the basis of the relevant proposals made by the

government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The exchange of opinion on the situation in Southeast Asia showed the parties' concern over the continued tension in that region. India's maintenance of friendly relations with the states of Indochina, Leonid Brezhnev declared, makes a favorable impact on the situation in that region.

Both parties highly assessed the positive role of the non-aligned movement, its contribution to the struggle for peace, against imperialism, colonialism and racism. Leonid Brezhnev welcomed India's positive role in the non-aligned movement and expressed confidence that India and the other members of the movement would do their utmost to rally and consolidate it for the sake of peace and progress of the peoples.

It was noted with satisfaction that regular political contacts and mutual friendly visits by leaders of both countries had become an integral and important part of the relations between the Soviet Union and India. This helps to develop and improve Soviet-Indian cooperation for the sake of the peoples of both countries, and the consolidation of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Both parties agree that the holding of Soviet-Indian summit talks in the present complicated international situation offers favorable opportunities for an exchange of opinion on topical problems, and helps to explore avenues leading to a relaxation of tension and to the elimination of conflict situations in Asia and other regions of the world.

Pravda, December 10, 1980

On December 10, Soviet-Indian documents were signed. Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi signed a joint Soviet-Indian Declaration and an Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation.

During his stay in India, Leonid Brezhnev spoke at a Soviet-Indian friendship rally, at a dinner given in his honor by Neelam S. Reddy, President of the Republic of India, and also at a meeting with members of the Indian Parliament.

Below we publish the abridged texts of Leonid Brezhnev's speeches in India.

Leonid Brezhnev's Speech at a Dinner at the Presidential Palace

We have come here for a friendly exchange of views on the further development and deepening of our relations, on the not-so-simple situation in today's turbulent world, on the contribution by our two countries to improving international relations.

A great deal of what is good has been said and, I am sure, will yet be said about friendship and cooperation between our countries. They indeed deserve all this. I believe you have a saying that two good men become friends when they have hardly taken seven steps side by side. The road our peoples have traveled side by side is far longer. Both sides have done a good deal for the development of Soviet-Indian relations. We are pleased with our successes but, of course, we do not think that everything possible has already been done.

Speaking of the present state of relations between our two countries, I would like to note, in addition to their broad scope and diversity, their high degree of stability.

This is reflected in the steadiness of the very nature of our relations, and of the lofty principles of equality, mutual respect and trust on which they are built. It is reflected in the continuous dynamism of their evolution, and also in the important fact that our good relations have been sustained under various political circumstances.

Frankly, we have always been particularly sympathetic to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, an outstanding political and state leader in modern Asia. We also cherish a profound respect for her great father, Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the founders of independent India, the man who stood at the origins of Soviet-Indian friendship, and for his historic accomplishments.

I would like to note one more important feature of Soviet-Indian relations. A great deal of what has today become typical of our ties with countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke, many of the fair and healthy practices that are gradually but steadily being introduced into international intercourse, first emerged in Soviet-Indian relations.

Recently I happened to come across some words written in India, to the effect that the friendship between the Soviet Union and India is now an important component of the powerful solidarity front formed by the socialist and non-aligned countries, a front which opposes the aggressive forces of

imperialism and restrains their activities aimed against peace, freedom and the independence of nations.

This is particularly important today, when the international climate has become much cooler.

Influential politicians in the West have decided to whip up the arms race instead of limiting it. They have made up their minds to achieve military supremacy instead of maintaining parity. They have staked on diktat and blackmail instead of a dialogue between equals and mutually beneficial cooperation. And they have succeeded, in recent years, in aggravating the world situation.

The question now is where do things go from here. If this negative and, to put it bluntly, dangerous line continues, peace will be gravely imperilled. And if reason prevails, a constructive policy meeting the aspirations of the peoples and the interests of all nations will again make headway.

As for the Soviet Union, our approach remains one of principle: we are always prepared to discuss any issue in a spirit of realism and to take into account the legitimate rights and interests of others.

To ensure a turn from confrontation to dialogue, from the aggravation of conflicts to their settlement is, of course, no simple task, but it is an essential one. That, I would say, is the most humane task of our day. It can be solved only through joint efforts by all who want peace and are working for peace. In our view, this is what should be seen today as the main criterion for assessing the foreign policies of states.

The wisdom of state policy does not consist in brandishing arms or in attempts to impose one's will on other peoples. Such attempts were made more than once in the past, and everyone knows their outcome. Nor does it consist in attempts to secure unilateral advantage at the expense of the interests of other nations or by using direct coercion against them. The collapse of the colonial system showed what all this leads to.

In our view, it is much more sensible — although, perhaps, not always easier — to work firmly and consistently, without giving in to provocations, pressure and blackmail, to uphold peace and build the security and well-being of one's people on the basis of peaceful and equal cooperation with other nations.

Pravda, December 9, 1980

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev at an Indian-Soviet Friendship Rally

This is not my first visit to India. But each new visit adds to, and enriches my impressions of your country. And each time, I perceive anew the scope of Soviet-Indian cooperation. Indeed, today it covers practically all major spheres of the life of the peoples of our two countries — economic, scientific, technological and cultural.

Economic cooperation is becoming an increasingly important factor for our two countries. Remarkable landmarks on its path are the industrial

giants of India built with the assistance of the Soviet Union which Jawaharlal Nehru used to call "new temples" — from the first-born of our friendship, the metallurgical works in Bhilai, to the giant complex in Bokaro. And today still another powerful brother project is coming into being in the south of the country.

The projects we have jointly built, today provide the people of India with metals, machinery, electricity, coal and oil. They do a good service to their

master, the Indian people, and this evokes the Soviet people's sincere joy.

It is gratifying to hear that Soviet geologists are fruitfully working in this country and that a good start has been made in cooperation in the food, pulp and paper, light, medical and other industries. I have also been told that in Calcutta good progress is being made in the construction, with our participation, of the first underground railway in India. I can say that, as Moscow's experience shows, that is the most comfortable and necessary type of transportation for such a big city.

Our cooperation in agriculture, too, is gathering momentum, trade is growing, and exchanges in science and technology useful for both sides are expanding.

When the world's first cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin, visited India soon after his flight, he said that he would be glad to fly in outer space together with an Indian cosmonaut. And now our countries are preparing for Gagarin's dream to come true. The day will come when cosmonauts from India and the USSR will make a joint flight, and the peoples of the two countries will enthusiastically hail them.

We regard as very important field of our relations, assistance in strengthening India's defense capability. Here, too, things seem to be going quite well. We conceal from no one that we wish to see friendly peace-loving India strong and capable of successfully defending its independence and promoting the cause of peace in Asia.

Now to turn to our cooperation in the field of culture. How infinite are the benefits that this cooperation can give to each of the peoples of the two great world cultures which have given birth to giants of thought and people of genius in arts and science. Therefore, we can but rejoice sincerely at the fact that with each passing year, our ties in the fields of culture, education, personnel training and tourism are expanding.

All this brings our peoples closer together, promotes their mutual understanding and helps to enrich their lives. Let us confidently move forward along this path.

Dear friends, the edifice of Soviet-Indian cooperation rests on a solid foundation, the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. For nearly a decade now it has been serving our peoples well. As green branches keep growing out of the trunk of a mighty tree, so, too, do new agreements on ties, exchanges and interaction keep growing out of this treaty. It

also helps us to cooperate in the struggle for a lasting peace and equitable relations among peoples.

There is no doubt that the development and further deepening of Soviet-Indian relations, including the present summit-level meeting, are not directed against any third country.

It can be said with certainty that in developing relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and India today, we are doing a good thing — and not only for the present generation of our peoples but also for the coming generations and for mankind's peaceful future.

To develop friendship with India is for us, Soviet people, a behest left by the founder of our state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Over 60 years ago he predicted that the time would come when the peoples of the East, and of India in particular, would gain independence, "... rise as independent participants, as creators of a new life" and would take part "in deciding the destinies of the whole world."

Lenin urged us to extend "the hand of friendship and brotherhood to all the peoples of the East" — and we are invariably faithful to this Leninist behest.

It is a matter of profound satisfaction that the thoughts of such outstanding leaders of the Indian people's struggle for national emancipation and the construction of an independent India as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and of those who are continuing their cause today are consonant with the ideas of the great Lenin.

Dear friends, our talks with the leaders of your country, with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi began yesterday (December 8). We informed them of the intensive creative working life of the Soviet people, of our achievements, unresolved problems and plans for the future, of our struggle for the cause of a lasting peace on Earth.

We listened with interest to the leaders of India. We rejoice at your achievements, we share your concern over the difficulties which have not yet been overcome. It is clear to us that the great work to transform the country initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru is going on. And we wholeheartedly wish you success in building a new India, we wish happiness and prosperity to the Indian people.

Our discussions have confirmed yet again that the USSR and India are united in their peaceful aspirations. Our common intention is to do everything to ensure that the fruits of the peoples' labor never be destroyed, that mankind never know the tragedy of a world nuclear holocaust.

New Age, December 14, 1980

Leonid Brezhnev's Address to Members of the Indian Parliament

Good relations between the USSR and India, the coincidence or closeness of their positions on cardinal present-day problems, their dedication to the cause of independence of peoples, the cause of peace and equitable cooperation of states, the struggle for disarmament and the prevention of a new world war are especially important in the conditions of the present exacerbation of the international situation.

It is no secret that this exacerbation has been caused by the actions of the NATO military bloc in recent years. This is a result of attempts to upset the balance of forces that has taken shape in the world and to impose their will on the peoples from positions of military superiority.

To that end military budgets are being inflated on an unprecedented scale, an arms build-up is continuing, the existing military bases are being expanded

and new ones are being set up all over the world.

It is clear that on such a basis it is impossible to settle conflict situations, to make headway in resolving the problems of arms limitations, to eradicate the vestiges of colonialism and to restructure the world economic order on an equitable basis.

Difficulties have also been accumulated in bilateral relations between states. In particular, quite a few of them have accumulated over the recent years in relations between the USSR and the United States. We stand for the removal of these difficulties, but we believe there is a point in an Indian adage which says that you cannot clap with one hand alone.

Distinguished members of Parliament,

In addressing this legislative body of a major state in Asia, I cannot but share with you some of my thoughts about the situation on this continent. Its role in world events is broad: after all, this is where half of mankind lives. We are convinced that relations of peace and good-neighborliness in Asia should be built through the common contribution of the largest possible number of Asian states, and better still, of all of them.

But the situation in Asia today is, unfortunately, disquieting.

An explosive situation persists in the Middle East where attempts are continuing to impose defeatist deals on Arab nations and to resign them to the flouting of their fundamental national interests.

Tensions are still running high in Southeast Asia where imperialist forces and their accomplices are pursuing a policy of setting the states of that region at loggerheads, and going out of their way to prevent the establishment of relations of good-neighborliness between them.

The conflict between Iraq and Iran, tragic in its senselessness, is still going on. This is a graphic example of how dangerous it is for countries which are not yet strong enough, to find themselves between the grindstones of imperialist policies.

Who stands to profit from this war? Certainly neither Iraq nor Iran. What they will get are merely a devastated economy and great loss in human lives. It is clear though, already at this stage, that someone has benefited from this war. Before the eyes of the whole world, outside military penetration into the Near and Middle East is increasing. To the delight of the enemies of the Arab peoples the unity of the Arab world is being undermined. Plans are also afoot to weaken the anti-imperialist character of the policies pursued by both Iran and Iraq. And for all this the two neighboring peoples are paying with their blood.

That is why the USSR is resolutely in favor of a peaceful settlement of that conflict. We condemn any attempt to encourage the prolonging of the conflict and to add fuel, by any means whatsoever, to the flames of war. India's position, as we understand it, is similar to ours.

Opponents of normalizing the international climate and initiators of the arms race are frequently referring now, in justification of their activities, to the situation in Afghanistan. But in doing so, if one

thinks this over, they are assuming a very peculiar position.

They are making a noise for all the world to hear about a "Soviet threat" either to Pakistan or to the countries of the Persian Gulf, or god knows to whomever else, though they know very well that there is not a trace of such a threat.

They are vociferously calling for the cessation of Soviet military assistance to Afghanistan but in reality they are doing everything to impede this. They are trying to maintain tension and prevent a normalization of the situation. They are continuing to send armed gangs into Afghanistan and its neighbors, especially Pakistan.

In a word, the positions of these gentlemen, to put it mildly, is noted for its insincerity.

But deception will not take one very far. Life in Afghanistan is gradually moving and will continue to move more and more into a normal peaceful track, the fog of misinformation will gradually clear away. And then, one should assume, it will become clear to Afghanistan's southern neighbors that the only realistic way is good-neighborly agreement with the Afghan government. As a result, prerequisites will emerge for the full political normalization of the situation, including withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

May I assure you, esteemed members of Parliament, that the Soviet Union favors exactly such a development of events and we fully support the reasonable proposals of the government of Afghanistan on this score.

The Persian Gulf area and the Indian Ocean are becoming an increasingly dangerous seat of international tension. Under the trumped-up pretext of protecting their vital interests, powers situated at a distance of many thousands of kilometers from this area have concentrated a military armada here and are vigorously building up armaments, widening the network of their military bases, exerting pressure on and threatening the small countries which refuse to trail in their wake.

Attempts are made to justify such actions by talking about a "Soviet threat" to the oil riches of this area. Of course, this is pure invention and its authors know this only too well. The USSR has no intention of encroaching upon either the Middle East oil or its transportation route.

Naturally, we are not indifferent to what is happening in a region so close to our borders. We want a normal, calm situation to be established here. In contrast to the imperialist doctrine of aggression and diktat with regard to the Persian Gulf countries we propose a doctrine of peace and security.

These are not mere words. This is our actual policy. We propose to the United States, to other Western powers, to China, to Japan, to all states that display interest, that agreement be reached on the following mutual obligations:

- not to set up foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf area and on the adjacent islands; not to deploy nuclear or any other weapons of mass destruction there;

- not to use or threaten to use force against the

countries of the Persian Gulf area and not to interfere in their internal affairs;

— to respect the status of non-alignment chosen by the states of the Persian Gulf area; not to draw them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers;

— to respect the sovereign right of the states of that area to their natural resources;

— not to raise any obstacles or pose threats to normal trade exchanges and to the use of sea lanes linking the states of that area with other countries of the world.

We believe that such agreement, to which the states of that area themselves would naturally be equal parties, would correspond to their vital interests. Indeed, it would serve as a reliable guarantee of their sovereign rights and security.

Let me express the hope that this proposal will meet with understanding and support on the part of peace-loving India.

The Soviet Union is a firm supporter of the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. We are ready to work actively in this direction together with other states concerned. We believe that the Indian Ocean has been, and remains, the sphere of vital interests of its littoral states and no others.

We are ready to welcome as well any other initiatives that would lead to lessening tension and would be motivated by concern for strengthening peace in Asia or on any other continent.

Dear friends,

The Soviet Union has great respect for the foreign policy of India which is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. We highly value your country's contribution to the struggle of peoples for peace and détente against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, against all forms of oppression and inequality.

Since the very first days of its independent existence, India has been playing an important role in the world arena. What has been the contribution of this immense country with its own ancient cultural

heritage to international relations? I would say that, first of all, it is a current of peaceability and considered realism, readiness to develop good relations with other states and promote a healthier international climate.

History will not forget that it was Jawaharlal Nehru, that outstanding son of the Indian people, who founded this policy of India. We in the Soviet Union remember very well how much was done by that truly great man, sincere friend of our country, for the development of Soviet-Indian relations.

India's contribution to strengthening peace and stability in Asia is especially significant. The peoples pay tribute to India's constructive steps and peaceful initiatives for the settlement of the conflicts on the Asian continent.

Let us take, for instance, India's relations with the countries of Indochina. They have always been good with Vietnam and Laos. Good relations have now been established between you and Kampuchea, as well. All this undoubtedly is conducive to the development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation in Southeast Asia. We are confident that further developments will confirm the far-sightedness of this course. Recognition of reality has always been an important element of a wise foreign policy.

Dear friends,

The task of eliminating the threat of war should leave no one indifferent. And it is surely parliamentarians, elected representatives of the people, who should be in the forefront! I am confident that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Parliament of the Republic of India will make their weighty contribution to this sacred cause.

May the voices of our peoples ring out against the threat of war and for fruitful cooperation between states in the solution of burning issues of our time!

May the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India grow stronger and deeper!

New Age, December 14, 1980

Leonid Brezhnev Meets with the Leadership of the Communist Party of India

New Delhi, December 9. TASS. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met here with the leadership of the Communist Party of India. Taking part in the meeting were R. Rao, General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, and N.K. Krishnan, B. Gupta, R. Reddy, I. Gupta, G. Nair and I. Sinha, members of the Central Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

Present at the meeting from the Soviet side were A.A. Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister; I.V. Arkhipov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L.M. Zamyatin, Member of

the CPSU Central Committee and Head of Department of the CPSU Central Committee; A.M. Alexandrov, Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Assistant to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.P. Firiyubin, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister; Y.M. Vorontsov, USSR Ambassador to India; M.E. Mogilevets, Deputy Head of the Managing Department of the CPSU Central Committee; E.M. Samoteikin, Referent of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and P.V. Kutsobin, Head of Sector of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Leonid Brezhnev warmly and cordially greeted Rajeswara Rao and other leaders of the Communist Party of India, conveyed to them ardent, fraternal greetings from the CPSU Central Committee and all

Soviet communists. The Soviet communists, the entire Soviet people greatly respect the Communist Party of India, its consistent struggle for social and economic progress, for the interests of the working people of India, Leonid Brezhnev said. The USSR highly appreciates the CPI's great contribution to developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and India.

Leonid Brezhnev spoke about the Soviet communists' preparations for the 26th congress of their party, about the course of the nationwide discussion in the Soviet Union of the plans for the country's economic and social development over the next decade, and informed the Indian comrades of the topical issues in the CPSU's internal and international activity.

In speaking with the Indian friends, Leonid Brezhnev expressed satisfaction with the progress of the talks with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian statesmen. These talks have shown that the USSR and India have similar or close stands on most of the topical international issues. Further strengthening of friendly relations between the USSR and India and development of broad, good-neighbor cooperation between them are of special importance in the present complicated situation,

when all peace forces should rally together in order to reduce the threat to universal peace and improve the international situation.

