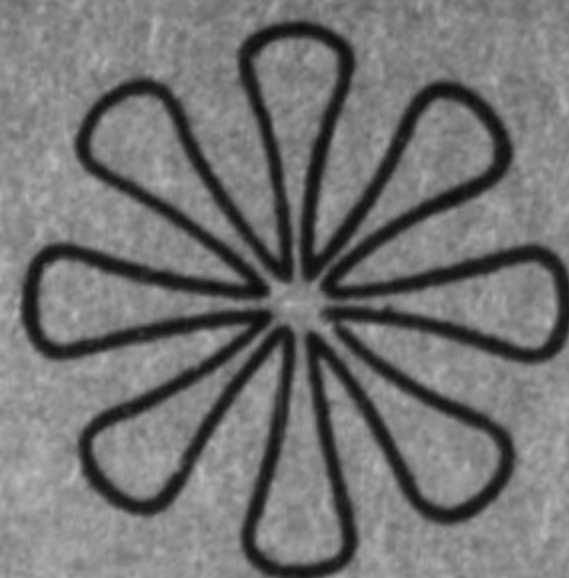


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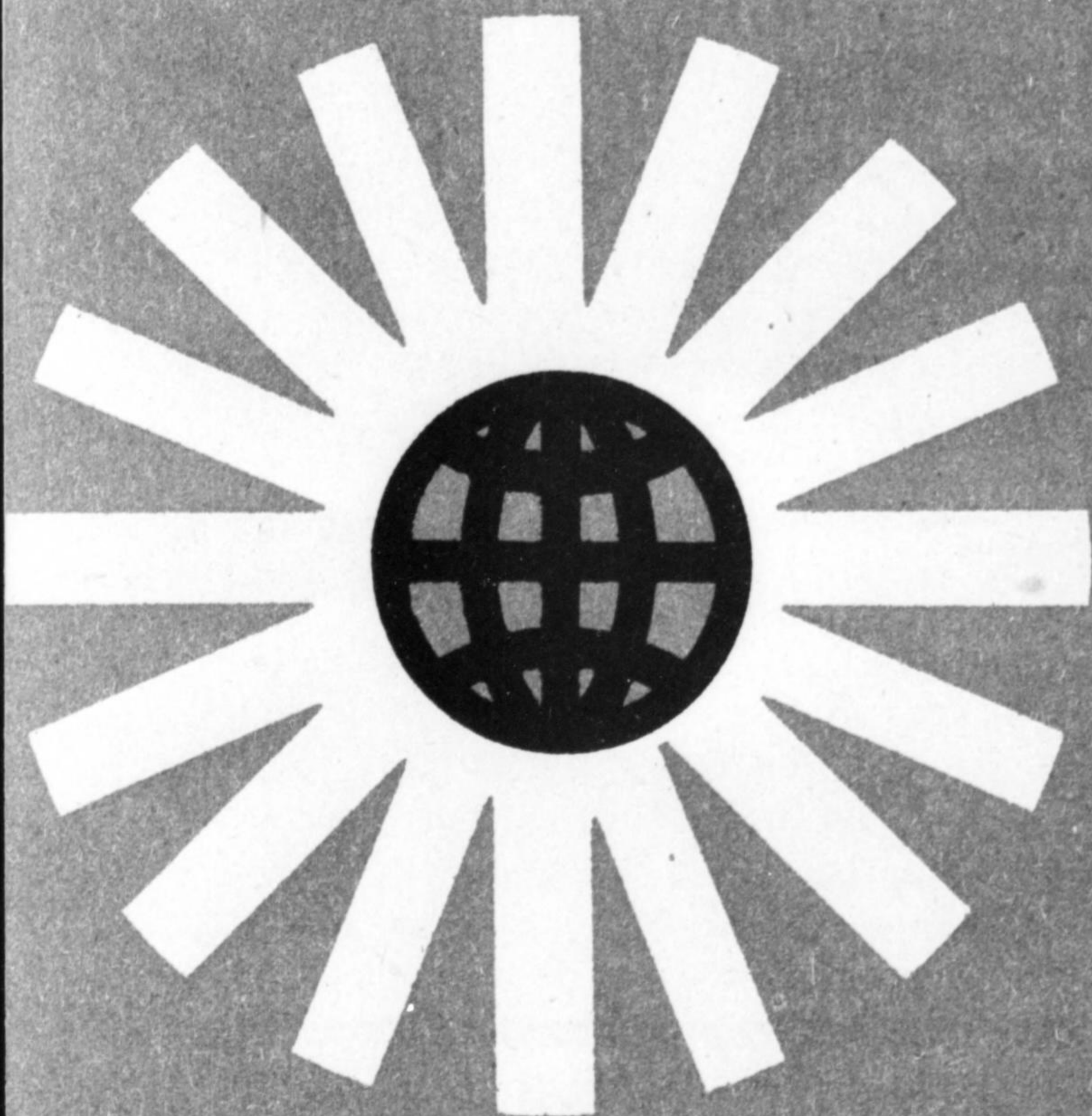