The leaders of the Communist Party of India expressed confidence that Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India would further strengthen the friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India. Your visit, Rajeswara Rao said, is ardently approved of by the Indian people, who see in the Soviet Union a reliable friend and good neighbor. The Indian communists welcome the peace-loving course of the CPSU, your, comrade Brezhnev, personal contribution to the development of international cooperation, to the implementation of the Soviet peace program, to the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of communism.

Leonid Brezhnev and Rajeswara Rao spoke highly about the traditional relations of fraternity and international solidarity between the CPSU and the Communist Party of India. They pointed out the full mutual understanding between the parties on all questions of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and the peoples' security, for democracy and social progress.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere. *Pravda*, December 10, 1980

Resolution of the CPSU

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on the results of the visit by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to India.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, having reviewed the results of the official friendship visit by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Republic of India, from December 8 to 11, 1980, wholly and entirely endorse comrade L.I. Brezhnev's performance toward the development and consolidation of the relationship of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India, and record their profound satisfaction with the results achieved during his negotiations with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and other Indian leaders.

The visit, taking place as it did in a context of sincerity and mutual understanding, became an important historic landmark in the furtherance of friendship between the Soviet Union and India, based on the solid foundation of the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The visit added more substance to the traditional friendly relations between the USSR and India and made a sizable contribution toward strengthening peace and security in Asia and the world.

As Leonid Brezhnev rightfully pointed out at a

meeting in Delhi, "in developing relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and India today, we are doing a good thing — and not only for the present generation of our peoples, but also for the coming generations and for mankind's peaceful future."

The documents signed in the course of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India, above all, the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration, have opened up further vistas for the development of Soviet-Indian relations for the benefit of the people of both nations. The ideas and principles of the Declaration have been welcomed in the Soviet Union, India and other countries.

Soviet-Indian relations are a clear example of practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social and economic systems. These relations are being promoted in the interests of the people of both countries on terms of equality and mutual respect, strict observance of sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and are not directed against any third country.

It was pointed out during the talks that substantial progress has been made in the area of economic, commercial, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, which is developing according to plan and a long-term program, and making a material contribution toward resolving the economic problems the two countries have before them. The agreements concluded during the visit will stimulate still closer economic cooperation between them.

Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India has provided fresh abundant confirmation of the Leninist foreign

policy of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the East and of support for their efforts in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for national independence and freedom.

The Soviet Union and India have expressed their firm conviction that strengthening peace and averting another world war are the overriding task before humanity. Noting that a complicated world situation has arisen through the fault of imperialist circles along with new seats of tension, they came out for the preservation and deepening of international détente and for making this an irreversible and universal process.

Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi reaffirmed that on major international issues the Soviet Union and India adhere to an identical or similar stand. They declared the need for rebuffing the attempts by the enemies of peace to undermine the process of détente, impose on the peoples a new round of the arms race, change the world military balance in their favor and multiply the seats of military conflicts.

During the talks the sides expressed their firm belief that the task of primary importance is to terminate the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and voiced their determination to do everything in their power to achieve these aims. They confirmed the primary significance of the practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence everywhere, proceeding from the assumption that unresolved problems in Asia and the world as a whole can and must be settled exclusively by peaceful means.

Leonid Brezhnev analyzed in his speeches in India the specific features of the current situation in the world, and explained the Soviet position on the key problems of international life. The new important proposals put forward by him regarding the ways of ensuring peace and security in the Persian

Gulf area on the basis of agreements between the countries of this region, the Soviet Union, the USA, the other Western nations, China, Japan and all the states which will display interest in this have been met with interest and approval by the peoples of many countries. These proposals of the Soviet Union point to a reasonable, just and workable way of ensuring durable peace in one of the most explosive regions of our planet.

Regular political contacts and mutual friendly visits by leaders of the two countries have become an integral and important part of relations between the Soviet Union and India. Of particular significance are Soviet-Indian meetings and contacts at the summit level which give the opportunity to sum up the results and set new goals for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and India and deepen their mutual understanding and cooperation.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, highly assessing the results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India, consider that the meetings held in New Delhi are an important contribution to the struggle for the safeguarding of universal peace.

The leading party and government bodies of the USSR express sincere gratitude to the government and the people of India for the warm and cordial welcome accorded comrade Brezhnev in India.

The Soviet people, who unanimously support the Leninist foreign policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government, have received with deep approval the results of the negotiations in New Delhi. The achievements and successes of this policy inspire the Soviet people to new accomplishments in the construction of communism.

Pravda, December 13, 1980

The USSR's Sincere Peace Policy

Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the National Council, CP India, said that President Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India had been most successful and had become another landmark in the close and friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union against the background of a resumed cold war and the attempts by U.S. and other imperialists in collusion with the Chinese leadership to create hotbeds of tensions that jeopardize universal peace. Leonid Brezhnev's visit helped to strengthen and expand mutual cooperation in various fields between the two countries. The joint declaration, the agreement signed by President Leonid Brezhnev and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and other documents will considerably strengthen Indian-Soviet ties in international relations, the economy, science, technology and culture.

Comrade Brezhnev's exposition of the Soviet Union's peaceful goals, proposals and actions, Rajeswara Rao said, was open, principled and convincing. His speeches also showed a cordial and friendly attitude to India. He spoke with approval of

India's efforts in the international arena to defend universal peace and support the peoples fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. His speech in the Session Hall of the Indian Parliament before the members of the two chambers was truly historic, with repeated bursts of applause from the Indian parliamentarians. In that speech, Rajeswara Rao said, he convincingly exposed the hypocritical allegations about a so-called Soviet threat, showing the true purposes of the warmongers who want an escalation of the arms race and stir up military conflicts, and once again spelled out the Soviet Union's concrete proposals on nuclear arms control and an end to the arms race.

President Brezhnev spoke openly about the Afghan problem, which the reactionary press throughout the world has magnified out of all proportion. He made it perfectly clear that as soon as the U.S.-Chinese and Pakistani axis stops its intervention which is being effected with the help of armed bands, and a corresponding political arrangement with the government of Babrak Karmal is reached, the Soviet

troops brought into Afghanistan on the request of the Afghan government will be withdrawn from the country.

As for the unfortunate war between Iraq and Iran, Rajeswara Rao said, comrade Brezhnev made practical proposals to the United States, the other Western powers, China and all other states interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict and the establishment of peace in the Persian Gulf region. In effect, it is a great honor to our country, Rajeswara Rao said, that comrade Brezhnev chose the Indian Parliament, the country's highest forum, to set forth these peace proposals. This proved beyond any doubt that the powerful Soviet Union is sincere in its peace policy.

In her speech at the reception in honor of President Brezhnev, Mrs. Indira Gandhi reaffirmed India's peaceful policy and spoke warmly of comrade Brezhnev as an outstanding leader of a great country, a statesman of world stature and India's true friend. She also said that his visit would give a fresh impulse to the traditional friendship between the Soviet Union and India and would contribute to the cause of peace.

Speaking of India's progressive foreign policy, President Sanjiva Reddy also spoke highly of the Soviet Union, noting its valuable assistance to India in the course of the country's industrialization. He thanked the Soviet Union for that assistance, and said that the more than 70 new projects being built in different parts of India symbolized the organic viability of Indian-Soviet cooperation.

The Indian-Soviet declaration, Rajeswara Rao said, is the most important political document signed by President Brezhnev and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. It not only emphasizes the importance of the historic Indian-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1971, but also says that the Treaty is a living embodiment of a high level of the dynamically developing multifaceted relations and traditional friendship between the two peoples, representing a major factor of peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

The declaration says that the major task facing

mankind is to strengthen peace and prevent a new world war, and that the two parties will continue doing their utmost for the attainment of this noble goal.

The joint declaration also mentioned the problem of the Indian Ocean, which is of exceptional importance for India and other countries in this region, where the USA and other imperialists have concentrated large naval forces, which pose a threat to the countries of the region.

The declaration says that the UN decision to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace should be implemented through the convocation of a conference on this issue, that all foreign military and naval bases, like the one on Diego Garcia, should be dismantled, and that a ban should be put on any attempts to set up new bases in the Indian Ocean or to build up the foreign military presence, regardless of the pretexts. A point to note in this context, Rajeswara Rao said, is that the theory of rivalry between the superpowers has been exploded. It is not the Soviet Union, but the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who obstruct the efforts to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

The joint declaration also touches on various other international problems, like the formation of a new economic order, the energy problem, and use of the resources of the world ocean and the results of space research in the interests of the whole of mankind.

The other documents, relating to economic and technical cooperation, exchanges in culture, science and education, and cooperation in cinematography, will also give a new impulse to India's all-round development.

Every Indian patriot welcomes comrade Brezhnev's successful visit to India, which has had such wonderful results. All patriotic parties and mass organizations must now work to ensure that these agreements are fully implemented for the mutual benefit of both countries and for the sake of stronger universal peace.

TASS, December 14, 1980

Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba

From December 17 to 20, 1980, the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba was held in Havana. Below are the texts of the report delivered by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP Cuba, and of a speech by Konstantin Chernenko, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CPSU Central Committee.

Report by Fidel Castro

We are living in extraordinary and difficult times. No nation today is isolated from the rest of the world. No nation is living, nor can it live, in a glass house. The action of one state, however small, can affect other countries as well. The presence at this congress of worthy representatives of more than 140

revolutionary, progressive and democratic parties and organizations of the whole world is an indication of the importance of every event and every new step.

The strength of so small a nation as Cuba does not lie in its military or economic potential. It is strength

of a moral order. Cuba was the last country to get rid of Spanish colonialism, but the first one in the western hemisphere to get rid of U.S. imperialist domination. Cuba was the first in the western hemisphere to take the new road, the road toward new and higher forms of economic and social life. She is the first to take the road of socialist construction on the continent. Everything is new in our life. We have traveled a hard road. We have had to challenge the strongest imperialist power which lies only 90 miles away from our shores, and to fight against reactionary ideas which have been disseminated for hundreds or even thousands of years, against the savage hatred of the exploiter classes, against isolation, hostility, threats, slander, against the frenzied campaign of those who have monopolized a substantial share of the world's mass media. To follow the course we have chosen, we had to have no fear of aggression, nor even of a threat of total annihilation.

Not all of what we have done has been wise, not all of our decisions have been right, as in any revolutionary process. But we have held out. Almost 22 years have already gone by since January 1, 1959. We have never retreated or made any concession to imperialism, nor have we given up any of our ideas or revolutionary principles. It is such qualities as honesty, consistency, steadfastness and self-sacrifice that mark the political stand of our revolution. Our people have never known fear or indecision. We have never hesitated to admit our own mistakes and miscalculations, something that often takes more courage than a readiness to sacrifice one's life.

Since the time of the Paris Commune to our day, true communists have always been heroic. Their self-sacrifice, solidarity, fidelity, selflessness and readiness to give their life for the just cause are unparalleled in history. No political idea in the course of mankind's development has ever had such staunch and selfless advocates. The best and purest human qualities manifested themselves in the battle to put an end to the age-old exploitation of man by man. The communists can be compared only with the early Christians at the time of the Roman Empire. But there was nothing mystic about the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and their selfless followers have never sought recompense in another world for their sufferings. It is here, on this Earth, that the people's lot has to be changed, and that is why the communists have never hesitated to sacrifice their life for the happiness of other people without demanding anything in return.

One cannot help being indignant when those who are totally indifferent to or even support the exploitation of man by man or the glaring inequality between people are sometimes called revolutionaries. The bourgeoisie sometimes describes patent reactionaries as revolutionaries. There is no denying that those who are fighting for independence in a colonial or neo-colonial country, or fighting for freedom in the conditions of tyranny are true revolutionaries. But in the world today it is the communist who epitomizes the revolutionary spirit, for only the communist embodies the idea of independence, free-

dom, true justice and equality among people. Moreover, he embodies the idea of internationalism, that is, brotherhood, solidarity and cooperation among all peoples and nations in the world. And when the ideas of independence, freedom, equality, justice and brotherhood among people and nations merge into a single whole, these ideas are invincible.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The five-year period from 1976 to 1980 has been marked by outstanding successes in the organization of Cuba's national economy, in the effort to create the necessary conditions for more effective use of our production resources, and also by considerable progress in economic development and in meeting our people's requirements to an ever fuller extent. At the same time, over this period we faced numerous objective difficulties, both internal and external, which have prevented us from attaining all our targets. Nevertheless, we have been able to achieve a fairly satisfactory growth rate in the economy, especially considering the complicated situation in the world and the conditions in which the less developed non-oil-exporting countries have had to solve their problems. Over these five years, the aggregate social product has been growing at an average rate of 4 per cent a year (in constant prices).

A point to note is that we have not only achieved such a growth rate, but have also markedly improved the efficiency of our work in various important fields. Labor productivity has been growing at 3.4 per cent a year.

In the past five-year period, industrialization has had priority in economic development. Over these years, the various branches of our economy have been further integrated, and the country's infrastructure has continued to expand.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In the past five-year period, we have continued to develop our international cooperation. Within the CMEA framework, special emphasis has been laid on programs aimed to expand Cuba's production of sugar, citrus fruits, nickel, equipment for the sugar industry and computers, and also on programs for geological prospecting and for the development of science and technology. Cuba has joined the CMEA's banking system and is taking part in a number of multilateral programs being implemented in other CMEA countries. Mixed bilateral commissions have been systematically working to fulfil inter-governmental agreements for capital investments and other forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

PERSPECTIVES UP TO THE YEAR 2000

The main goal of the country's economic and social development is to complete the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism through socialist industrialization and a steady increase in the efficiency of social production, gradual development of a rational production structure that would ensure relatively high and stable growth rates, and the development of internal and international economic specialization, cooperation and

integration, and also to satisfy the people's material and spiritual requirements to an ever greater extent and to ensure their all-round education. As we follow this line, we should gradually raise our economic development level to that of CMEA's European countries.

Our foreign-economic activity should become a factor conducive to development. In this context, there is need to promote the export of traditional goods and step up the export of non-traditional higher-value products. Exports should grow faster than imports.

These goals should be attained on the basis of broad international cooperation, whose main line is to be the deepening of our economic, scientific and technical integration with the CMEA countries, the Soviet Union above all, and also active involvement in the specialization and cooperation of production and deeper economic relations with the less developed countries, primarily those of Latin America and the Caribbean, with a view to the positive tendency for these countries to regain national control over their national resources. This opens up opportunities for Cuba's participation in trade and economic associations that could be set up in our region.

We are soon to complete the drafting of the long-term plans for the period up to the year 2000. In the course of this work, we are to elaborate with the participation of other socialist countries a master-plan for economic and social development, which will make it possible to choose the optimal variant of long-term development, to adopt concrete programs and measures ensuring its implementation, and map out the main line of our country's involvement in the international socialist division of labor.

THE PARTY

Our Communist Party — the best of what the revolution has produced, and the assurance of its further development — has arrived at this congress with great achievements. We can now declare with well-justified pride that the party has become even stronger, better organized and more experienced, that the cultural level of its members has risen, and that it enjoys the ever more profound and abiding respect and love of the working masses.

At our first congress, special attention was devoted to the party's social make-up from the standpoint of the nature of the labor activity of its members and candidate members, and also the need to increase party membership by drawing in working people from the major fields of the country's economic and social life. It was also noted that more women had to be drawn into the party in accordance with concrete possibilities and local conditions.

The implementation of these tasks in the course of the past five-year period entailed a marked increase in party membership. Thus, on December 31, 1975, there were 211,642 party members and candidate members, and by July 1980, the figure had doubled to 434,143. Concern for the party's qualitative make-up has been the main principle in the work of its governing organs and primary organizations. As

party membership has increased, the number of primary organizations has gone up from 20,344 in December 1975 to more than 26,500 at present. A positive fact to note here is that in the past three years alone, primary organizations have been set up at 3,195 newly-built or other projects where there were no such organizations in the past.

Over the five years, the party's social make-up has markedly improved. In December 1975, working people employed in production and the services made up 36.3 per cent of the party's total membership, whereas today the figure is 47.3 per cent. We have ensured that working people from these sectors have become the party's main core, as it was envisaged in a resolution on inner-party life adopted at the first congress.

We regard it as a most positive fact that 35.5 per cent of all those who joined the party in the past five years came from the Young Communist League; this shows that even with the broad influx of working people to the party, the YCL remains one of the chief sources of new party members.

The party is resolved to go on fighting against unconscientious attitudes to work, against any weaknesses and shortcomings, invariably to make exacting demands on party members and candidate members, and educate them in a spirit of discipline, so that they would set an example for the whole of society. On January 1, 1976, the party rules approved by the first congress came into force. Over these years, our leading cadres, members and candidate members have come to realize that the rules are the basic law of inner-party life; a close study of the rules and a persevering effort to implement them have become a daily task of all Cuban communists. A high awareness has been formed that a scrupulous observance in practice of the principles of democratic centralism is an essential condition of ideological and political cohesion, of the party's unity of action.

Party members, primary organizations and governing party organs at every level are working to introduce and strengthen the system of economic administration and planning, to improve the methods of economic management, and raise the quality of goods. Serious work is being done to enhance the party's role in economic management, organization and the efficiency drive. At the same time, measures are being taken to strengthen the prestige of the governing economic bodies and ensure the fulfillment of economic programs. Special attention here is being devoted to the development of the key sectors of the economy.

We note with satisfaction that the collective leadership principle has been scrupulously observed in the highest party echelons. There has been collective discussion of the widest range of questions relating to state, party and international affairs. The work of the governing party organs has been free of any manifestations of factionalism or group politics. Our party's life is based on the principles of inner democracy, democratic centralism and firm discipline.

Our uppermost concern is to strengthen the moral make-up, prestige and influence of rank-and-file

party members, who should set a revolutionary example for everyone. We are making ever greater progress in this direction with a growing awareness of the meaning of the title of communist, who should be foremost in work and be a model of self-sacrifice, dedication and revolutionary modesty. We are the vanguard not because we think so ourselves, but because that is how the people regard us. Being the vanguard of a vanguard people, a communist among a nation of communists, is a difficult but honorable and lofty task.