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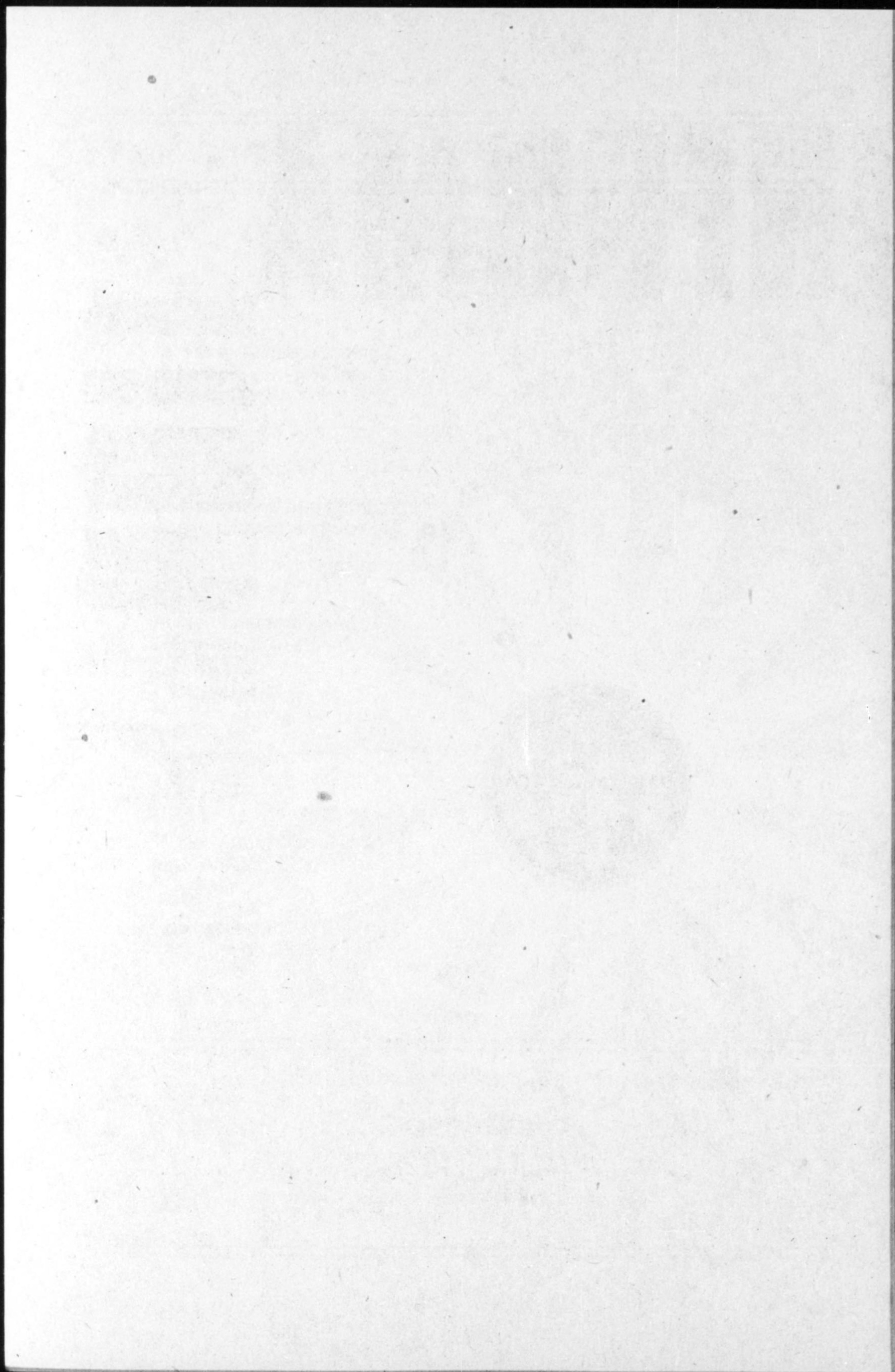
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contents

Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries

Statement 5

Messages from the conference 16

For détente and disarmament, for cooperation and peace

Statement by Communist Parties
of northern countries 19

An important landmark in
the life of communists 20

DOCUMENTS

Italy

Economic proposals of the
Italian Communist Party 27

LPDR

To the party, the people
and the army 31

USA

End the tyranny and
establish democracy 35

(Cont'd next page)

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Continued

FROM THE PRESS

The political situation in Argentina	37
The working class has reached a high level of political awareness <i>L'Humanité</i>	40
Against distortion of the experience of existing socialism <i>Kommunist</i>	43
In brief	55

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CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

STATEMENT

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries held a conference in the second half of December 1978, at which they exchanged views on events in the international arena and in the Arab world in the period since their previous meeting. They unanimously approved a number of political conclusions and defined practical positions designed to strengthen cooperation and to coordinate the activities of the communist parties, to invigorate the struggle of the Arabs against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and to enhance these parties' contribution to the common struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Analyzing the international situation, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries noted that international imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, has again stepped up attempts to foment a crisis in international relations and to intensify the arms race. It is employing new tactics to suppress the growing national-liberation movement, and to emasculate the anti-imperialist content of the non-alignment movement. It seeks to tone down contradictions between the main imperialist blocs and to avoid the consequences of the chronic crisis of its political, economic and social system.

Latterly, now that the U.S. ruling circles' hopes to use international détente to obstruct the struggle for social progress and national liberation failed to come true, there are indications of a tendency in these circles to conduct a policy of confrontation with respect to the Soviet Union, and to give up the policy of international détente. They urge stepping up the arms race, increasing military budgets, expanding the sphere of activity of existing imperialist military blocs, particularly NATO, with the aim of extending its influence to other regions of the world, especially to Africa, and of creating new blocs and regional "security" systems, for instance, in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf regions. They are increasingly resorting to the practice of collective neo-colonialism, which prejudices the interests of universal peace,

the security of the peoples and their struggle for national liberation and social progress.

While these dangerous imperialist plans were clearly defined at the Washington session of NATO late in May 1978, the principled, firm and consistent policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aimed at strengthening universal peace, deepening the détente, promoting disarmament and solidarity with the peoples' struggle for national liberation, in support of the right of all states and peoples to independence and sovereignty was once again clearly reflected in the broad practical activity, above all in the work and decisions of the recent Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states. This conference reaffirmed the socialist countries' resolve to continue working for peace and international détente, the security of the peoples, to vigorously rebuff all imperialist attempts to return to the "positions of strength" policy and to step up the arms race. These countries reaffirmed also their principled, invariable and resolute position in support of the people's struggle against imperialist aggression, for independence and national liberation, particularly the struggle of the Arab peoples for the return of occupied Arab territories and to ensure the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, first of all their right to return to their lands and to set up their own independent state. They reaffirmed their support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. They also endorsed a special statement on this question, which was signed by all Warsaw Treaty states, with the exception of Rumania. It condemns Sadat's separate deal with Israel, reached under the patronage of the USA.

Our parties discussed the new manifestations of political degradation of the Chinese leadership in the recent period, as reflected in its backing of the traitorous Camp David accords, its support for the bloody regime of the Shah of Iran in face of the heroic actions of the Iranian people, its persistent efforts to create a U.S.-China alliance on a frankly anti-Soviet basis by establishing diplomatic relations with the USA on American conditions. Peking is intent on this convergence with the USA after it signed the "peace treaty" with Japan which is frankly aimed against the Soviet Union and the forces of socialism and national liberation in Southeast Asia. The political degradation of the Chinese leadership is also reflected in its encouragement of the ruling clique of Kampuchea in its aggression against socialist Vietnam, in using all means of pressure and pro-

vocation with respect to the SRV, in concentrating China's armed forces on the border with this country.