Our party should continue orienting itself upon its close and indissoluble bonds with the masses. Let us hold sacred our party's revolutionary purity, our unity and our ideology. This will serve the cause of socialism and communism throughout the world, as well as the interests of our homeland.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

At a definite stage of the outgoing five-year period it became clear that certain faults had emerged in our country. Some people had apparently come to think that the formation of state institutions, socialist legality, and organs of people's power, and the consistent introduction of a system of economic administration and planning would of themselves result in a miracle, and that everything would be automatically improved even without man's all-definitive activity. What makes it even worse is that there were signs of growing immoderation, carelessness, relaxation of demands, a striving for privilege and personal gain, and various other manifestations of this kind coupled with a drop in labor discipline. Our worst enemy could not have done us more damage. Could that mean the beginning of a decline of the revolution in our country, situated so close to the imperialist enemy? Is this bound to happen to any revolution wielding power? On no account can this happen, this must never be allowed to happen. These phenomena showed that the standards of exactingness should never be lowered in the course of a revolution. An open discussion of the problems has been held, measures have been adopted, and steps have been taken to overcome these harmful tendencies. But that is not enough; one must constantly be on the alert, display the utmost vigilance and adopt a highly demanding attitude to any manifestation of the petty bourgeois mentality, pursuit of personal gain, slackening of revolutionary discipline, or the least facts of corruption, however insignificant these might seem. That which took place should serve us as a warning and an example. The support given by the whole people to the struggle for exactingness, against any careless attitudes and pursuit of personal gain shows that the revolution's moral principles have taken deep root among the people and that, far from waning, our revolutionary process is constantly growing stronger. As someone put it, constant vigilance is the price of freedom. It is also the price of revolution.

Imperialism has not ceased its attempts to undermine our national self-consciousness, constantly putting it to the test. With this aim in view, it resorts to an ostentatious display of its wealth, largely

amassed through the plunder and exploitation of the less developed countries; it constantly seeks to bribe our citizens and incite them to defect or commit treason.

The relentless ideological struggle between imperialism and the Cuban revolution has been going on and is bound to continue for a long time to come, not only in the field of revolutionary and political ideas, but also in what concerns our people's national and patriotic feelings. The imperialists do not want to reconcile themselves to the existence of a revolutionary and socialist Cuba, a Cuba which has once and for all thrown off the U.S. yoke, which has stood its ground and matured in the struggle against the U.S. colossus, and where patriotic feelings have never been so powerful, profound and lasting as they are today.

The principles of internationalism are fully and consistently reflected in our work of revolutionary education. We have sought to spread the truth about the Cuban revolution across the world, to tell of our successes, shortcomings and difficulties, and also of the achievements of socialism in every field of economic and social activity. Our people have made impressive progress in raising the level of their political consciousness, and receive sufficient information on major international issues.

We shall continue our work to educate the whole people on the basis of the scientific theory of nature and society, to eradicate preconceptions and, at the same time, to promote the emergence of new traditions and customs that would help to strengthen the relations of brotherhood and solidarity in our socialist society.

Ideology is above all consciousness, which means revolutionary struggle, dignity, principles and moral standards. At the same time, ideology is an instrument in the struggle against any vice, weaknesses, privileges or immorality. For every revolutionary, ideological struggle today is the forward line of the revolutionary struggle.

Communists should be staunch fighters, convinced that their cause is absolutely right, industrious, hard-working, exacting, deep-thinking and infinitely loyal to their people. Bureaucratic methods and the petty-bourgeois spirit are totally alien to their principles. Close and indissoluble ties, chiefly based on the power of example and on the confidence that a revolutionary lives and dies for the people, should exist between the leading cadres, the party's rank-and-file members and the people.

High-handed attitudes, demagoguery, complacency, vanity, and irresponsibility are inconceivable in a communist. A sense of comradeship and humanity must be basic traits of his character. And, above all, he must understand his international duty, which does not rule out a most profound sense of patriotism together with an awareness that the homeland comes before the individual, and humanity before the homeland.

A communist party in power can make grave errors of principle or shut its eyes to these mistakes, but these mistakes are always very costly for the revolutionary process. History confirms this. There

have even been instances of treason, which inflicted deep wounds on the world revolutionary movement.

Is the process of socialist development in this or that country reversible or not? It is absolutely irreversible, if its principles are observed. Our people have proved this. Even when we were in the very jaws of U.S. imperialism, we were not intimidated by its might or dazzled by its wealth, we did not accept its ideology and did not flinch in face of its moves.

Have we not made any mistakes? Yes, we have. Can we claim that we have always been consistent in the strict observance of all the principles, that we are model communists, pure and infallible, even if these mistakes have been unintentional and were due to inability or lack of knowledge? No, we have never claimed anything of the kind, but the Cuban revolutionaries' irreproachable honesty, loyalty to principles and fidelity to the people are beyond doubt.

Our party's close ties with the masses make it stronger, and its firm resolve to abide by principles makes it invincible.

FOREIGN POLICY

Throughout the 1976-1980 period, the party leadership has constantly centered its attention on international politics, its development, and the role played in it by our party and government. Numerous events have taken place within the past five years. Many peoples have joined the great family of revolutionary and progressive states. But the great popular victories of the past five years should not mislead us as to the substance of the international process and the existing grave threat to the cause of peace and the peoples' national liberation.

The threat to international détente posed by the most reactionary imperialist circles and noted at our first congress has become ever more evident, with the result that the unfolding complex process of détente, about which we spoke in 1975 and whose course was decisively influenced by the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy elaborated by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, was interrupted and gave way to the danger of a return to the cold war and, moreover, to a real danger of confrontation on an international scale.

The whole responsibility for this worsening of the international situation lies with the imperialist countries, the U.S. imperialist circles above all. The USA instigated and inspired the international campaign over the Soviet Union's alleged military superiority, with the sole aim of justifying the latest steps taken by Washington and its allies along the road of the arms drive. Making the utmost of the situation that has taken shape as a result of the pernicious policy followed by the Chinese government, whose leaders have betrayed the cause of socialism and internationalism, U.S. imperialism is working to knock together an anti-Soviet bloc comprising China, Japan and the United States.

In 1978, the United States proposed that the NATO countries should increase their arms budgets, and then pressed them into accepting that

proposal just as the UN General Assembly was holding its special session on disarmament not far from Washington, where that proposal was adopted.

The United States secured the consent of its European NATO allies to the deployment in Europe in the near future of 572 medium-range missiles targeted on the Soviet Union. This is an extremely serious, risky and dangerous move.

At the same time, it has decided to set up a powerful invasion force — the so-called rapid deployment force — which poses a threat to all the peoples of the world, especially to countries with a revolutionary and progressive system or fighting for liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Such a policy determines the USA's stand in the Middle East, where it opposes the restoration of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and the Arab peoples' aspirations to regain their territories occupied by Israel. Since 1977, when the United States turned down the idea of holding all-round negotiations on the Arab-Israeli question, it has done its utmost to impose the Camp David agreements and obstruct the solution of the Palestinian question.

Similarly, U.S. imperialism, refusing to reconcile itself to the democratic and social transformations being carried out by the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in their struggle for independence, reacted to the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary uprising in El Salvador by attempts to re-establish its domination in Central America and the Caribbean, brazenly declaring these to be a zone of U.S. "special interests."

The presence in Cuba of a limited contingent of Soviet military personnel since the October crisis of 1962, a fact of which all the successive U.S. administrations were perfectly well informed, was used by the U.S. ruling circles as a pretext for demagogic and ill-intentioned statements on the sixth conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, and also for setting up in Florida a headquarters and contingent of special forces that would ensure rapid U.S. intervention in any Latin American country. The decision to increase military appropriations by \$42 billion and build nuclear missile complexes worth \$33 billion was another result of that broad campaign.

The growing military expansion in every part of the world, and the policy of threats followed by the present U.S. administration were aggravated by the decision to postpone the ratification of SALT II. All that happened before the events in Afghanistan.

The gross provocations, subversive moves and attempts by imperialism and reaction to stop the revolutionary process in that country, and also the split and the serious mistakes made by the Afghan revolutionaries themselves complicated the situation to such an extent that Soviet assistance became a necessary condition for saving the April Revolution of 1978 and defending its gains. Using that as a pretext, the United States sought to justify its bellicose foreign-policy line, which it has followed for several years now, and to adopt new aggressive measures against the Soviet Union.

At present, Afghanistan's new revolutionary leadership is apparently strengthening its positions, and we hope that the situation in that country will be normalized with the strict observance of the principles of full sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, peace and good relations between all states of the region. Cuba has been working for an improvement of Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan and Iran, which are also members of the non-aligned movement, something that could help to achieve these goals.

It is indisputable that imperialism is again trying to reverse the course of history, to play an even more aggressive role as world gendarme, and slow down the process of social and political change in the world.

The creation of an explosive atmosphere around Poland further compounds this tense and dangerous international situation. The events in Poland are partly the result of the imperialists' subversive policy directed against the socialist countries, and directed to meet its long-term plans for infiltrating, destabilizing and eliminating socialism in the countries of Eastern Europe, and also aimed to undermine and isolate the Soviet Union and, if possible, to eliminate socialism in the world.

Poland has become the target of malicious imperialist provocations against the socialist community countries. The offensive by the reactionary forces in that country shows very well that a ruling revolutionary party must not depart from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, underestimate the role of ideological work, or lose touch with the masses. When mistakes have to be rectified, this must not be done by way of concessions to the class enemy in the country or abroad. We firmly hope that the Polish United Workers' Party will be able to change the situation in the country on its own. There is no doubt that the socialist countries will do everything to maintain the unity and the very existence of the socialist community and rebuff the imperialists' aggressive actions. At the same time, there is no doubt that the Polish communists themselves have the sacred duty to triumph through their own efforts in the struggle against the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements. Under the present international situation, this is the best they can do for their country and also for the common cause of socialism, the world movement of the revolutionary and progressive forces, the cause of détente and peace. We are convinced that in spite of the mistakes that have been made, the true sons of the Polish people and their communist vanguard will overcome their initial setbacks and will cope with this task, constantly enhancing their combat spirit, receiving support from the healthy forces in their country, and using the vast moral, patriotic and revolutionary potentialities of their working class.

In the present situation, the elections held in the USA on November 4 hold a special place. The USA's declining prestige and the loss of its leading role in international affairs, skillfully used by the political opponents of the Carter administration, the American people's disenchantment and growing

scepticism, and also such factors as the holding of U.S. hostages in Iran and the failure of the attempts to rescue them — all this led to the defeat of the present administration at the presidential elections.

But it would be a mistake to ignore the true significance of the recent elections in the United States. Reagan's victory is a victory for the rightists. This is confirmed, in particular, by the defeat of the most liberal candidates in the elections to the Senate.

These events and their impact on the international situation bear out the conclusion we formulated at our first congress, where we declared that détente, which the peoples of the world want so much and which is the main guarantee of mankind's future, is being constantly jeopardized by the most reactionary imperialist circles, which refuse to accept it. Nevertheless, détente can be saved even in the present international situation, complicated and fraught with danger as it is. The possibility of détente still exists, primarily owing to the firm and consistent peace policy followed by the Soviet Union together with the socialist countries and with the support of all the progressive forces in the world.

An important element which no one can discount is that the Soviet Union can repulse any aggression against it. A nuclear attack against the Soviet Union would lead to the destruction of those who launched it. Even the most aggressive imperialist circles bear this in mind in their calculations. Even the USA's allies will not follow the U.S. obediently along the road that would mean their destruction in the very first hours of a world war.

But it would be unreasonable to discount or underestimate the aggressive potential of imperialism. It has a dangerous military arsenal, nuclear stockpiles above all, and constantly seeks to increase its arsenal with more sophisticated weapons. It has also been expanding and modernizing its network of military bases in different parts of the world and along the perimeter of the Soviet Union. The United States is trying hard to eliminate the contradictions within NATO, restore the system of military blocs in the southeast, center and southwest of Asia, and also to strengthen the aggressive anti-socialist treaty signed in Rio de Janeiro.

The Chinese government is an ally of the United States in its imperialist policy. China's leaders support NATO's aggressive policy in every way and urge it to build up and sophisticate armaments; they encourage the United States and help to turn Japan into a bridgehead for an attack on the Soviet Union, openly continue their preparations for nuclear warfare, equip their missiles with nuclear warheads, declare the Soviet Union to be their deadly enemy, try to spread their influence to Southeast Asia, threaten their ASEAN neighbor-countries, and carry on a military aggression against Vietnam, obliging the Vietnamese people to suspend the country's revival and the peaceful building of socialism, and wage a heroic struggle to defend the homeland. In Africa and Latin America, their policy dovetails with the interests of the most reactionary forces, and they stoop to friendship with the most reactionary and corrupt regimes.

So, one should be prepared for the gravest complications in the international situation.

Reagan's victory in the elections will at once have a serious effect on the political situation in Latin America. In elaborating its policy on the crucial questions of war and peace, the United States will also have to take into account such real factors of the international situation as the indisputable might of the socialist countries and the cautious attitude of its own partners. Nevertheless, on the Latin American continent, U.S. imperialist circles feel freer to carry out their reactionary designs. Hence the obvious threat to Latin America posed by Reagan's election.

Reagan's policy with respect to Latin America is all the more dangerous since it reflects the strivings and intentions of a sizable section of U.S. finance capital, the transnational corporations, the Pentagon's aggressive circles and the CIA. To the people of the United States, however, it is presented as a necessary policy meeting the interests of the USA's national security, allegedly jeopardized by the "subversive activity" of Latin American countries, Cuba above all, and also by some sinister Soviet intervention being secretly perpetrated in the area.

At the same time, events show that imperialism finds it hard to throw its weight about in its former Latin American backyard. Apart from the outstanding victories scored by the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada and the resolute struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, some other extremely important factors have to be taken into account in analyzing the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean. First of all, one must note the militant spirit of the popular masses, which has reached an unprecedented level. The fact that revolutionary national liberation movements essentially social in tenor are spreading ever wider across the continent, and that the level of popular action in different countries has been rising, shows the deepening crisis of the system of imperialist and oligarchic rule in this part of the world, and also the growing maturity of the working-class, peasant, youth, women's and other movements, each of which is headed by a large and well-tested vanguard. The glorious struggle of the Central American and Caribbean peoples mentioned above is the most vivid and heroic manifestation of the process.

We are constantly strengthening our friendship and comradely relations with our CMEA partners, primarily with the Soviet Union, which has always displayed fraternal solidarity with our country, and

also with the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian Peoples Republic, the Polish People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Romania. We also maintain close friendship and cooperation with the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Fraternal friendship underlies the relations between revolutionary Cuba and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We have strong links with the Laotian People's Democratic Republic. We have resumed our close relations with Kampuchea since its liberation from the brutal regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. We maintain mutual relations of friendship and comradeship with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which is working for the country's reunification.

We denounce China's foreign policy, and consequently there are no political relations between us. But we maintain normal relations along state lines, mostly in the field of trade.

The congress must reaffirm its resolve to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with those who respect our country. Distinctions in ideology or social system must not stand in the way of such relations. We must keep trying to persuade Latin American opinion that the unity of Latin American and Caribbean countries is one of our constant tasks, and that we see it as the best way to achieve the historic goals of our continent and to strengthen democracy in each of our countries and their independence.

Cuba is aware that it is a necessity rooted in world history for normal relations to be established among all countries of the world, based on mutual respect, recognition of each country's sovereign rights, and non-interference. Cuba believes that normalization of its relations with the United States would help to improve the political climate in Latin America and the Caribbean, and promote the process of détente in the world. That is why Cuba does not refuse to resolve the historic disputes with the United States, but no one should attempt to make Cuba change its stand or give up its principles. Cuba is and will always remain a socialist country. Cuba is and will always remain a friend of the Soviet Union and all the socialist states. Cuba takes and will continue to take an internationalist stand.

Principles are not negotiable.

Granma, December 18, 19, 20, 1980

Speech by Konstantin Chernenko

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,
Esteemed delegates to the congress,
Dear comrades,
Friends,

Speaking on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet communists, our delegation warmly and wholeheartedly greets the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and wishes it every success in its work.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said in his instructions to the delegation: "Tell the Cuban communists that I am with them in my mind and heart. You will visit a beautiful country and a heroic people, and see in action an outstanding revolutionary, ardent internationalist and great friend of our country, Fidel Castro, with whom I have long had a sincere and good relationship."

"I am convinced," Leonid Brezhnev went on to say, "that the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba is a major event for the Cuban people and for all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. The Cuban revolutionaries fought courageously for a truly free Cuba and asserted the independence of their homeland. In the complicated conditions of our day, they are building a socialist society, and are doing this successfully. The Soviet people have always been and will continue to be together with their Cuban friends in this historic endeavor." This is what Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev asked us to tell you, and I am glad to fulfill his request.

Comrades,

As we listened to the Central Committee's profound and vivid report delivered by comrade Fidel Castro, we, like everyone else in this hall, felt a profound sense of pride for the Cuban communists, for the Cuban people.

The five years that have passed since the first congress of the Communist Party of Cuba have not been easy. This makes your successes all the more tangible and impressive.

Cuba was the first country in Latin America to emancipate labor. Everything that is produced at Cuba's factories and grown on its plantations, all the national wealth of Cuba, is now the property of the people. This is a great accomplishment.

Cuba was the first Latin American country to give the working people a decisive say in all the affairs of the state and society. This has been written into Cuba's constitution, a profoundly democratic constitution. This, too, is a great gain of the revolution.

Cuba was the first country in Latin America to stamp out illiteracy. It threw the doors of its schools and universities open to the children of workers and peasants. Universal education has become a norm. Today there is every reason to say that the Cuban people have obtained broad access to knowledge and the achievements of science and culture. This, comrades, is another great gain of the people.

Cuba was the first country in Latin America to put modern medicine at the service of health care for the working people. It has put sport within the reach of every Cuban citizen. This is yet another great gain of the revolution.

We know — and comrade Fidel Castro realistically spoke about this in his report — that the Cuban people still have to face considerable difficulties in economic development. It is a fact, however, that the Cuban economy is growing and gaining in strength. Once crippled in consequence of the lopsided development pattern imposed on it by imperialism, it has now become diversified and dynamic. This is the basis for augmenting the labor achievements of the Cuban people so as to tackle confidently the tasks of raising the living standards of the working masses, which is one of the major objectives of socialism.

This constitutes the great potential of revolutionary transformations in Cuba, and that is why Cuba's example — your example, dear comrades — is so powerfully attractive and so noticeable in the

treasury of world revolutionary experience.