The Peking leadership's recent steps, in addition to its earlier shameful actions, that is, its support for the racist regimes in Southern Africa and the military dictatorships in Latin America, particularly in Chile, its backing of the reactionary Arab regimes, cooperation with the ultra-right, extremist forces in Western Europe, clearly show the justification of the conclusion arrived at by the broad progressive circles throughout the world. The conclusion is that the Chinese leadership has reneged on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, confirmed its chauvinist positions and is embroiled in activities designed to ensure its expansionist proclivities. Far from being determined by its "special striving" to implement these principles, Peking's policy is aimed at making a complete break with them, with the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle and at outright collusion with imperialism against the forces of socialism, freedom and universal peace.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries have expressed satisfaction with the victories won in the recent period by the revolutionary forces and the national-liberation movements in many countries. These are: formation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; stronger positions of the Ethiopian revolution; the staunchness of Angola, Mozambique and other independent national states in the face of imperialist pressures and aggressive actions of the racist regimes in Southern Africa; these states' rapid development along the road of progressive changes; the defeat of imperialist plans for a "settlement" in Southern Africa; increased isolation of the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury; growing struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as the indigenous population of South Africa; the Nicaraguan people's uprising against the dictatorship.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries expressed their opinion on the heroic struggle waged by the people of Iran against the despotic Shah regime, who is playing the role of gendarme of imperialism in the Persian Gulf region and is intent on expanding it. The parties hailed this struggle, expressed solidarity with it, and emphasized their high evaluation of the staunchness of the Iranian people, though at the cost of enormous sacrifices, and declared their confidence in their victory.

Examining the processes latterly in train in the developed capitalist countries, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries noted the numerous phenomena pointing to the aggravation of the

general crisis of the world capitalist system. The capitalist states are in the throes of a persisting all-round political, economic, ideological and moral crisis. Here class struggle is expanding, the strike movement is gaining momentum, the influence of the communist parties is growing, and the contradictions between the main groups of imperialist states are mounting. There are increasing indications of capitalism's inability to resolve these contradictions, as clearly confirmed by the results of the Bonn conference of heads of state of the developed capitalist countries on economic questions, and of other meetings organized by the EEC states and international organizations of the capitalist states aimed at resolving contradictions between them and removing the consequences of the crisis that is bedeviling the economy of these countries.

Regarding the recent events in the Arab East, the conference participants noted that imperialism's onslaught against the Arab national-liberation movement is mounting, that events fraught with grave consequences are taking place, pushing the confrontation between this movement and the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to a new level, intensifying the struggle and differentiation, and setting new tasks for the progressive and patriotic forces of the Arab countries.

The participants emphasized that Anwar Sadat's treachery in signing the Camp David accords were the natural result of the course he has followed from the first days of his rule, the consequence of renouncing the progressive changes that had been implemented in Egypt, complete alignment with imperialism, through the so-called "open door" policy and "diversification of sources of armaments," to say nothing of his total renunciation of the line of developing Arab-Soviet friendship and, more, going over to the road of anti-Sovietism, hostility toward the popular masses, liquidation of democratic freedoms, suppression of the Egyptian progressive patriotic forces.

All our parties have already denounced the traitorous agreements Sadat had concluded with Begin and Carter. Our parties actively helped to mobilize the broadest forces, called for the expansion of various official initiatives with the aim of countering the course that led to the signing of these treaties, and to completely nullify their dangerous consequences.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries declare in common that the dangerous situation that has emerged as a con-

sequence of the Camp David agreements is not only due to the fact that these agreements amount to a rejection of the central issue in the struggle between the Arabs and Zionism — the Palestine problem, rejection of the national rights of the Arab peoples in general and the Egyptian people, in particular, infringing its independence and sovereignty. The Camp David agreements represent a threat also because they marked the formation of an Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. alliance aimed against the Arab and African national-liberation movement. In this alliance, the Egyptian regime is assigned the role of an outpost of imperialism in the region, of safeguarding the "security" of imperialism and Israel. The concentration of Egyptian troops on the Libyan border, increase of the Egyptian contingents in Sudan in aid of the Nimeiri regime, who supported the Camp David agreements, serve as the best proof of this.

The Camp David agreements are designed to draw Jordan into the capitulatory settlement, deal a blow at the Palestine Liberation Movement or to subjugate it, to strike the Palestine problem off the agenda, subjugate Syria, once again aggravate the situation in Lebanon, deal a blow at all the Arab forces of steadfastness, and thus open the way to the expansion of the U.S. political, economic and military domination over the entire region, ensure its control over the oil riches of the Arab countries, liquidate the Arab national-liberation movement and its gains, and to use this region to conduct imperialist policies aimed at subverting international détente.

These treacherous agreements have virtually resulted in Israel's behaving even more aggressively, to intensified repressions in the occupied territories, expansion of the Israeli settlements, Israel's growing interference on the side of the fascist forces in Lebanon, activization of its military encroachment on Lebanese territory. Consequently, instead of bringing nearer the possibility of establishing a just peace in the region, as their authors claim, it has, in fact, led to its postponement, to aggravation of the explosive situation in the region. Though one of the main goals of the imperialists' plan was reached by signing the Camp David accords, we are witnessing a vigorous upsurge of popular struggle in the Arab region against the policy of treachery as well as an official positive response to it in diverse forms and at various levels. It is essential to continue promoting and strengthening these steps and positions both on the popular and the state level.

Although the diverse forms of opposition to Sadat's treachery by the Arab masses and their governments vary in importance, the

communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries seek to use all these forms, without counterposing them or substituting one for the other. They do not consider that the reaction of the popular masses and that of the official standpoint exclude each other. It is necessary to pool the efforts of one and the other, to step up their activities, raise them to a higher level and to radicalize them.

There is growing indignation among the popular masses stemming from the position adopted by various progressive national parties, political and trade union organizations, popular and professional unions in each Arab country and the Arab arena as a whole. A case in point are the actions of the popular masses on the West Bank and the Gaza strip against the Camp David accords and their consequences, above all against the plan of administrative autonomy contained in them. These actions showed that the popular masses are steadfastly following their national goals, and showed the cohesion of the Arab people of Palestine round the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative.

This popular indignation was also reflected in the broad mass actions in Lebanon, which strengthened the steadfastness of the Lebanese patriotic movement and the Palestine resistance movement in the face of the isolationist-confessionalist plans aimed at creating a racist confessional state on Lebanese soil. These actions helped to strengthen relations of cooperation between Syria, the Lebanese patriotic movement and the Palestine resistance.

The Camp David deal and the liquidationist plan of administrative autonomy stimulated all contingents of the Palestine resistance and Palestine patriotic forces to strengthen national unity in the framework of the Palestine Liberation Organization. They drew up a plan of national unity, including a political program which confirms the right of the Palestine people to return to their native land, to self-determination and to set up an independent national state on Palestine soil.

This popular upsurge and indignation led to consolidation of the Egyptian patriotic movement's positions, to broad mass actions in Egypt, the like of which have not been seen since Sadat declared his treacherous "initiative," to intensification of the Egyptian patriotic forces' opposition to the treacherous course and the increasing isolation of Sadat and his regime.

Popular reaction to the treacherous course was reflected on a high political level in the clear anti-imperialist resolutions of the Arab National Congress held in Damascus. They point to the dangerous

consequences of the Camp David accords and the course that led to it. They boldly advance the slogan of struggle against the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Arab world, the slogan of strengthening the principled, strategic alliance with the Soviet Union. The militant program advanced in them reaffirms the importance and need to expand political democracy, mobilize the masses and ensure unity of the revolutionary forces. All the patriotic, progressive forces which took part in elaborating it, should continue to fight for its implementation.

At the state level, the Arab countries' reaction to the capitulatory policy was reflected in a number of initiatives, the most important of which was the summit conference of the Front of steadfastness and confrontation held in Damascus. It clearly and emphatically reaffirmed the opposition of a number of Arab states to the policy of capitulation and treachery. It defined the United States as an enemy, and not a mediator, and reaffirmed the need for a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union. This was warmly approved and supported by the popular masses, who seek to expand and radicalize the charted course.