True revolutionaries prove by action the truth and viability of their ideas. You did this by storming the Moncada barracks, repelling the Playa Giron aggression by the hirelings of imperialism, and successfully carrying out radical socialist transformations. The experiences of free and independent Cuba inspires the oppressed and the exploited in many countries of the world, above all, of course, in Latin America.

The greatness of the Cuban revolution and its leaders consists in the fact that they succeeded in charting the correct road for Cuba's development. This road is illumined by the light of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and is marked by the boundless loyalty to the people, the valor and heroism of those men and women who rallied round the banner of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The Communist Party of Cuba arrived at its second congress as the recognized vanguard of the working class and all the working people. It enjoys a high prestige among the masses and has firm links with the people, whose trust it has won thanks to the dedicated efforts of the communists.

It is, of course, very good that any complacency is alien to the Cuban communists. Their ability to appraise the road they have traveled in a well-balanced and critical manner testifies to the political maturity, spiritual health and strength of the party. Such a party is capable of tackling and accomplishing ever new tasks coming to the fore, and the working masses follow it with trust and conviction.

We Soviet communists and all Soviet people are glad that firm ties of friendship, comradeship and fraternity exist between the homeland of Lenin and that of José Martí. Our varied cooperation has reached immense proportions.

Take the economic field. Over the past five years, Soviet-Cuban trade has already reached the impressive figure of 19 billion roubles; during the next five years it will nearly double.

Trade partnership with Cuba is highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. There is a steady demand for Cuban products in our country. We are trying to create the most favorable opportunities for mutually beneficial trade with Cuba.

Our economic cooperation has begun to acquire new dimensions. Cooperation and specialization of production are being vigorously implemented both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This is a sure way to raise efficiency, and it meets the national interests of Cuba, the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union virtually meets Cuba's needs in oil and oil products and supplies it with machinery, equipment and consumer goods. Together with Cuban builders, Soviet specialists will take part in constructing Cuba's first atomic power station, with a capacity of 880,000 kw. A new large nickel and cobalt concentrate plant with a capacity of 30,000 tons a year will be put into operation at Punta Gorda; it will make it possible to nearly double the output of this valuable product.

Kind words have been said here about the Soviet people working in Cuba. We are very glad that Soviet specialists, engineers, technicians, workers and scientists are contributing to the great achievements of the Cuban people.

Soviet-Cuban contacts in the intellectual and cultural fields are extensive and varied. Cuba's colorful and spirited art is well known and appreciated in our country, and Soviet ensembles, theatrical companies, performers, painters and filmmakers frequently visit Cuba.

The recent flight of a Soviet-Cuban space crew has become a fine symbol of our cooperation, of our friendship. The work done in outer space by Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez and Uri Romanenko together with other Soviet cosmonauts is both a contribution to scientific and technological progress and a splendid demonstration of the pooled potentialities of the socialist countries.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Cuba maintain very close and truly comradely relations. We are like-minded people. Fidel Castro has said that the Cuban communists, the Cuban people, take the affairs of the Soviet people close to heart. In the same way the Soviet communists, the Soviet people, show profound and sincere interest in all the affairs of their Cuban brothers.

As Leonid Brezhnev aptly put it during his memorable visit to Cuba, "Cuba lies thousands of kilometers away from its friends in the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. But the nature of socialist internationalism is such that revolutionary Cuba has never been and will never be alone. Cuba is an active and respected participant in the busy life of the large family of states which are linked by bonds of brotherhood, comradeship and selfless mutual support."

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba are in constant touch with each other as far as international affairs are concerned. We share a common approach to all key issues of world politics.

We firmly and consistently work for a lasting peace in the world and respect for the right of all nations to free and independent development. The road to this lies through the policy of détente and peaceful cooperation between all states, through practical steps to disarmament, through the elimination of hotbeds of conflict, and the negotiated solution of outstanding problems.

International security has many opponents. These are, above all, the forces of imperialism. They have accomplices — dictatorial regimes, military juntas, Peking hegemonists.

It is no simple task to strengthen peace. It requires a great deal of energy and persistence to normalize the world political climate. The socialist countries are prepared to cooperate with the broadest political and social forces, with all countries which advocate normal and good-neighborly relations. But it goes without saying that only equality and equal security can be the basis of such cooperation.

This has been borne out with fresh force at the

recent meeting of party leaders and statesmen of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Moscow.

The Soviet Union shows full understanding for the just demands of the movement of non-aligned states which were voiced so firmly in Havana when it hosted the sixth conference of that movement. Our support for the non-aligned movement as a positive factor of world politics was confirmed with all authority during Leonid Brezhnev's recent visit to India.

Comrades, we live in a rapidly changing world. No previous epoch has known such large-scale and dynamic changes. We see social change literally knocking at the doors of the most hardened tyrannical regimes. Here, in Latin America, this is convincingly evidenced by the fall of the dictatorships in Nicaragua and Grenada, by the popular action in El Salvador, and the growing desire of all peoples of the continent for independence and freedom.

The United States would like to offset these changes with a rapid deployment force, with constant power pressure on countries pursuing policies not to the USA's liking. This is a dangerous line. And no task is more important today than to counter it with the united might of all the peace forces.

We are all aware that today's world is a turbulent world. Bourgeois ideological centers allege that the complications in international life are due to the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries' interfering in the internal affairs of other peoples, due to their engaging in something like "export of revolution." That, of course, is a thumping lie.

Indeed, do the Cuban teachers who teach children to read and write in Nicaragua seek concessions for Cuba or lay their hands on the resources of that country? Did the brave sons of Cuba give military support to independent Ethiopia and Angola at the request of their governments in order to deprive them of freedom or interfere in their affairs? No, a thousand times no!

That is a real internationalist policy, a policy of peace and comradely solidarity.

Neither you, nor we, nor any other socialist country export revolution. Revolutions emerge and win out in each given country by virtue of its internal conditions and are not brought in from outside. But the export of counter-revolution, intervention from outside in the affairs of the socialist countries are also impermissible. This the imperialists must know!

We communists believe in the power of reason and good will. Peace agrees with the vital aspirations of the whole of mankind, and the future can and must belong only to a policy of peace.

The Soviet initiative on the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf area proves this very well. An agreement among the states concerned, based on the concrete and constructive proposal put forward recently by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech before members of the Indian Parliament, could remove the dangerous tension from one of the hot spots of the planet.

Dear comrades,

The communists, the working people of our country, are now making active preparations for the 26th

Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are going to adopt new large-scale plans. The Soviet people are at present discussing the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1981 to 1985 and for the Period up to 1990." I will be brief: firmly following the Leninist road, the Soviet people headed by their tested vanguard — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — are consistently tackling the tasks of building communism.

And the development of ties with Cuba and other fraternal socialist countries is for us Soviet com-

munists an organic part of our present and our future. We conceive our advance toward new summits only as a joint movement of the socialist countries toward a peaceful and happy future.

In conclusion, dear comrades, I should like to wish your heroic republic further success and prosperity, to wish happiness to all the citizens of free and socialist Cuba.

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba!

May Soviet-Cuban friendship grow stronger!

Long live peace and communism!

Pravda, December 20, 1980

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria

For Democracy, Peace and Socialism

The 24th congress of the Communist Party of Austria was held on December 6-8, 1980, in Vienna and was attended by about 400 delegates and guests. The report of the CPA Central Committee "For Joint Action Against the Danger from the Right, for Democracy, Peace and Socialism" was presented by Franz Muhri, CPA Chairman. Below is part of the report analyzing the present international situation.

World development since the 23rd congress has been marked by more intense struggle between the forces of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and monopoly capital, on the other.

This confrontation has been growing in the economic, political and ideological areas around the disarmament issue. It has taken the form of struggle and competition between the capitalist and socialist world systems, and — in capitalist countries — the struggle of the working class and other working people against monopoly capital. It is manifested in the struggle waged by the anti-imperialist national liberation movement against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for equality, economic independence and a non-capitalist, socialist way of development.

No country can isolate itself from the impact of this international confrontation.

This many-sided confrontation between the forces of progress and the forces of regress is not a simple straight-forward process. It has seen successes and temporary setbacks, delusions and mistakes. But, on the whole, it can be stated that the general results of this confrontation throughout the world are positive.

AGGRAVATION OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

The capitalist world is in the grip of economic, political and moral crisis. Economic crises, punctuated by only brief and feeble symptoms of growth, have become a constant phenomenon. Chronic mass unemployment has hit over 20 million people in industrialized capitalist countries alone. About 40 per cent of this number are young people. In developing countries, which also are part of the

world capitalist system, hundreds of millions of people are deprived of a basic human right — the right to work. Among other typical phenomena now are the aggravation of currency problems, inflation and the environment crisis. The oil companies' drive for profit is the true cause of the international energy crisis. The growing exploitation of working people is accompanied by sharpened competition and power struggle between the monopolies of various countries, between the three main centers of imperialism — the USA, the Common Market, and Japan, and between monopolies in each country.

The talk about the so-called "free world" is disproved by the fact that in most of the capitalist countries even nominal parliamentary democracy is not ensured, and openly authoritarian, brutal fascist regimes and military dictatorships are in command. U.S. imperialism, looking upon Latin America as its "backyard," is the main backer of the dictatorial regimes in Chile, El Salvador, Uruguay and Bolivia, as well as in South Korea, Pakistan, South Africa, Turkey and in many other countries.

THE GAP BETWEEN INDUSTRIALIZED CAPITALIST STATES AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS WIDENING

Imperialism and the profit drive of the multinationals have resulted in a rapidly widening gap between industrialized capitalist states and developing countries where hundreds of millions of people die of hunger annually. What the social democrats timidly call "a conflict between the North and the South" is, in actual fact, one of the basic evils of the capitalist world system, one of the glaring manifestations of its inhumanity.

HEAVY SETBACKS OF IMPERIALISM

Over the past few years, imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, has suffered a series of new heavy setbacks. This is one reason for its growing aggressiveness and its offensive against détente. This can be seen from a number of measures taken by the USA and NATO to step up the arms race, measures taken before the Soviet Union rendered its aid to the national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan.

The U.S. President-elect has declared that the United States intends to build up its armaments still further to achieve military superiority. For the USA, West German imperialism and militarism are, on the one hand, a rival and, on the other, its strongest ally in Western Europe.

In this connection we see as a positive fact, that in the latest elections to the FRG Bundestag the chief nominee of the reactionary forces, Franz Josef Strauss, who is closely linked with the Austrian People's Party, suffered defeat. At the same time, the facts show that the Schmidt government headed by social democrats, acts in many respects as an attorney of West German monopoly capital and imperialism. Without the support of the Schmidt government, the NATO decisions on the further arms build-up would have never been made. Thus, numerous facts confirm once again that imperialism and monopoly capital present the gravest threat to the cause of freedom and peace among nations.

DEVELOPMENT IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

While contradictions become more aggravated and the crisis is growing in the capitalist world, the development of the countries of existing socialism is of an entirely different character. The share of socialist countries in the world industrial output has gone up from 21 per cent in 1950 to 40 per cent at present.

The advantages of the socialist planned economy are seen not only in the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, or in the achieved stable social situation and guaranteed right to work, but also in the ultimate aim of production, which is not to ensure profits for a minority, but the well-being of all people.

In the socialist countries, all people have the opportunity to receive an education and develop their abilities; the social conditions for genuine equality of women and men have been created there. For the first time in history, relations between states and peoples are based on principles of equality and solidarity.

The building and development of a society free of exploitation is a complicated task, especially when imperialism is still strong enough to use the arms race in order to compel socialism to spend a considerable part of its social product on strengthening its defenses, on preventing imperialism from gaining military superiority. Socialist countries spend billions on assistance to national liberation movements. Since socialist countries have ties with the world capitalist market, they are forced to deal with problems caused by the growing crisis of capitalism.

Now and again they have to find — in keeping with their development levels — new and more effective forms of planning, of utilizing production reserves, and improving supplies to the population. All this requires a broader involvement of the masses in the administration processes and a qualitatively higher level of ideological work and culture, and also the solution of, perhaps the most demanding problem — molding a new man. Of decisive significance here is a correct policy of the communist party as the leading force, its unity and close ties with the masses.

The recent events in Poland have shown once again that socialism does not automatically ensure anyone against making mistakes in the economy, against bureaucratic distortions and violations of democracy.

Assessing the events in Poland, we proceed from the fact that the causes of the difficulties in supply and other negative phenomena should be sought not in socialism, as anti-communist propaganda asserts, but in a number of objective factors, and above all in the subjective mistakes of the party and government. We are in solidarity with the efforts of Polish comrades who are seeking a positive political way out of the situation through rectifying the mistakes and ensuring the further all-round advance of socialist society, through a more vigorous and consistent struggle against the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces striving to block such a positive way out. We believe that in this way Polish communists and working people will be able to resolve their difficulties and problems on their own.

Therefore we are strongly opposed to the stance of those political forces and mass media in Austria that want an aggravation of the situation in Poland, for whom the strikes and demands for higher wages in Poland are not enough, although in Austria they assume quite the opposite position on these matters.

A positive way out of the situation is in the interests of the Polish people who, owing to the socialist revolution and alliance in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and cooperation within CMEA, have not only scored considerable economic, social, democratic and cultural successes, but have for the first time in the history of Poland reliably secured their independent national existence. A positive solution in Poland is also in the interests of peace and détente in Europe. It also meets the interests of Austria.

In our opinion, the present situation places on us, on the world communist movement and specifically the fraternal parties in socialist countries, new and higher demands in ideological work, and we should be equal to these demands. This is all the more important for a country like Austria, situated on the border between the world systems of capitalism and socialism.

The existence of the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism is a great advantage not only for the peoples of these countries but also for the working people the world over, including the Austrian people. These countries are the main international bastion for the working-class and national liberation movements.

WITHOUT THE SOVIET UNION THERE WOULD BE NO INDEPENDENT NEUTRAL AUSTRIA

This year we celebrated the 35th anniversary of our country's liberation and the founding of the Second Republic, and also the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Austrian State Treaty and the decision on permanent neutrality.

Without the selfless struggle of the Soviet peoples against Hitlerite barbarity, without the growing might and international prestige of the Soviet Union, and without the emergence of the socialist world system after the Second World War there would be no independent and neutral Austria today. This is a historical truth.

Dynamic economic development in socialist countries enabled them to expand economic ties with Austria, without which our country would be hit by mass unemployment. The Soviet Union threatens no one, it is the most powerful international factor of universal peace. It is largely due to its peace policy that the peoples of Europe have lived in peace over the past three decades and that a third world war has been averted. Therefore our solidarity, our support for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are an essential part of our internationalist convictions, meeting at the same time the national interests of our own people.

FRESH SUCCESSES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

One of the major features of the international situation is that the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has scored new victories and successes. As a result of the victory of the national-democratic revolutions, U.S. imperialism has lost its positions in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and other countries.

The courage and determination of the Iranian people during the overthrow of the shah's regime deserve admiration. But the events show: a new progressive society cannot be built nor can acute urgent problems be resolved so long as religious fanaticism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism prevail. And no matter how understandable the anti-American sentiments in Iran may be, the seizure of hostages actually played into the hands of the enemies of the Iranian revolution.

THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

The situation in the Middle East has grown still more complex and contradictory. U.S. imperialism is using the government of Iraq against Iran. It is doing this in order to set the peoples of that region against each other. We come out for an early political solution of the conflict between Iraq and Iran, a conflict which benefits only the reactionary forces of Israel and the Arab countries, and imperialism. The CPA advocates a political settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the territories it seized, a secure existence of all

countries and peoples in the region, and founding a Palestinian state.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS MOUNTING

Another substantial characteristic of our time is the mounting class struggle of workers and all working people in most of the industrialized capitalist states against intensified exploitation and for employment, in defense and for the extension of social and democratic gains, for the restriction of monopoly power.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

In keeping with the internationalist positions of our party, we reaffirm at this congress our solidarity with the international working-class and liberation movements. We also confirm our solidarity with the people of Chile and with all the other peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa waging a struggle against fascist regimes and military dictatorships, neo-colonialism, for freedom and democracy, for national liberation and social emancipation, for a new and just world economic order, thus making an important contribution to the cause of peace.

At our 24th congress we reaffirm the solidarity and internationalist ties of Austrian communists with the communist parties throughout the world. Being a party that determines its policy independently, and proceeding from the interests of the Austrian working class and all working people of our country, we take pride, at the same time, in being a part of the world communist movement — the largest and most influential force of our time. We come out for stronger unity and broader cooperation between communist parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, equality, and non-interference in internal affairs. Each party charts its policy independently. Therefore there should not and cannot be any claims to leadership, or any leading center in the world communist movement. We favor extension of bilateral regional contacts and relations, convening a world meeting of communist and workers' parties, which, if adequately prepared, should be held when the overwhelming majority of the parties so wish.

Guided by these principles, we resolutely denounce the anti-Soviet and anti-communist position of the Chinese leadership. The Chinese leaders are going over more and more to unprincipled political, economic and military cooperation with imperialism, with reactionary forces and fascist dictatorships. In this way China is becoming an accomplice of the enemies of détente. At the same time we support the Soviet Union's efforts to improve relations with the People's Republic of China. As before, we think it possible that China will resume the course leading toward a new unity. This would spell one of the greatest defeats for imperialism and world reaction.

Volksstimme, December 7, 1980

There Are Immense Forces Which Can Tie Down The Warmongers

From the Political Report to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia

The 13th congress of the CP Colombia was held in Bogota from November 7 to 11, 1980. It was attended by more than 600 delegates and guests from the fraternal parties.

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CP Colombia, delivered a report.

The congress adopted a political resolution, approving the tactics of the Communist Party and noting the need to fight for democracy. The declaration says that it is only by uniting that the Colombian people can avert an offensive by militarism and fascism.

The Communist Party invited all the democratic and opposition forces in the country to nominate a common candidate for the 1982 presidential elections.

Below is the abridged text of that section of Gilberto Vieira's report which deals with international problems and questions of party construction.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The international situation has become complicated and dangerous. The 1970s were marked by significant advances in political détente between the socialist and capitalist countries, primarily as a result of the efforts made by the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries to strengthen peace and ensure peaceful coexistence. Some major steps were taken at that stage, such as the convocation of the Helsinki Conference, the conclusion of various treaties aimed at improving the international atmosphere, the holding of summit talks, and the expansion of trade, cultural and sports cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries.

But the spirit of détente in international relations could not spread as tangibly to the military sphere: as before, imperialism continued its arms drive, notably in nuclear weapons, and sited new military bases around the socialist camp.

Over the recent period, the policy of imperialism, which has not changed its substance, has become even more belligerent and aggressive. The Carter administration in alliance with the most aggressive circles of other developed capitalist countries is trying to stifle détente and create a new situation that would be extremely dangerous for peace. Seeking to upset the balance of forces in Europe, NATO has adopted under U.S. pressure, a decision to deploy in a number of European states, medium-range nuclear missiles targeted at the socialist countries. The arms budgets of the NATO countries have steadily increased, although military expenditure throughout the world has already reached \$500 billion. The Pentagon has set up a so-called 'rapid deployment force', with something like 600,000 men who are prepared to fight in any combat area.

On the pretext of the Soviet Union's assistance to the people and government of Afghanistan, which is constantly under threat of imperialist intervention,

President Carter launched an aggressive slander campaign against the Soviet Union.

Aggravating the situation still further, the U.S. Senate postponed the ratification of SALT-II, and President Carter put an embargo on the sale of wheat to the USSR and announced a ridiculous boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games.

In response to the changes that occurred in Iran, the USA set up new naval and air bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Yankee intrigues against the Iranian government culminated in an abortive military provocation aimed to free the U.S. hostages, and also in an attempt to stage a military coup in Iran.

International tension has further increased as a result of the Iran-Iraq conflict, when an older border dispute led to a clash between two countries which are members of the non-aligned movement and OPEC. This conflict can only play into the hands of the imperialists, who make no secret of their urge to interfere in the Middle East, together with Israel, the main center of Yankee provocations in the region.

So, in accordance with the interests of the military-industrial complex, which directs Carter's activity, the U.S. government is getting involved in a dangerous policy directed against détente, a policy of confrontation with the USSR and the socialist camp.

Here is how Leonid Brezhnev described the international climate in a speech in Alma Ata: "A political struggle is going on in the world between the forces that stand for peace, respect for the peoples' rights and détente, and the forces of oppression, militarism and aggression."

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO SYSTEMS

This struggle is the result of a myopic policy which takes no account of the realities of the modern

world, where the balance of forces is changing in favor of socialism and the liberation of peoples.

The socialist system has been developing and strengthening continuously and at a steady pace, without unemployment or economic crises, whereas capitalism, having emerged from the crisis of 1974-1975, is on the brink of a new crisis, which is expected to be as profound and devastating as that of five years ago.

Owing to military orders, the profits of U.S. corporations have rapidly increased, and the exploitation of the workers has intensified.

Whereas in the policy of capitalist countries there is a tendency toward reaction and fascism, socialism has continued to develop democracy. Under capitalism, human rights are only nominal, for the very substance of the exploitive regime deprives the working people of the most elementary rights to work, education, health care, and freedoms. Under socialism, these rights are not only recognized, but the working people themselves are the main protagonists of social and historical development.

That is why President Carter's feverish attempts to re-establish "U.S. leadership" in a dramatically changing world are quite senseless. Such attempts meet with ever greater resistance on the part of public opinion in the USA, as well as in Europe and Japan, which refuses to see itself plunged into a nuclear massacre, whose fatal consequences it would be unable to avoid.

THE "CHINESE CARD" OF IMPERIALISM

Peking's ruling group plays an ever greater role in the bellicose plans of imperialism. The Chinese government is entering into an alliance with the most aggressive circles in the USA and Europe, and stirring up strife between these countries and the USSR, while the imperialists seek to play the "Chinese card" in the struggle against socialism, as at the time of the events in Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Vietnam. Apart from making brazen territorial claims on the USSR, Mongolia and India, China supports the Pol Pot clique, which has continued its provocations against Kampuchea from across the border and occupies that country's seat at the United Nations. China has broken off its relations with Albania, its unconditional ally in Europe for many years. The Chinese army staged an unparalleled provocation by invading Vietnamese territory.

The Chinese government has become the most rabid advocate of war. Deng Xiaoping said recently that a war was inevitable. The Chinese leaders are begging NATO for arms and credits to modernize their own armaments. They have knocked together an anti-socialist military alliance with Japan and the Pentagon. The Washington-Peking-Tokyo axis is being formed as the pivotal hotbed of war.

The struggle within the party and the government is going on, causing chronic instability in the country. The socialist basis of Chinese society is being maintained, but has come under threat in view of the growing tendency to introduce capitalism from outside. We believe that the Chinese people will ulti-

mately revive their socialist state and their Communist Party for the benefit of socialism and peace.

THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, and this gives the international situation its principal content. No plottings or threats can stop mankind's advance to socialism.

From this it follows that the general advance of the revolutionary process is the main tendency of social development. The liberation movement in Africa has scored new successes in Angola and other former Portuguese colonies; in Ethiopia, where a new socialist-oriented state is taking shape; in Zimbabwe, which has thrown off the yoke of British colonialism. In Asia, the unification of Vietnam has been completed, and the tendency for the reunification of Korea is gathering momentum; Laos and Kampuchea have won their independence and are moving toward a people's democracy. On the American continent, new independent states have been formed: in Surinam and Grenada.

The working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries of Europe has continued its struggle against capital and for broad democracy.

The movement of non-aligned countries recently held a conference in Havana, whose participants elaborated proposals on cooperation, the free development of nations and states, and ways to strengthen independence and the right to self-determination. OPEC is upholding its interests in the struggle against the transnational monopolies. Countries that produce coffee, bananas, sugar, etc., are pooling their efforts to defend just and stable prices on the world market. The developing countries are holding various conferences to discuss projects for a new international economic order, which should lead to equitable trade and just relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries.

Naturally, socialist society is still not free of contradictions, which sometimes lead to conflicts caused by shortcomings in administration, bureaucracy, mistakes by the party or the state, and also subjectivist tendencies in the economy. This is what happened in Poland, where there have been strikes, protests and social tension. In answer to this, the party has been taking steps to correct the mistakes, modify outdated methods, and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist principles of leadership.

WAR CAN BE AVOIDED

In spite of the growing international tension, one should not draw the conclusion that the process is irreversible and will culminate in a third world war. There are immense forces which, by uniting in struggle, can tie the hands of the warmongers.

It is necessary to explain to the masses the causes and dangers of a nuclear war, and the need to fight for peace and social progress. It is also necessary to show the role of the USSR and other socialist countries as the chief bastion of peace, and also the importance of the non-aligned movement. Over these years, the Soviet Union has put forward

numerous concrete proposals on disarmament, the main aspect of struggle against the military danger. In May 1980, the Warsaw Treaty member-states proposed a set of measures for the solution of this problem and called for the convocation of a conference of all heads of states to discuss the problem of peace. The Soviet delegation at the UN General Assembly recently circulated a memorandum entitled "For Peace and Disarmament, for Guarantees of International Security," which contains concrete proposals, notably for the limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons, for cuts in troops and arms budgets, for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, prevention of surprise attacks, and renunciation of the use of force in international relations. Moreover, the Soviet Union unilaterally withdrew from the territory of the German Democratic Republic 20,000 troops, 1,000 tanks, and other armaments, demonstrating in practice its interest in international détente.

But the Soviet Union will not allow anyone to prepare a war against socialism with impunity, and will not stand idly by while the warmongers perform their maneuvers.

FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA

In analyzing the changes taking place in the contradictory situation in Latin America, I would like to accentuate some important questions.

It is necessary to note the strengthening tendency toward the unity of popular movements, which are being joined even by democratic circles of the bourgeoisie, as in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Uruguay, Chile and other countries.

Intermediate political sections and the intelligentsia have come to play a more important role, and their progressive wing is taking an ever more active patriotic and revolutionary stand. This is reflected in the growing involvement of the Catholic clergy in the people's struggle. Many priests and even bishops are joining in this struggle, moving away from the higher church hierarchy which is in collusion with imperialism and reaction. This is evident in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Chile, and also in our country, where the activities of many clergymen are an avowal of their democratic and revolutionary positions.

One new phenomenon is the growing participation of European social democrats in Latin American politics. An international social-democratic conference in Santo Domingo reaffirmed this tendency. Some political parties are joining the Socialist International. In face of the crisis within the Colombian Liberal Party, its traditional leaders Lopez and Echandia, are beginning to talk about incorporating that party in the social-democratic movement. Turbayist* leaders have been attending conferences held by the Socialist International. The present role of social democracy on the American continent,

especially in the Caribbean and Central American countries, is contradictory. At the present stage, we should form a common front with the social democrats and other "intermediate" sections which take a democratic stand in the struggle against fascism and militarism. At the same time, we should be aware that the social democrats are doing their utmost to squeeze out the communists and assume leadership of the class struggle. It is also necessary to expose the social democrats' hostile moves against socialist Cuba and the principles of scientific socialism.

The glorious Cuban revolution has demonstrated its strength by overcoming all the difficulties arising in its way and courageously rebuffing the intrigues of the Yankee imperialists and their henchmen from the governments of various Latin American countries. Cuba's shining example points the way to the liberation of our people and all the other peoples of the continent.

SOLIDARITY: AN INTERNATIONAL DUTY

We have strong traditions of solidarity, which we mean to go on developing in the future. We are working to organize militant solidarity with socialist Cuba, with the peoples of Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia fighting in the difficult conditions of military terrorism, with the people of El Salvador, whose struggle is a source of our constant admiration. We call for the liberation of political prisoners in Paraguay, Haiti and Guatemala, and want independence for Guadeloupe, Martinique and Puerto Rico. We voice our solidarity with the people of Palestine, who are fighting for their right to set up their own national state. At the same time, our party calls for stronger solidarity with the Colombian political prisoners who are now on trial or who have already been sentenced by the odious military tribunals implanted by militarism.

QUESTIONS OF PARTY CONSTRUCTION

The discussion held during the preparations for the present 13th congress can be compared in intensity only with the discussion held on the eve of the fifth congress. But at that time, in 1947, we were still fighting for inner-party democracy and collective leadership, which have now become characteristic features of our political organization.

The debates held before the 13th congress in the primary organizations and at regional, zonal and provincial conferences, and also those organized by the newspaper *La Tribuna* (seven issues were put out) were most intensive and useful. The party's urge to improve organization and extend its work among the masses manifested itself very clearly.

During that wide discussion, there was a free exchange of views on some urgent questions. Views differed, but most of those who took part in the discussion on the whole confirmed the correctness of the political line we have followed since the 12th congress.

*Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala — Colombia's President since 1978, a leader of the Liberal Party, which represents the big bourgeoisie and some of the big landowners. — Ed.

Active participation by the communists — the vanguard of the Colombian revolutionary process — is an indispensable condition for the success of any progressive movement in our society. Hence the importance of our organizational problems, whose solution will largely determine whether we can play the role that the CP Colombia is meant to play. The congress should make this the central issue on its agenda. The fruitful pre-congress debate has been very useful in helping us analyze and correct our mistakes. The main questions of this analysis should be examined in a proletarian, profoundly creative

and self-critical spirit in order to fulfil the slogan on the formation of a mass Communist Party, a slogan with which all of us agree and which was not called in question in the course of the recent debate.

Considering the wide diversity of views and proposals, and also the positive and negative experience, which cannot be fully discussed at this gathering, the congress should adopt a decision on the early convocation of a national conference on organizational matters to discuss this in detail and draw practical conclusions.

Voz Proletaria, November 13, 1980

Joint Declaration

The Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party

Cooperation between the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party is the basis of the Polish political system written into Poland's constitution. This cooperation has solid and valuable traditions rooted in their joint work to build up People's Poland.

The profound socio-economic transformations, a solid and incontestable gain of all Polish citizens, are a historical criterion of the important role played by the alliance, between the PUWP, the UPP and the DP.

In their concern for the future of our country, which is going through a deep economic and political crisis, the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the UPP Supreme Executive, and the Presidium of the DP Central Committee express their common urge to take resolute action to consolidate all the nation's forces, overcome the existing difficulties, and ensure consistent realization of the socialist renewal program and the country's successful development.

The PUWP, UPP and DP invariably maintain that Poland can successfully develop only in the conditions of the socialist system, putting into effect and developing the principles of socialist democracy, forming and strengthening the socialist social relations.

Polish foreign policy is based on the historically-tested alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Owing to this alliance, the Polish people's struggle against the Hitlerite occupation culminated in a historic victory, a powerful foundation for Poland's security and independence was laid, and favorable conditions were created for its peaceful development in new and advantageous territorial boundaries.

The Polish-Soviet alliance and the friendship between our two states reflect both the ideological and class unity of the socialist countries and the Polish people's vital interests.

In the name of these interests, the PUWP, UPP and DP will invariably work to strengthen the friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples, to promote their joint activity and extend mutually advantageous economic cooperation between the two states.

The PUWP, UPP and DP express their firm resolve to ensure that the Polish People's Republic is a solid link in the community of socialist states and makes its contribution to strengthening the Warsaw Treaty's defense capability and to the development of all-round economic cooperation within the CMEA.

The PUWP, UPP and DP declare that Poland will work vigorously in the international arena in a spirit of peace and détente, and will seek to curb the arms race and promote disarmament.

With these aims in view, we want to develop relations with other countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence and partnership.

We reaffirm that in the present complicated situation in our country the imperative need is to unite all the public forces and social sections for restructuring the economy, ensuring public order, and stabilizing the situation, and also to put up resolute resistance to any moves and forces hindering the normalization of our life. We should resolutely overcome the barriers and obstacles in the way of socialist renewal.

Our ideological and political gains and the line for the socialist renewal of social life charted by the sixth and seventh plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee, the 23rd plenary meeting of the UPP Supreme Executive, and the 21st plenary meeting of the DP Central Committee provide a common basis for our activity. This is a line of return to the basic values of socialism, of strengthening the principles of social justice and socialist relations among people, and also of solving social conflicts by political means. Consistent realization of this line agrees

with the vital interests of an independent and sovereign socialist Poland, and expresses our patriotic and internationalist responsibility.

We reaffirm that the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party is the basis of our system, of Poland's independence, security and peaceful development; the strengthening of this role in the course of socialist construction meets our people's most fundamental, vital interests, and serves Poland's security and sovereignty.

The PUWP plays the leading role in the country's political and social life, working together with the UPP and the DP, the two independent allied parties that are involved in strengthening the forces of socialism and democracy. The substance of our cooperation is determined by our common goals: the development of democracy and especially social self-management in accordance with the principles of socialism and the working people's aspirations.

The joint activity of the PUWP, UPP and DP in running the country, based on principles of partnership, is the main prerequisite for democratizing life, a factor in extending political responsibility.

This joint activity is the basis of the Popular Unity Front, the broadest platform for consolidating the country's reasonable and responsible forces, the working people in the name of socialist Poland and defense of its vital interests.

The PUWP, UPP and DP will go on working in this spirit in the Sejm, the people's councils, the organs of local self-administration in town and countryside, and public and youth organizations, influencing state administration and economic management.

The PUWP, UPP and DP support the renewal of the Polish trade union movement going forward both in the sectoral trade unions and in Solidarity, the new independent self-governing trade unions, and emphasized their responsible role in the country's life as a whole. Abiding by the principle of the ideological and political unity of the trade unions, we recognize that the trade union movement is self-governing with full respect for the constitutional principles of our socialist state system, Poland's international alliances and national interests. In accordance with the working people's vital interests, the trade unions should develop their cooperation, taking an active part in social labor and bearing joint responsibility for its results.

In accordance with the requirements and expectations of the peasants, we shall vigorously support the restoration and development of self-management in the countryside, the work being done to restore peasants' cooperatives to their prestige and functions, and shall also promote the fundamental restructuring of agricultural circles and sectoral associations.

The PUWP, UPP and DP have a deep concern for the problem of the younger generation, the formation of its ideological positions and an active attitude to life, its due preparation for life in socialist society.

The youth organizations within the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Young People influence broad circles of young people; they should play an effective part in Poland's socio-economic and politi-

cal development. Recognizing the special value and importance of the ideological and political unity of the youth movement, we shall support the youth organizations in their urge to enrich their own programs of action geared to the needs of various social groups, and to have a greater say in raising the young. All PUWP, UPP and DP organizations should create a favorable climate that would help the youth organizations to display initiative and, through their members working in the latter, should share the responsibility for the ideological make-up of the youth movement and the level of ideological and educational work within it.

The United Peasants' Party primarily operates in the countryside, among the peasants, in every sector of agriculture, in the organizations servicing agriculture and the food industry, and also among the intelligentsia that is directly connected with agriculture and the food industry, among rural young people and students of higher educational establishments.

The PUWP's cooperation with the United Peasants' Party is the main factor in the alliance between the workers and the peasants. The common agrarian policy of the PUWP and the UPP is an expression and result of this cooperation; its basic principles were formulated in a platform adopted by the PUWP Central Committee's Political Bureau and the UPP Supreme Executive Presidium, and put up for broad discussion.

We reaffirm that the agrarian policy is integral and is binding everywhere; that is why we shall resolutely work to ensure that everyone reckons with it. The satisfaction of our people's food requirements will depend on its consistent and creative implementation.

The Democratic Party, which operates among the intelligentsia, workers in the services and small-scale industry, and also students and young workers connected with these sections, plays a considerable role in consolidating and strengthening the unity of all the patriotic and progressive forces in society.

Taking a stand in favor of Poland's further socialist development, the Democratic Party maintains that the main line of its political activity and its crucial task is to realize socialist democracy.

Emphasizing the intelligentsia's important role in the country's life, the Democratic Party, in accordance with its traditions, will cooperate with the PUWP, helping persons working in culture, science, education, the health service and law to take an active stand in improving the socialist organizations of Polish society.

The cooperation between the Polish United Workers' Party and the Democratic Party in developing the services and small-scale industry is important for the quality of life in our society, and also for the dynamic and harmonious development of the economy.

The PUWP and DP will continue their common policy for the development of the services and small-scale industry, simultaneously promoting genuine self-management within these. The common stand taken by the PUWP Central Committee's Political Bureau and the DP Central Committee's

Presidium constitutes the basis of this development.

The major institutions where inter-party cooperation is being put into effect are the Standing Commissions for the joint activity of the PUWP, DP and UPP at a national level, in the voivodships, towns and villages. These commissions deal with political and socio-economic matters, and also with culture, education and social security.