The Syrian-Iraqi meeting, which resulted in the adoption of a joint national action charter, marked an important step on the road to frustrating the capitulationist plan, provided a support base for the creation of a northeastern front. This step responds to the will of the broad Arab popular masses, accords with the appeals of the allied, friendly forces. The will of the popular masses demands that this step be combined with other measures of rebuff the treachery, that it should be a factor of general opposition to the imperialist-Sadat-Zionist alliance at both the popular and state level.

Each of these initiatives — the summit Damascus conference of the front of steadfastness and confrontation and the Syrian-Iraqi meeting — facilitated the convening of the Baghdad summit. Leaning on the favorable climate among the Arab popular masses, each of them facilitated the adoption at the Baghdad summit of resolutions which, though minimal, reflected to a certain degree the unanimous opinion of the Arabs in rejecting the Camp David results.

Though the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries realize that the Arab reactionaries — being forced to acknowledge the decisions of the Baghdad summit — are acting and will continue to act contrary to these decisions with the aim of nullifying them, they however hold that this does not detract from their value. They bear in mind the importance of the atmosphere of popular indignation against

Sadat's betrayal which impelled these forces to agree with the adopted decisions.

Our parties reaffirm that the masses' readiness to rebuff the capitulatory course remains the linkpin of successful opposition to this course, a firm base of successful struggle against the onslaught of imperialism and the treacherous plans. It is essential to assure every possible condition for it.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries hold that a key condition in ensuring this readiness of the masses is mobilization of all their potentialities, realization of democratic freedoms, pooling of their efforts, creation of a favorable democratic climate for the activity of the progressive, patriotic political parties, trade unions, the mass and professional organizations.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries consider that both in the Arab world and in the international arena there are objective conditions, as well as a subjective factor — the masses' preparedness to counter the onslaught of imperialism and the treacherous course. To win a speedy victory in this battle at present, it is essential to set up a general progressive Arab front that would include the Communists, Baathists, Nasserites, Socialists, Nationalists and other progressive elements, as well as all the Arab revolutionary forces, based on respect for the organization, political and ideological independence of each of these forces, and abidance by a common program. This program should clearly formulate the objectives of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, explicitly determine who are allies and who are enemies, demand adherence to the national objectives of the struggle, define common viewpoints, and ensure that all sides fighting for its implementation resolve differences solely through a democratic dialogue.

However, in this connection the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries regretfully note the existence of negative phenomena in relations between front participants, which certainly do not make for a stronger rebuff to the bloc of imperialism, Sadat and Zionism, formed by the Camp David accords, for the mobilization of the popular masses for struggle, establishment of a required atmosphere of confidence among the political forces allied in the Front, and among the popular masses. These phenomena lead to the emergence of a dangerous split in the ranks of the patriotic forces, to their disarray, distracting them from the struggle against the real enemy. An example are the repressions against the fraternal Iraqi Communist Party. These repressions, we are convinced, do not make

for an atmosphere of trust and cooperation between the allied forces fighting against a common and dangerous enemy, which has managed to reach one of its key goals. The progressive, patriotic forces must do everything to strengthen their unity and step up efforts to counter the onslaught and to restore lost positions.

The campaign against the fraternal Iraqi Communist Party, should it continue, will create a real obstacle to uniting the Arab progressive, patriotic forces. And if the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries condemn this method of dealing with the revolutionary forces, it is not only because they seek comradely solidarity with the fraternal Iraqi Communist Party, not only because we highly assess its many years' struggle both in and outside its country, and in the inter-Arab arena, but also because we want just as much to see unity and cohesion in the ranks of the Iraqi national front, to see fraternal Iraq fully play its natural role in the general Arab struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and to safeguard its gains.

The conference participants, discussing the events in the Arab world since their previous meeting, noted with satisfaction the important victory won by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The defeat of the counter-revolutionary adventuristic left-opportunist coup, creation of the vanguard party — the Socialist Party of Yemen, a party of the working class, peasantry, revolutionary intelligentsia and all working people that is guided by a scientific theory of socialism, is an important qualitative gain of the Arab liberation movement and a practical response to imperialism's onslaught. This is clear evidence of the opportunities for frustrating imperialist plans and the reactionary conspiracy, of the broad prospects for the various contingents of the Arab liberation movement.