Favoring further changes in a democratic spirit, the PUWP, UPP and DP declare their firm resolve to defend the gains of socialism and ensure Poland's further advance along the socialist road.

We call on all members of the PUWP, UPP and DP to rally together and work vigorously for a socialist renewal of life in our country. We shall take concerted action against all those who seek to divert Poland from this road, sowing confusion and sap-

ping the state's strength and prestige.

We call on all the patriotic forces, on all Polish men and women to take a mature civic stand and launch a broad effort to develop our socialist homeland.

The people's successes and the further development of socialist Poland depend on the honest everyday work of the whole of society, on the wisdom of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

May responsibility for the destiny of the people, for its future become the foundation of the unity of all patriots, of all Polish men and women.

*Political Bureau, PUWP Central Committee
Presidium, UPP Supreme Executive
Presidium, DP Central Committee
Trybuna Ludu, December 13-14, 1980*

Sow the Wind and Reap the Whirlwind

Excerpts from a Speech by Luis Corvalan

Dear comrades,

We are concluding the first of a series of conferences that we Chilean communists hold in exile, in countries where we have the largest numbers of party members.

In our country, thousands upon thousands of communists — men and women, members of the older and the younger generations — are fighting selflessly, together with other popular forces, against a tyrannical regime. Our party is in the forefront of the struggle. Its roots and influence among the masses — chiefly the working class — its unbreakable unity, spirit of sacrifice, discipline, militancy, revolutionary determination, and ability to work in complete clandestinity are among its outstanding characteristics.

The party is renewing itself as new people join it and new cadre members take up leading positions. Its local and regional committees are made up of comrades who have risen to leadership in these hard times. The Central Committee now has a larger number of young members according to Article 50 of the rules. It includes some of the ablest and most courageous new fighters who have distinguished themselves in recent years in the struggle against the tyranny. Most of its members are in Chile.

The renewal does not involve people alone. The party creatively assimilates the experience of the years of revolution and the period of counter-revolution, rectifies mistakes and removes shortcomings. There are no breaks or about-face in our policy, no changes of line. It is developing steadily and gaining in content. The party's documents — from its Manifesto of October 1973 to the pledge

given on the 10th anniversary of the victory of Popular Unity, are evidence of a policy in continuous elaboration, of a constant search for roads leading to the defeat of fascism and the resumption of the revolution.

Ours is, now as in the past, a firm and flexible proletarian, popular and national, patriotic and internationalist policy line, a line of mass struggle, working-class unity, and socialist-communist agreement, a line aimed at strengthening Popular Unity, a line of alliance with left-wing parties, of joint action with all democratic forces, of determined resistance to the tyranny.

The development of this line expresses itself in tactical modifications or in formulations complementing it in accordance with changes in the situation, with the experience gained by the masses, new sentiments, the enemy's actions and plans, the exigencies of the struggle, and the maturing of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and the people.

On September 11, 1973, a fascist dictatorship was imposed. It drowned the democratic regime in blood and set out to serve the interests of imperialism and home reaction.

Under that dictatorship, certain changes have taken place, including the following:

1. The restoration of the financial power of the oligarchy.
2. The introduction of an intricate mechanism of imperialist domination over the economy, the armed forces, the mass media, and other spheres of activity vital to the nation.
3. The formation of one mechanism of economic and social management, and the integration of the power of monopoly and the state, whose policies have been fully geared to assuring high profits for the big clans of the financial oligarchy.

Delivered on November 16, 1980, in Stockholm, at the closing session of a conference of Chilean communists living in Sweden. — Tr.

4. A decline in production in important industries supplying the home market, which has been opened to foreign competition.

5. The sale for a song of national enterprises set up by the state in several decades.

6. A partial restoration of large latifundiums and, at the same time, the development of capitalism in the countryside and the ruin of small and middle peasants.

7. The diversion of investments and efforts to purely speculative activities and a bid to commit a social minority to excessive consumption.

8. An impoverishment of the working class due to low wages, a high unemployment rate, repression, and disregard of the workers' main rights and gains.

9. The ruin of numerous members of the middle strata, and the rise of new middle strata serving big capital and adapting to the system.

10. The open conversion of the armed forces into the mainstay of the dictatorship and an instrument serving the interests of imperialism and financial clans.

11. The social services are passing into private hands as those provided by the state are dismantled.

12. A drastic reduction of cultural and scientific activity, chiefly by coercive methods.

These changes are the result of an imperialist policy shaped according to doctrines of the Pentagon and the so-called Chicago economic school. Owing to this policy in the economic sphere, financial capital, which is linked with transnational big business, has come to play a hegemonistic role and to control industry, agriculture, trade, credit, imports and exports. A large part of the profits made in these spheres is pocketed by imperialism and its partners, the financial clans, especially the Vial and Cruzat Larrain clans, which are the strongest.

Changes have also occurred in the dictatorship itself. Pinochet has become an absolute despot blinded by his ambition for power. He has left nothing of the collective form with which the dictatorship began. He has replaced the top figures of the air force which had helped him carry out the coup. The Commander-in-Chief of the navy has been reduced to a mere figurehead. The Director General of the Carabineros police force has been made an underling whose function is to assign his men the dirtiest jobs. Pinochet has been getting rid of one general after another — men who could have "tarnished" his image or held democratic views of a sort. He has granted sinecures to numerous army officers to corrupt them.

This is only one aspect of the matter. There have been other changes as well. The people, that is, the blue and white-collar workers, peasants, Indians, and semi-proletarians of marginal communities, have personally experienced the hatred and vengefulness of their class enemies, the fury of hangmen and police hounds in the service of big capital. They have seen for themselves that fascism is a brutal, terrorist dictatorship, a bloody counter-revolution, the ultimate weapon of imperialism and reaction used against democratic advances and progressive changes which the people promoted under the Al-

lende government. All this leads and is bound to lead — provided, of course, that the revolutionaries show adequate militancy — to a keener class awareness and, in the long run, a stronger resolve to fight.

Originally it was only the most enlightened population groups that really saw through the enemy's designs. But the situation has changed. The greater part of the population now knows from experience what the coup was intended to accomplish. Opposition to the regime involves the people and is nationwide. Some sections of the population influenced by reactionary propaganda tend to resign themselves and adapt to the regime. But those who see this as the paramount characteristic of the situation are wrong. Large social and political forces that were involved in the coup or sympathetic to it because they did not fully realize its objectives, have revised their attitude. What goes on among the transport workers and small traders is revealing in this respect. There are also changes in the attitude of major political forces.

The working people have shown great capacity for reconstituting and defending their branch organizations, forming some new ones and paving the way for the formation of unity bodies. They and other social sectors have brought into being a vast variety of organizations seeking convergence, united action, and mobilization in support of specific objectives and tasks.

At the same time, people's fighters have set further examples of great courage and heroism. Terror has proved powerless to break their militant spirit. The people are freeing themselves from fear, which increasingly grips their enemies.

Changes in the balance of forces and the masses' new readiness to fight stood out in the campaign against the plebiscite. It also became evident that headway had been made toward agreement on unity above all at the grass-roots level.

The democratic forces have gained some ground in the form of relative freedom, which they are defending and trying to consolidate and extend. At the same time, the dictatorship resists all liberalization and retains its hold on the means and resources enabling it to control the situation. Parties and major organizations, such as the United Working People's Center (CUT), students' federations, the Union of Educational Workers or the Federation of Health Workers, are still outlawed. The confiscation of newspapers, printing presses, radio transmitters and premises which had served the people's struggle and which are the property of the people and will undoubtedly be retrieved by them, has never been revoked. The principal mass medium, television, is used exclusively by the regime. The right of assembly and association has been greatly reduced. Pinochet continues to ignore the nationwide demand that all missing detainees be set free and that the regime furnish information on their whereabouts and fate. The dictator's answer to the general demand that all exiles be repatriated is a flat "no."

The regime has imposed numerous harsh restrictions. To ensure that they are lifted, it is necessary to

fight more, show greater unity, and make an effort exceeding all that has been tried so far.

This means mobilizing the masses in struggle for their specific and pressing demands, joining together economic, social and political objectives. It is necessary to proceed from demands that will be backed by more and more new forces, if the people as a whole are to rise to a political struggle for the overthrow of fascism.

Fascism is reactionary violence at its worst. This violence and the rule of the clans in whose interest fascism is operating must be ended. The most diverse forms of struggle can be used to bring this about. The inscription on Chile's coat of arms reads: "By reason or force." This implies that where reason does not suffice or is ignored, force must be used.

The right to revolt may be described as sacred. It is not a communist invention. It was laid down in the U.S. Declaration of Independence as far back as two centuries ago. The papal encyclical "Populorum Progressio" recognizes it in regard to tyrannical regimes.

The dictatorship's mouthpieces now declaring against violence are out-and-out cynics. Didn't *they* use it? Or have they stopped using it? Do they want the people to merely look on as the fascists use violence? This cannot happen and never will. "Sow the wind and reap the whirlwind," as the saying goes.

Every people paves its own way for freedom, which it discovers and opens through struggle. Tyrannies are transient. The end of all of them has common aspects as well as different ones. This also applies to revolutions. Batista fell in one manner and Somoza, in another; nor did the negus of Ethiopia and the shah of Iran fall in the same way. The manner in which the fascist dictatorship under Pinochet will be toppled is not clear yet. What is certain is that it will never collapse of itself. It is the people that will have to bring it down and effect social changes. To quote Marx and Engels, the working people's emancipation must be brought about by the working people themselves. Tyrannies fall and revolutions are accomplished by the masses through effort, sacrifice and struggle.

We communists never seek violence for the sake of violence, nor do we want to turn our country into a scene of terror. On the contrary, we want to end terror and establish a new order based on social justice. This is why we champion unity and struggle of the masses and the use of the most diverse forms of struggle, including revolutionary violence applied consciously and with a sense of responsibility. By the same token, we reject methods and tactics playing into the enemy's hands and appreciate methods promoting the people's cause.

We insist, therefore, that ours is, now as in the past, a line of struggle and unity of the working class and all anti-fascists, a line for strengthening Popular Unity and bringing about agreement between it, the Christian Democrats and the opposition as a whole.

All signs are that the Christian Democrats still believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution by

agreement with the armed forces. We take a different view. We think that belief is illusory. However, we don't reject *a priori* any opportunity for a peaceful solution. This explains why we are following with interest the evolution of the Christian Democrats' proposal for a transitional civilian-military government that would last a couple of years and convene a constituent assembly to enable the people to decide on their own destiny.

Just as we don't deny *a priori* the possibility of a peaceful way out, so no democrat should object in principle to violence, meaning in particular those who at a certain juncture supported the worst violence, the only one that was unacceptable, namely, violence against the people.

Nor should we dismiss entirely, as something impossible, that if the people's struggle rose to greater heights and gained in scope — as it certainly will — trends in favor of change to prevent a radical solution could reappear.

But we say in so many words that whatever the alternatives that will emerge in the end, the people of Chile will not stop halfway but will persevere in the effort to achieve their great goals, that is, to eradicate fascism and bring about a new democratic regime that would carry out far-reaching changes in the economy and in society, including the form of government.

The best assurance of such a trend of development is to advance along the road of unity and struggle and to master the most diverse forms of struggle.

We appreciate the coincidence of approach taken by the socialists and communists, by the Popular Unity parties. This coincidence is very important, for no party can further the movement single-handed and so the most reasonable thing to do is to work together. The movement should ultimately be based on the unity and activity of the masses. It should rise from the grass roots and be shaped and carried forward by the creative effort of the people.

FRENCH CANADA

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The People's Fight for a Democratic and Revolutionary Solution of the Crisis

The Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica held its third plenary meeting in November 8-9, 1980, to discuss the political situation in the country. Some of the resolutions adopted at the meeting are published below in abridged form.

The crisis in the country has reached its peak. The mounting economic, social and political difficulties show that the government and the ruling class are unable to solve the main problems confronting the people and the nation.

The grave situation in the economy and finance, which has all the hallmarks of a profound crisis, is the result of the local oligarchy's dependence on U.S. imperialism and the existence of archaic economic structures that impede the country's healthy and independent development. It is a consequence of the inability of the bourgeois parties which have monopolized power and are using it for the benefit of a handful of local and foreign capitalists. The situation is also being aggravated by the problems of the Central American Common Market, the new spiral of the general crisis of capitalism, the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, and the sweeping advance of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in the region.

The crisis of the Costa Rican economy has reached a dimension where the ruling classes can no longer conceal this fact. Inflation, now at almost 30 per cent, is eroding the purchasing power of wages and adding to poverty. The colon has been depreciated in relation to the dollar, which leads to a further rise in prices for staples. Unemployment has become a national disaster.

These and other problems (huge budget deficit and the growing internal and external debt) greatly affect not only the workers, but also, and especially, the small and middle peasants, small and middle entrepreneurs.

The economic crisis has caused the aggravation of the political crisis which had emerged earlier. The signs of the latter are the steady decline of the government's prestige among the population and excessive activation of the employers' organizations exerting a strong political pressure on the government and the parties and even openly opposing them. Meanwhile the two largest bourgeois parties have not opposed the reactionary campaign launched by the employers' organizations against democratic freedoms and the constitutional system itself. What is more, they level their attacks at the popular and revolutionary movement. The only force capable of consistently defending democratic freedoms against encroachments by the fascist-prone and extreme right elements is the united people fighting for clear and concrete goals.

The violent anti-communist campaign, unleashed by the most reactionary circles of the oligarchy with the support of the so-called National Committee in Defense of Democracy and the Costa Rican Institute

of Private Enterprise, is aimed to stoke up the atmosphere of hysteria, violence and fear in order to give effect to the repressive schemes which do not rule out a coup and the installation of a fascist-type regime. U.S. imperialism, which wants an authoritarian and repressive regime in Costa Rica, is acting in the same direction in keeping with one of the purposes of its global strategy, namely: to block the advance of the revolutionary process in Central America.

POWERFUL UPSWING OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

Organization and struggle are the only instruments with which the masses can neutralize the effects of the crisis that has hit them so hard. The Central Committee notes the growing intensity of the struggle waged by the blue and white-collar workers, peasants, various public organizations and the people as a whole. Struggle is a legitimate means with which the masses can defend themselves against attacks by the powers that be.

As the crisis continues to deepen, the class struggle will be growing more and more acute. Our party sees its duty in giving leadership to the mass struggle.

The establishment of the Unitary Center of Working People is doubtlessly a major achievement of the Costa Rican labor movement. Despite the campaign launched against the UCWP by the employers' organizations, bourgeois parties and yellow trade unions, at the time of its founding it already had a membership of 50,000, representing the most organized and militant contingent of the Costa Rican trade union movement. Regrettably, the anti-UCWP campaign has been joined by some of the trade union forces following the People's Revolutionary Movement (PRM), our ally in the United People coalition.

The Central Committee believes that the crisis bedeviling the country is not of a temporary nature. It is a crisis of dependent capitalism which is bound to intensify. It has become chronic and cannot be overcome under the present regime. It may be resolved only by the democratic, anti-imperialist, broad and unitary forces possessing a clear-cut program of socio-economic change and enjoying the trust and support of the masses.

The United People coalition, which includes the People's Vanguard Party, the Socialist Party and the People's Revolutionary Movement — a working people's party — is a great achievement. Within the short time since its founding, the coalition has proved its worth as an effective political alternative capable of becoming a center for uniting all demo-

cratic and anti-imperialist forces that are called upon to transform the country and lead the people to ultimate victory.

The People's Vanguard Party will do whatever it can to consolidate and broaden the basis of the United People in order to achieve success in the 1982 elections. On the other hand, the Central Committee pointed to a number of serious problems the coalition is faced with. The difficulties have been caused by profound differences with the PRM on various issues. This narrows down the possibilities for the United People to merely building up a front for joint election campaigning, that is, for a purely tactical move.

SOLIDARITY OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEOPLES

The victory of Ronald Reagan in the presidential elections has greatly increased the danger of a U.S. military intervention in Central America. During his election campaign the Republican candidate promised to restore the domination of U.S. imperialism in our region, threatening intervention in Nicaragua, El Salvador and other hot spots. His victory revived the hopes of the most reactionary forces in Central America who expect the new U.S. President to fulfil his threats of intervention so as to drown the liberation struggle of our peoples in blood.

Parallel with the interventionist hysteria campaign, reaction has launched a fierce offensive against Nicaragua. It attempts to hamstring fraternal relations between our peoples and justify the turning of Costa Rica into a base for aggression against the young revolution.

The Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party deems it necessary to warn that any attempt at aggression against the Nicaraguan revolution will be resolutely rebuffed by our party, which in that case will appeal to all Costa Ricans, urging them to thwart the criminal propensities of the reactionary oligarchy and imperialism. Hands off Nicaragua! The Nicaraguan people need peace to rebuild and develop their country.

The Central Committee also calls for stronger solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala.

In regard to Reagan's policy toward Central America, the Central Committee reiterates that should the U.S. President venture to fulfil his threats, he will find another Vietnam in the heart of Central America. There is no force that can stop the liberation struggle of the peoples. The democratic and anti-imperialist revolution will march on victoriously in the Central American region.

INCREASE PARTY MILITANCY AND ORGANIZATION

Our party has made significant advances in every area of its activity. However, strengthening the party is its permanent objective which requires special attention. Without the People's Vanguard Party, the crisis in Costa Rica cannot be overcome. Our party, which will mark its 50th anniversary next June, is a powerful weapon in the struggle of the

working class and all people of Costa Rica. It has proved in numerous battles its fidelity to the revolutionary cause and ability to lead the working people's struggle.

Having analyzed the present situation, the Central Committee has passed a decision:

1. To launch a political offensive on all fronts, mobilize the working class, the poor and middle peasants, and other sections of the people for the struggle for their legitimate rights, for the further development of the revolutionary process in order to cut short the attempts of the oligarchy and imperialism to wipe out democracy in our country.

2. To rebuff the anti-communist campaign and attempts to isolate the party by consistently pursuing a bold and persistent policy of alliance with all democratic and progressive forces.

3. To strengthen and expand the basis of the United People coalition. To combat the erroneous stance of the PRM with regard to the coalition and the front of the masses in order to ensure unity on a principled foundation.

4. To step up work to strengthen the organizational and ideological unity of the party which should prepare itself for the role of revolutionary vanguard of the Costa Rican people in the conditions of struggle that will be imposed on us by imperialism and the oligarchy.

5. To build up solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Central America. The party reaffirms its readiness to give every assistance to the defense of the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people.

San José, Costa Rica

November 8-9, 1980

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Always for the Workers For Justice and Liberty

Speech by Georges Marchais

On December 21, 1980, Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the FCP, spoke in Le Bourget at a meeting with party activists and veterans to mark the 60th anniversary of the French Communist Party. Below is the full text of his speech.

Emotion and hope is what, I believe, we all feel today: emotion because we have met at this fraternal gathering, we men and women communists of all generations, sharing the same ideals and carrying on a common struggle; and hope for the successful outcome of the new and original stage in this struggle upon which we are now entering.

The point is that we are celebrating our party's 60th anniversary not as a sort of cult of the past. We are analyzing our experience in order to draw conclusions that would be useful for our present struggle. And the first of these, as we proclaim for all to hear, is that the historic choice made by our senior comrades at the Tours congress was correct. Marcel Cachin and most activists of the former Socialist Party were quite right in founding the French Communist Party, a new and revolutionary party.

Their decision was a mature, well-reasoned response to the policy of class collaboration and a "sacred union" with the bourgeoisie followed by the Socialist Party leadership. To the impasse for the working-class movement in our country, they preferred fidelity to the noblest revolutionary traditions of the French people, fidelity to the revolutionaries of 1789, the insurgents of 1848, the Communards and Jean Jaures. They did that in answer to an appeal issued by Lenin from the other end of Europe, from Russia, whose people had for the first time in the world overthrown capitalism and started the victorious construction of a socialist society. Their decision was right. So let me warmly welcome on your behalf all those who promoted the emergence and formation of our party in the grim years of struggle.

But while saying this, we take a sober and responsible view of these 60 years of our party's struggle. We do not seek to conceal our shortcomings and the mistakes we have made. Similarly, we do not intend by any means to conceal the errors and even dramas in the history of the international communist movement which were revealed at the 20th congress of the CPSU. We have denounced what is called Stalinism once and for all, urging a serious and critical analysis both of international experience and our own history.

That is precisely what entitles us to ask: what other party in our country is as consistent as ours? Have the rightists or the Socialist Party ever recognized their total and grave responsibility for the colonial wars in which millions lost their lives, or for the repression against the working-class movement? Where are the monuments to the striking miners

shot down by the repressive forces in 1948 or those who died at the Charonne metro station in 1962?

We have all the more reason for asking these questions and saying that those who pose as judges would have done much better to think of their own mistakes, because there is nothing in our party's history that would implicate us in what has been and remains their policy.

For whatever our faults and omissions may have been, there is no doubt that in every period of its existence and at every crucial moment in the life of France, our party has always made the correct choice, coming out for the working class, the working people, for justice and liberty, for national interests and international solidarity. It has made a big contribution to the specific features of the social, economic and political reality in present-day France.

RESULTS THAT DO OUR PARTY CREDIT

Indeed, where would we be today if the Communist Party did not exist? This can hardly be imagined.

How would it have been possible to set up the Popular Front without the Communist Party, without Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, who tirelessly worked for its formation?

How could the working class have tied in its own interests so closely with those of the nation — that nation from which the bourgeoisie had for a long time tried to exclude the working people — if it had not been for the Communist Party? No other party made such a great contribution to the Resistance movement against the nazi occupation. Those who shed their blood for France, so winning for the Communist Party the noble title of "party of the *fusilladé*," will go down in the history of our country.

Without the Communist Party, who would have directed the long and hard struggle against the colonial wars? And, in general, who would help to maintain international solidarity in France, or the systematic defense of human rights and the rights of the peoples?

Without the Communist Party, who would constantly mobilize our people for the struggle to ensure respect of national independence and sovereignty, for disarmament, peaceful coexistence, détente and peace?

Finally, without the Communist Party, who would

be waging a tireless struggle in spite of all the obstacles, for an alliance of popular forces, a left-wing alliance for the sake of change? Who would be working to glorify the idea of socialism, who would invite our people to follow an original, democratic road to democratic socialism?

In effect, the Communist Party enabled the French working class — and this is its greatest merit, its chief contribution — to refuse to submit to the exploitation and the policy of capital, to assert itself as an independent political force playing its own role and expressing its own opinion. The Communist Party enabled the working class to restore its links with the most authentic traditions of the French working-class movement, setting up a mass trade union on class lines, at the head of which Benoit Frachon won his fame.

As a party of the working class, the Communist Party initiated the close ties between the working-class movement and the best representatives of the French intelligentsia, such as Paul Eluard, Paul Langevin, Picasso and Aragon, whom we have always been happy and proud to have among us; and our party remains a champion of this extremely important alliance, with tens of thousands of communist intellectuals, men and women from every field of knowledge, working to strengthen this alliance together with the workers, employees and peasants within the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has been advocating the unification in a single movement of all forces (notably women, whose struggle for equality and dignity is a major trait of our epoch) that want a fairer, freer and more humane society.

Yes, indeed, the outcome of these 60 years of existence and activity does credit to our party. The French Communist Party is a truly revolutionary party of the working class, a powerful force in the country's social and national renewal.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE 22ND AND 23RD CONGRESSES

To this exceptional heritage we mean to remain loyal. That is to say, first of all, that we must never forget the goal we have set ourselves: we communists want to defend the working people's interests in any circumstances; we want to rebuff the policy of capital in every field; we want to crush the power of the bourgeoisie; we want to open before our people the road to socialism.

Being loyal to our heritage also implies an urge to understand at every stage of our struggle its distinctions from the preceding stage, its new and original features.

Indeed, the whole experience — both our own experience and that of the international communist movement — proves that in this area there are no models or recipes. And since we are the revolutionaries of today, we must — as Waldeck Rochet had always done — analyze the changing reality as profoundly as possible, and discard all that is obsolete or stagnant; in a word, give new and indispensable answers to the new problems.

That is what we did at our 22nd and 23rd congresses.

At these congresses, having taken into account the characteristic features of our country and our epoch, we identified for our country the French road to democratic socialism, based on self-administration and with due regard for France's national peculiarities. As we have already emphasized, this prospect is in agreement with our communist ideal, and also with the views expounded by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

In formulating this goal, we have never had any illusions. We knew that such a goal would not be easy to attain. How could it be otherwise? Our struggle fundamentally undermines the bourgeoisie's vital interests. And since the bourgeoisie is now confronted with an unprecedented crisis, it is all the more determined and virulent in defending its system.

Let us recall what has happened over the past 20 years: existing socialism has become much stronger, the colonial system has collapsed, the United States has had to reconcile itself to the existence of Cuba, the first socialist state on the American continent, just a few miles from its coast, and, moreover, the United States was defeated in Vietnam; there have been the events in Angola, the Africans in Rhodesia have become masters of their own destiny, the dictatorships in Nicaragua, Iran, Cambodia, Portugal, Spain and Greece have been overthrown, and the question of democratic change is the order of the day in countries like Italy and France. This list is far from complete.

That is why the bourgeoisie has decided — since 1975, to be more precise — to use all its strength to increase its pressure in an attempt to maintain its domination, its positions and privileges. The struggle has intensified. And one has to state that in this struggle the socialist parties are again making concessions, retreating, and joining in the policy of steering the crisis in favor of capital.

This is evident in our country. A point to note, however, is that this is also true of all other developed capitalist countries.

Does this oblige us to renounce, to abandon the fundamental decisions adopted at our congresses? Certainly not. It is just the other way round.

A STRONGER COMMUNIST PARTY: THE KEY TO CHANGE

It was at our 23rd congress that we drew this essential lesson from our experience, from the most recent past in particular: if the conservative and divisive forces still manage to get the upper hand at crucial moments, this is because the forces advocating change, that is to say, the French men and women who support social, economic and political transformations, without which these changes are an empty sound, do not assert themselves clearly, forcefully and resolutely enough. This means that the party which animates this struggle — the French Communist Party — should muster ever greater forces and enhance its weight, influence and role in national life. This is the decisive factor of change.

This, in the final count, is the real stake in the

ongoing struggle, the struggle of the forthcoming presidential elections.

Our adversaries know this very well. That is why they are striking at us again and again. They cannot stomach a party and a candidate who say "no" to the austerity regime, unemployment, the ever greater infringement of freedoms, and renunciation of national interests, and "yes" to the satisfaction of the demands put forward by the working people (workers by both hand and by brain), to a sense of élan in the country, implementation of radical reforms that could extricate the country from the crisis, and changes that would really amount to changes. Such a position under the present crisis of this decaying system encourages, mobilizes and wins the hearts of the people.

That is why those who are afraid of these changes are fighting us in every way they can, resorting now to silence, now to direct lies, and now to shameless exploitation of the actions and gestures of some communists who are withdrawing from the struggle because, under the adversaries' frenzied onslaught, they have forgotten the ABC of class struggle, in spite of all their past merits.

But all these attacks, all this hullabaloo leaves no

impression on us. It leaves no impression on the communists who are now displaying broad activity, on the 86,000 French men and women — including many intellectuals — who decided in 1980, a year of intense struggle, to join the Communist Party.

By attacking us, the bourgeoisie and its vassals in effect confirm in the eyes of the working people that the Communist Party is a party which differs from the other parties, which does not shed tears together with the others over the inevitable crisis and a shaky world, a party which refuses to recognize the fatality of superexploitation, the fatality of division, a party which can be relied upon to fight to ultimate victory for justice, for a better life, for everyone's right to liberty, for an alliance and change.

Decidedly, as everything shows, the central issue of French politics, the key issue of any change is that of enabling the Communist Party to play a more important role — its due role — in the country's life and in the ruling organs, the French government in particular.

As I already wrote in *The Hope of the Present*, "this is the only new thing, the only genuine event that can occur in French political life. This is what has never yet been done and what must be done if there is a desire to change the working people's life, to change the policy and, moreover, to see socialism, French style, established tomorrow."

This idea is powerful because it is true. And it is bound to grow, because it is borne out by experience, because there is a crisis which cannot be ended in any other way.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Yes, the working people, the whole nation need the unparalleled potential of initiative, devotion, courage, and desire for unity and transformations that is represented by the Communist Party.

And, as far as we are concerned, we shall not relax our efforts to make this party even more attentive to the needs of the ordinary people, more alert to the country's major problems, and more receptive to the ideas and events in the world, to enhance its resolve in the struggle against exploitation and oppression and its ability to contribute to the alliance of all the popular forces in order to open up new ways before France.

Naturally, this cannot be achieved without effort, without the active participation of all communists. This is also true of the battle of today, the battle of the presidential elections.

I am convinced that by ensuring the full dimension, the full force of the commitment to work on the part of 700,000 communists, work which has already started and has started well, so as to obtain a large poll on April 26 for the communist candidate, we will be able to turn this battle into a major stage of struggle for the working people's liberation, for the happiness of the men and women of our country, for a strong and fraternal France, the struggle which is the whole point of our existence.

This, dear comrades, will be the best way to mark the 60th anniversary of our future-oriented party.

L'Humanité, December 22, 1980

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To the Central Committee of the French Communist Party

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends its fraternal greetings and warm congratulations to the French communists in connection with the 60th anniversary of the French Communist Party.

The entire long and glorious path traveled by your party convincingly points to the correctness of the historic choice made in December 1920 by the advanced representatives of the French working-class movement, under the impact of the Great October Revolution, in favor of a rupture with reformism and opportunism and formation of a party of the new type, a militant vanguard of the working class and all the working people of France.

The FCP's influence and its ties with the working class and all the working people grew stronger, thanks to the party's indefatigable struggle for their vital interests, democratic changes, the cohesion of workers and the democratic forces, peace and socialism.

The struggle of the French communists for the interests of the working people is inseparably connected with solidarity with all the progressive and liberation forces of our day, on whose powerful support the FCP has always relied.

Soviet communists and all Soviet people have a feeling of sincere sympathy for the activities of the FCP in the interests of peace, détente and security in Europe. They value the FCP's essential contribution to the development of fruitful cooperation between France and the Soviet Union, to strengthening the friendship between the French and Soviet peoples, which has been and remains an important factor of peace, détente and security on the European continent.

In present-day conditions, when the imperialist and hegemonic forces are trying to launch an offensive against peace and détente, against socialism and the international communist movement, it is particularly important to strengthen the solidarity and cohesion of all the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces, who are led by the communists irrespective of the divergence of views on some issues. Collective action by these forces in defense of peace and security all over the world, against the nuclear and conventional arms race, carries ever more weight. A considerable contribution to the attainment of these aims has been made by the Paris meeting of European communist and workers' parties.

The CPSU and the French Communist Party have been developing their firm ties of fraternal friendship and cooperation, tested by decades of joint struggle for common aims. At the source of this solidarity stood Lenin, who highly valued the revolutionary potential of the French working class and who did a great deal for the formation and development of the French Communist Party, the cohesion of the

French communists on the basis of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. No intrigues of the class enemies and opportunists can shatter this friendship and mutual fraternal solidarity, which are of great importance for strengthening the cohesion of the international communist movement. The meeting in January 1980 between the delegations of our parties, led by Leonid Brezhnev and Georges Marchais, was a major contribution to the further development of comradely cooperation between the CPSU and the French Communist Party, reaffirming our common stand on the major issues of our day.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and all Soviet communists wish the French Communist Party and its Central Committee fresh successes in the consolidation of the party and its ties with the working people, in rallying all the democratic forces around the working class and its vanguard, and in the struggle against the threat of a world war, for peace, international security, France's independent foreign policy, friendship between the French and Soviet peoples, the interests of the French working people, democracy and socialism.

Long live the French Communist Party, the militant vanguard of the working people of France!

Long live the abiding friendship and militant solidarity of the CPSU and the FCP!

*Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Pravda, December 29, 1980*

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Dangerous Provocations

The NATO politicians have got into the habit of treating public opinion in their countries to one and the same brew. The pretexts differ, but the purpose is always the same: to prove that the West is being threatened by the Soviet Union and that the only way to counter this alleged threat is to press forward with the arms drive.

At a meeting of the NATO Council, which ended in Brussels on December 12, the events in Poland were chosen as a pretext for whipping up militarist activity. U.S. Secretary of State Edward Muskie inflated the psychosis by trotting out the specter that the internal Polish crisis would develop into a world crisis. The U.S. representatives shamelessly slandered Soviet foreign policy, making various conjectures about the intentions of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Why have the NATO ministers taken such an interest in the affairs of a state that is not a NATO member but has been and remains an integral part of the political, military and economic system of socialism? It is common knowledge that the NATO leaders are unhappy with many of the realities of present-day Europe. They were displeased when the representatives of the Polish United Workers' Party at the recent Warsaw Treaty summit meeting in Moscow once again emphasized that Poland has been, is and will continue to be a socialist state, a solid link in the community of socialist countries. The new element in NATO's attitude is that now, as the aggressive tendencies within NATO intensify, some leading members of the bloc are prepared to violate the generally recognized norms of international relations and go over from ideological intervention in Polish affairs, which has lasted for many years, to an intervention of a different kind.

During the cold war, this was bluntly designated as a policy of "rolling back communism." Times have now changed, and the very same imperialist policy is being presented as "concern for détente." That is what the authors of the NATO communiqué seek to do. At the same time, they make an attempt to interpret Poland's sovereign right to independence and to an independent solution of problems relating to its internal system in such a way that would in effect deprive the Polish state and its constitutional bodies of the possibility to defend themselves against external and internal enemies. In actual fact, the NATO Council had its old aim in view: to expand NATO's "sphere of activity," and find additional opportunities for interfering in the internal affairs of other states, a socialist state in this case.

It is well worthwhile to recall that at their recent exercises NATO's armed forces practised variants

of military intervention in the event of so-called "crisis situations" arising in East European countries. The NATO leaders make no secret of the fact that it would suit them very well if the Polish government and the PUWP lost control of the course of events in Poland, and if Poland were plunged into chaos and anarchy.

What NATO is trying to camouflage in every way is the actual support being given by the imperialist circles to those forces in People's Poland which have been working against the socialist system and the legitimate authorities. Various "regional" and "national" anti-Polish centers, with and without designations, have been mushrooming in the West. Through these, ties are maintained with the "confederation of independent Poland," various "self-defense committees" and other reactionary groupings fighting against socialism openly or clandestinely.

One can well imagine how NATO would have reacted if the socialist countries started to discuss within the Warsaw Treaty the situation in one of the NATO states, and to prescribe the decisions or changes that have to be made in that state, or, moreover, if the Warsaw Treaty started rehearsing armed intervention in the event of strikes or other internal developments in that state.

The communiqué of the NATO Council's meeting says that the events in Poland are of considerable importance for the international situation as a whole. In the socialist community this is understood as well as it is in the West, and the words and deeds proceeding from the United States and their allies are assessed accordingly.

Those who claim, as the NATO Council does in its final communiqué, to be champions of détente and of full implementation of the commitments undertaken by the countries that took part in the Helsinki Conference, can easily prove this in practice. It is high time to stop intensifying the war hysteria in Europe and elsewhere, to put an end to the propaganda of nuclear war that is being carried on non-stop in the West, and get down to coordinating concrete steps towards troops and arms limitation in Central Europe, instead of looking for ways to avoid constructive arrangements. If the NATO states wanted to work in this direction, they would have surely come out for ratification of SALT II, for an early completion of the Geneva talks on ending nuclear tests, and for many other long-overdue decisions, which have not been adopted because they are being sabotaged by the USA and some of their NATO allies.

Détente ran into complications when a number of

Western powers once again hinged their political approach to the major problems of peace on their great-power ambitions. The stake on force rather than on reason, the urge to impose their will on other states rather than reach an agreement or take account of each other's interests, and a unilateral claim to a special position, to hegemony in vast regions of the world arbitrarily designated as "zones of vital importance" for the USA — that is the root of the difficulties through which the world is now going, that is the answer to the question of how and when these difficulties originated.

Unfortunately, the NATO ministers meeting in Brussels, far from dealing with matters of détente, focused their attention on working out the details of the plan for the deployment of the latest U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe and for an arms build-up. Undoubtedly, this is the angle from which public opinion will read the final document of the NATO Council's meeting in Brussels, and from which the peoples will assess the provocative moves of the leaders of that aggressive bloc.