On the other hand, bearing in mind the difficulties now experienced by Algeria owing to the pressures of imperialism and internal reaction, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries express the hope and confidence that the national, progressive forces in this fraternal country will be able to surmount the present difficulties, maintain and strengthen the chosen path of development and social progress, ensure the maintenance of the progressive gains and the important place which Algeria occupies in the Arab front of steadfastness and among non-aligned countries, in the leadership of which President Boumedienne played an outstanding role.

Realizing the need to make maximum use of every position leading to Sadat's isolation, whatever its motivation, the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries consider it necessary also to

emphasize the responsibility which Arab reaction bears in general and Saudi reaction, in particular, for the Egyptian's regime sinking into the bog of treachery.

Saudi reaction has fulfilled its role of a directing and coordinating center for the plotting against the Arab liberation movement, though it always preferred to remain in the shadows. And if at the Baghdad conference it was forced — together with the other Arab reactionary regimes tending to support Sadat's course — to condemn the Camp David accords, this was due primarily to its uneasiness both because of the popular upsurge in the Arab countries and the official patriotic Arab positions and, apparently, to difficulties created by Sadat so rapidly and recklessly taking the road of treachery.

Hence the need for vigilance with respect to Saudi reaction's possible moves with the aim of consolidating its forces in the period ahead, and to support the Arab patriotic and progressive forces that are waging a struggle against the colluding reactionary regimes and are being subjected to persecution, oppression and repressions. Solidarity with their struggle is imperative.

Therefore our parties reaffirm their condemnation of the fact that elementary democratic freedoms are lacking in a number of Arab countries. They particularly reiterate their condemnation of the repressions against the patriotic and progressive forces in Saudi Arabia, North Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Sudan, Egypt and Jordan who are fighting for total independence, democracy and social progress.

Our parties also reiterated their complete solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories against the measures of repression and terror practised by the Israeli occupation authorities.

Our parties vigorously condemn the persecution of trade union functionaries and workers in Tunisia aimed at destroying the independent trade union movement. They once again express solidarity with the imprisoned legitimate trade union leadership, demand the release of all trade union and political functionaries, respect for democratic freedoms, legalization of progressive democratic organizations, including the Tunisian Communist Party. They demand also a stop to trial by military tribunals and state security bodies of communists and other progressives in Egypt.

The communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries hold that at present, in view of the dangerous developments in the inter-Arab arena, the question of democratic freedoms has acquired increasing importance, becoming an imperative condition of steadfast-

ness in the face of the imperialist onslaught and liquidation of the consequences of the Camp David accords. Granting of democratic freedoms to the masses, respect for the right to express their viewpoint, to independent political, party, trade union and professional organizations is an imperative demand of all Arab national and progressive forces, a slogan of struggle serving to rally the broadest political forces and masses. They see the infringement of democratic freedoms as a primary goal of the imperialist onslaught, which can be frustrated and defeated only through the mobilization and organization of the masses, unity of the national and progressive forces, granting of broad democratic freedoms.

Our parties are convinced that the Arab peoples and the Arab national-liberation movement have the potentialities to surmount the difficulties and obstacles facing them, to defeat the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction and the criminal Camp David agreements and their consequences. The way to realize this great aim is by mobilizing all the energies and consolidating the ranks of the national progressive forces and their heroic struggle, coupled with the support of the world revolutionary movement, with the friendly Soviet Union in the van, and the other countries of the socialist world system.

Together with all Arab patriots, our parties will do everything for the realization of these major goals.

Jordanian Communist Party
National Liberation Front of Bahrain
Tunisian Communist Party
Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria
Sudanese Communist Party
Syrian Communist Party
Iraqi Communist Party
Lebanese Communist Party
Egyptian Communist Party
Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco

Second half of December, 1978

MESSAGES FROM THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN

Dear comrades,

We participants of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries, meeting in December 1978 to discuss the problems of the Arab region and the Middle East developments, are sending you and through you to all members of your militant party, the fighting people of Iran our warmest greetings and express our deep admiration for them.

Dear comrades, your people's great revolution against imperialism, U.S. penetration and neo-colonialism, against the venal Shah regime's cooperation with Zionism, and the vestiges of feudalism serves as an inspiring example for the Arab peoples and a powerful support of their just cause in the present complex and difficult situation.