A. Petrov

Pravda, December 18, 1980

Socialism and Democracy: Bulgarian Practice

L'Humanité interviews Todor Zhivkov BCP First Secretary

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the party and head of the Bulgarian state, is a strongly built, square-shouldered man, jovial and full of humor. Our conversation, which lasted almost three hours, was punctuated with amusing anecdotes and jokes, in which he did not spare himself, and with his astounding clear and sonorous laughter.

He will be 70 next year. A half-century ago, working as a printer, he became a communist: fifty years of struggle in the underground, in the anti-fascist Resistance movement, and then in the revolution and in building the new society. Having risen to a high post, he remains as modest and unassuming as before. He personifies his country because, of all the characteristic Bulgarian traits, modesty is undoubtedly what the foreigner will notice first of all, although the Bulgarians have much to be proud of: in 40 years, one of the most backward countries of Europe, with an all but "colonial" economy, has turned into a developed industrial state with a modern mechanized agriculture.

At the beginning of the Second World War, Bulgaria produced no more than 266 million kwh of electric power, whereas today the figure is almost 32 billion. In less than two decades (1960-1978), total production in metallurgy increased 13-fold. Since 1939, the number of people employed in agriculture has gone down by two-thirds, while agricultural production has increased 2.4-fold. Crop capacity has markedly increased: in 1939, the average yield per hectare was 13 metric centners of wheat; in 1978, it was 37 centners, and in 1980, more than 40 centners. Here is a final example to show what these profound changes have brought to the people themselves: if we take 1952 as 100 per cent, real income per head of population came to 124 per cent in 1956, 300 per cent in 1970, and 431 per cent in 1979.

Our "well-wishing" journalists have little to say about these spectacular results for perfectly obvious reasons: these results are very much at odds with their daily "information." Anyhow, it is not Bul-

garia's successes that Todor Zhivkov would be telling you about. For the Bulgarians, this goes without saying: their country has made a gigantic stride forward, and what they have to do now is not to marvel at their achievements, but to go further, work better, correct mistakes, and fight any possible stagnation and routine that even successes can engender. Something that was good yesterday will no longer do today, and the mechanisms that made it possible to effect transformations in the past may well prove to be outdated today. To solve all these problems, new state and economic structures have been developed over the past two years in order to meet the natural need for greater democracy and more direct participation by the working people in running the socialist society. This is not armchair work by a handful of experts, but the result of reflection and collective efforts by hundreds of thousands of men and women at enterprises, in trade unions and other organizations, and in the party. Todor Zhivkov tells the readers of *L'Humanité* about these lines of work.

DEMOCRACY AND CENTRALISM

"It is not a matter of a 'new economic policy' (an expression I loosely used in my question — *H.A.*) but, rather, of a new approach, of steps being taken to form new mechanisms which correspond to the period of building a developed socialist society, whose features we defined at our 10th congress eight years ago. We are guided by two documents: our new constitution and the party's new program, which concretize the new stage that follows the period of transition from capitalism to socialism."

It is not simply a matter of theoretical definitions. The transformations described by Todor Zhivkov have profoundly changed the face of Bulgaria, its social "landscape" and the people's mentality, notably, in the countryside. At the first stage (1946-1957), 1,100,000 individual farms united in 3,450 cooperative farms. At the second stage (starting in

late 1958), a new reorganization led to the establishment of 975 larger farms (with roughly 4,000 hectares per farm) equipped with modern farming machinery. Finally, the third stage of the new concentration (starting in 1970) gave rise to 274 vast agro-industrial complexes, which combine agricultural production with the processing of farm produce. Parallel to these, other complexes (known as industrial-agrarian, about 10 in all) organize "vertical" production of various derivative goods on the basis of certain key products, like sugar beet.

The results speak for themselves: since 1960, agricultural production has increased by more than 70 per cent, and labor productivity has quadrupled.

"The building of a developed socialist society," Todor Zhivkov notes, "naturally presupposes intensive development of science and technology, and calls for ever fuller satisfaction of our people's material and spiritual needs, and further raising of the socialist consciousness of all the citizens, especially the young. But there is also another demand: it is necessary to improve further and develop socialist democracy in every sphere. It is impossible to build the developed socialist society we envisage unless millions of conscious men and women, workers, peasants and intellectuals embrace the tasks of this period as their own, unless they fully participate in the attainment of this goal." Is this demand always clearly recognized? Todor Zhivkov's answer to my question was very direct. "Take our experience, the experience of Bulgaria. In our country, there have been some departures from the principle of democratic centralism, notably in planning, and I must add that socialism is inconceivable without planning, a *sine qua non* of balanced administration and social development. At one time, these departures manifested themselves in excessive centralism, which upset the necessary balance between the practice of "centralism" and that of democracy. Such errors tend to enhance bureaucracy in economic administration, and that is why we emphasize the need to maintain a correct equilibrium between the two components: centralism and democracy."

MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY CITIZENS IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY

How is this expressed in practice? Up until recently, the five-year plan was elaborated "at the top." It was then "handed down" to the enterprises, whose collectives determined their own targets on the basis of the decisions adopted. In these conditions, the initiative of industrial and agricultural enterprises, whole collectives, and individual working people was fairly limited. Moreover, every enterprise was closely connected with central organizations and depended on them both in the output and the marketing of its products. As economic activity extended and became more complicated, this led to greater bureaucracy, which became an impediment.

"Over the past two years or, to be more precise, since the time of our national conference in 1979, we have been working to change things," Todor Zhivkov said. "Instead of handing down from above

hundreds of directives, the People's Assembly now confines itself to formulating the main guidelines, on whose basis the plan is actually elaborated at the grass-roots level by millions of working people themselves. It emerges in the course of discussions held at the enterprises, in the brigades, where everyone sets forth his viewpoint and makes his proposals. For an enterprise which has direct contacts with the domestic and international market, it is easier to take due account of demand in terms of quality and quantity. In the past, the enterprises and their management often expected the state to provide the necessary credits (regardless of the economic performance) and to purchase their products (regardless of quality), whereas today they are themselves responsible for their 'self-financing,' for the good or bad results of marketing or the failure to market their products when these do not meet the demand."

The profit made also means an improvement in the wages of every working person, for Bulgaria has no capitalist monopolies to pocket the lion's share of the fruits of their labor.

"At every plant, at every enterprise," Todor Zhivkov adds, "the working people themselves decide which share of the profit is to go to the enterprise, and which they are to keep for themselves. So, in this matter, as in planning, they increasingly have a real part to play — not as an 'object,' but as an active 'subject' — both at their enterprise and in the whole of society. The management of industrial and agricultural enterprises is ever more frequently being elected by the collectives themselves."

"It is not a question of moving toward some empirical 'liberalization' in the capitalist sense of the word," the party secretary specifies. "Well-considered and deliberately chosen orientations are not a step back. On the contrary. They are not hasty improvisations, but simply correspond to the level of present-day socialist Bulgaria, which makes it imperative for the country to move forward without marking time, to achieve broader, more active and democratic participation by the citizens in running production and the whole country."

"This workers' democracy, naturally, has nothing in common with the democracy to which Mr. Reagan owes his election, although this may give offense to those who admire a system under which once every four years the electors are invited to choose between two leaders, both of whom champion capitalism and primarily serve the interests of the multi-millionaires."

That which already exists and is being perfected in Bulgaria has a different, human value. "Our concern," Todor Zhivkov goes on, "is constantly to enlarge every citizen's responsible role both at the enterprise and in public life. Two years ago, for instance, the Ministry of Agriculture was dissolved and replaced by a leadership elected at a congress of the agro-industrial union, which has brought together the representatives of all agricultural and agro-industrial enterprises. The union's chairman (himself an elected representative) is on the Council of Ministers. He is not appointed by the head of

state, but is elected by the working masses. The same is also true of industry, where an industrial union has been set up, whose chairman, like his colleague from the agro-industrial union, is also an elected representative and is a member of the government. The chairman of the Committee for Cultural Affairs, appointed at the congresses of the representatives of all the cultural associations in the country, is also a member of the Council of Ministers. A congress of national education is soon to be held . . . So, wherever possible, the state 'delegates' the tasks with which it used to deal in a 'centralized' way, to elective organs which are more directly responsible to the grass roots. As a result, there are fewer administrative decisions taken at the top, which are not always optimal."

OUR IDEAL LIES AHEAD

A revolution within the revolution? Todor Zhivkov would surely reject such an expression, because the Bulgarians do not lay claim to being brilliant innovators or authors of universal recipes. "Yes, we are working for a further practical extension of democracy in our country. Why? some will ask. Naturally, this is not because we want to create some sort of 'model.' We simply believe that what we are doing suits our country. This is sufficient.

Nor are we working along these lines to 'make a show' of democracy. No, the measures we are taking have been dictated by the conditions of our society's development, by the situation at the present stage. We are primarily responding to this demand."

So, a Bulgarian paradise? I invite Todor Zhivkov to answer an ironic question which some specialists in denigrating the socialist countries would be sure to ask. "We do not say that what we have done is perfect. Nor have we ever claimed that we have already attained the ideal of socialist society. Our ideal is much more majestic, and it is still ahead of us. There are still many shortages and many imperfections. We have made mistakes and will doubtlessly make more. Difficulties have arisen and are bound to arise in the future. We are not living in clover, as the saying goes. . . . We have no *a priori* scheme. Marx could not have framed it in advance for a society that was still to come. And this new society which we are building, in spite of the gigantic strides it has already made, is just beginning to take shape. But the basic question has already been solved: we have eliminated the exploitation of man by man. This is our essential gain."

This essential gain is a source of hope and confidence.

Henri Alleg

L'Humanité, November 24, 1980

Behind Western Separatism

William Kashtan

Leader, Communist Party of Canada

Considerable attention has been drawn to the separatist movement in Alberta and to some extent in B.C.

Who is behind it and what are their aims?

According to the media, Alberta's "élite" is behind this call for separation, more specifically, the owners of the multi-national oil corporations and some Canadian-owned oil corporations. This is part of the power play being undertaken by the Alberta, and to some extent by the B.C. provincial government with the aim of compelling the Trudeau government to drop its energy program, which includes Canadianization of these vital resources. At the same time within this grouping there are those who are working for the establishment of a western Canadian state.

It could be asked: what role is U.S. imperialism playing in this and what role will it play when Ronald Reagan is installed as President of the USA? We already know of Reagan's predilection for a North American common market, another name for fastening ever tighter control over Canada's natural resources and energy.

There is every reason to believe that the moves being made by the multinational oil corporations in Canada are being coordinated from the USA.

This proposed treachery to Canada has a long history.

MASSIVE TAKEOVER

Canadians may not recall it but in the 1840s the parliament buildings, then situated in Montreal, were burned down by the English Canadian establishment as part of an effort to have Canada join the USA. The reason given then was that the British imperial preference system was adversely affecting the interests of the capitalist class.

More recently we have had the Abbott Plan of 1947 which opened the door to integrating the Canadian economy with that of the USA. The aim of this policy was to subordinate Canada's interests to the U.S. imperialist drive for world domination with Canadian monopoly getting some of its crumbs. Its end result was a massive takeover of the Canadian economy by the U.S. multinationals.

As can be seen, the Canadian capitalist class, or a part of it, has a long history of treachery to Canada, of preparedness to sell out our country's interests for a fast buck even if it means breaking up Canada itself.

STAND UNITED

The working class and democratic forces in the

western provinces must not allow themselves to be drawn into the dangerous course being pursued by the so-called élite in Alberta or B.C. There is nothing to gain and everything to lose for the working class and all working people to allow themselves to be divided from province to province rather than standing united against their common enemy — the multinationals and Canadian monopoly. A broken-up Canada will not only strengthen the control of its resources by these corporations, mainly foreign, it will open the door to a take-over of Canada by U.S. imperialism.

A source of the sharpening conflicts within Canada arises from refusal to face up to the reality of a binational state. Instead of a principled approach

to this question we have policies of decentralization, opening the door to ever greater penetration of Canada by U.S. imperialism.

A similarly narrow approach is to be seen with respect to energy resources. It is in Canada's interest to nationalize energy and natural resources under joint federal-provincial crown corporations and to develop them in ways which will strengthen its independence. The Trudeau government has undertaken to Canadianize the energy industry by 50 per cent by the time 1990 rolls around. As part of this claim it has begun this process of Canadianization with its energy package as enunciated in the MacEachen budget. This Canadianization package has two sides to it. One side is the further strengthening of the state energy company, Petrocan. The other side is the further strengthening of Canadian monopoly over energy resources. It is part of the struggle between the multinationals and Canadian monopoly interests over ownership of these vital resources. Indeed one could say this is one of the main contradictions between Canada and the USA today.

These measures obviously fall short of the demand for nationalization of the entire industry. Even so it is being sharply attacked by the Tories, by the multinationals, and by some parts of Canadian monopoly. What they oppose is the principle of Canadianization, the principle of state ownership. What they fear is that the move toward 50 per cent Canadian ownership will not stop there but be pushed by democratic public opinion toward 100 per cent Canadian ownership through nationalization under democratic control of energy and all natural resources.

SUPPORT NATIONALIZATION

This is why one sees an unholy alliance between the U.S. multinationals and some sections of Canadian monopoly and the Tories, against the timid first steps of the Trudeau government to Canadianize the industry. The aim of this campaign which the media has joined, is to compel the government to withdraw its proposals or modify them to such an extent as to make them meaningless.

For this reason, even though the proposals of the government fall far short of nationalization of the industry as a whole, they should receive critical support by the democratic forces. At the same time they should oppose measures to saddle the people with higher prices for heating, transportation and the purchase of this or that oil corporation. These additional costs must be borne by the multinationals and by the corporations in Canada out of their huge profits.

It should be clear however that the limited proposals advanced in the Canadianization package won't resolve the energy crisis. For this, nationalization of the entire energy industry is essential, and overall restructuring of the economy under democratic control.

Canadian Tribune, December 1, 1980

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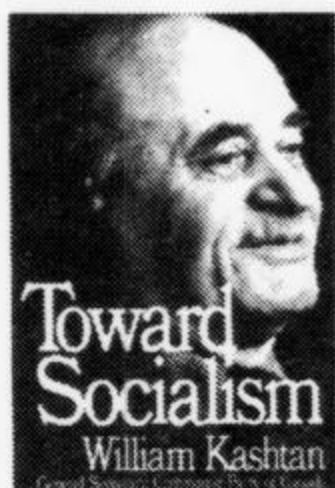
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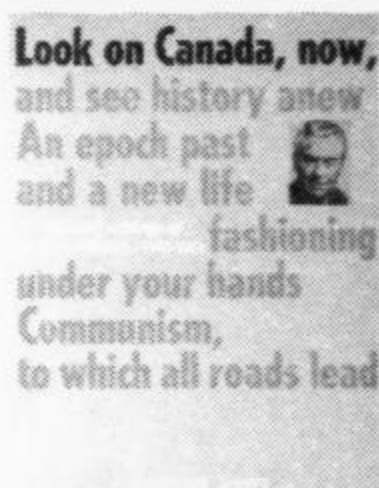
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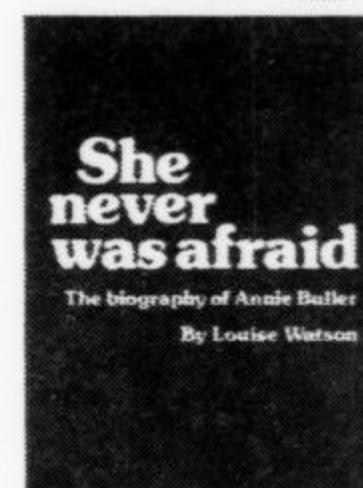
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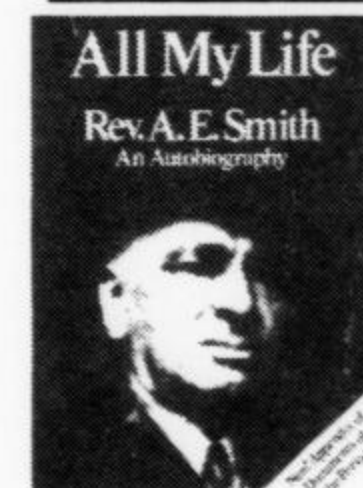
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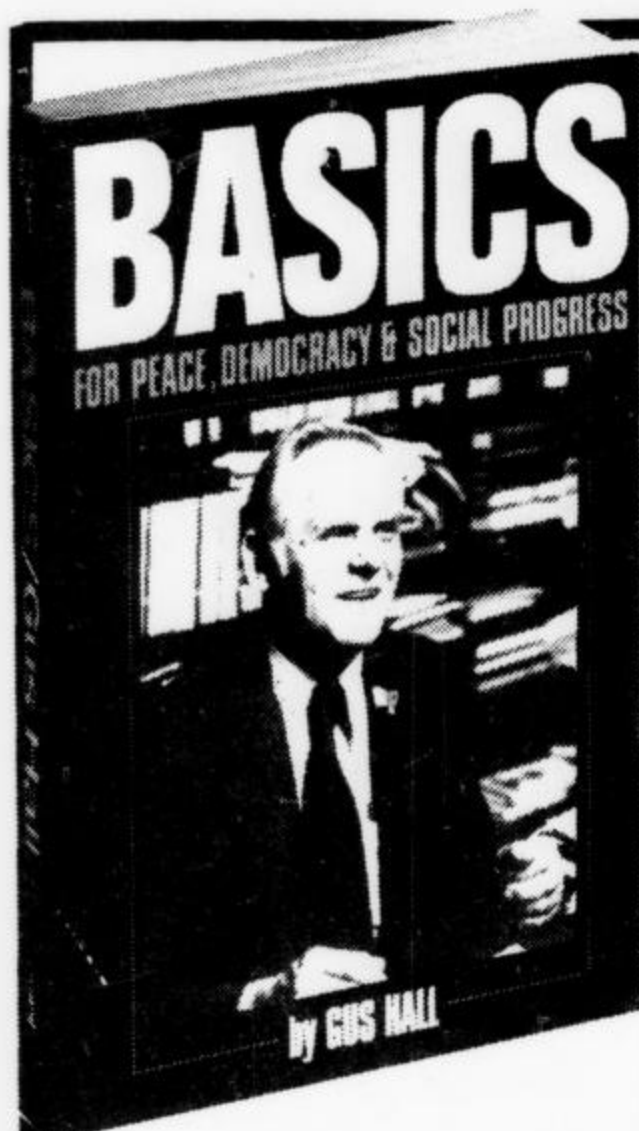
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