The great revolution of your people is the sole possible answer to the Shah's treachery and the colonialist policy which has been conducted by the United States in long-suffering Iran for the past three decades, a policy which, far from bringing the country civilization and technology, has taken away its last piece of bread.

Arab reaction is extremely unhappy with the outburst of the revolution in Iran which is aimed against the enemies of the embattled Iranian people. The Arab masses, on their part, confident of your final victory and the creation of an Iranian republic, are following your revolution with keen interest. We are impatiently awaiting the victory of the Iranian people, with whom we are linked by the fraternal ties of our common historic struggle for liberation from neo-colonial oppression.

Dear comrades,

The communist and working-class movement of the Arab countries seeks to consolidate the internationalist relations between your party and our parties, between your people and the peoples of the Arab countries in the interests of our common liberation and peace between the peoples of the world. The embattled Iranian people will win!

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

Dear comrades,

We participants in the Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Arab Countries wish to send you and through you to all members of your militant party, the fighting Turkish people our militant fraternal greetings and to express warm comradely solidarity with you in your confrontation with the bloody terror which has claimed the lives of hundreds of the best sons of the Turkish people and their working class.

Comrades, we are keenly following the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses of Turkey against the U.S. military presence and the NATO bases, against the unbearable economic crisis, for national liberation, democracy and social progress. The struggle of the fraternal CPT in the front ranks of the embattled popular masses of Turkey represents a powerful support for the just cause of the Arabs in the present complex situation. Therefore we are closely following the continuous growth of your party and the strengthening of its mass character. We express our solidarity with your struggle for the legalization of your party.

Comrades, we are seriously considering the question of establishing the closest comradely and internationalist relations between our parties and your militant party, between our peoples and your fighting people in the interests of the common cause of liberation, democracy, socialism and peace between the peoples.

Long live the victory of the courageous Turkish people and their Communist Party!

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

Dear comrades.

The participants in the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Arab Countries send you warm comradely greetings, express their high appraisal of your struggle and historic gains, achieved thanks to the selflessness and staunchness of your people led by your fraternal party.

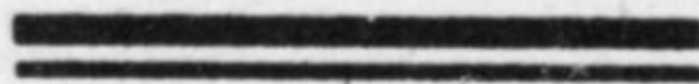
Our parties are fully aware of the historic importance of your victory over U.S. imperialist aggression, a victory that became possible thanks to your resolve to continue fighting to the end, and to the firm alliance with the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union,

as well as with other world revolutionary forces, a victory whose significance and impact was felt beyond the borders of your country, beyond Southeast Asia, and represents an important gain for all the forces of peace, progress, freedom and socialism in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

As the outpost of socialism and national liberation in Southeast Asia, your country has become a target of the plotting of imperialist and reactionary forces, as well as of the dirty conspiracy of the Chinese leadership, which is seeking in every way to discredit socialism in your country through various forms of pressure and provocation, ranging from the fabrication of the so-called problem of the Vietnamese of Chinese origin to the concentration of troops, and all sorts of demonstrations of military force at the Chinese-Vietnamese border.

Dear comrades, in examining the world situation, our conference gave much attention to problems connected with developments in your region. The statement adopted by it expressed comradely solidarity with you, with the struggle waged by your socialist country. This solidarity is assessed in the statement as an inseparable part of the objectives facing our parties in their struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggression, for the liberation of the occupied lands, realization of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, against the treacherous Camp David accords, which represent the main link of the U.S. imperialist plot that is designed to liquidate the Arab national-liberation movement and to restore all-round imperialist domination in the Arab region.

Therefore, proceeding from the joint struggle we are waging in the framework of the world communist and working-class movement, together with the other progressive and national-liberation forces in our countries and throughout the world, we once again express our parties' and the other Arab progressive and patriotic forces' warm solidarity with you. We wish you new achievements and victories in the heroic struggle on all fronts, for the benefit of your socialist country, of all progressive humanity.



FOR DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT, FOR COOPERATION AND PEACE

Statement by Communist Parties of northern countries

A conference of leaders of the communist parties of the northern countries was held in Stockholm over December 17 to 18, 1978. Taking part were representatives of the Communist parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and the Left Party — Communists of Sweden. The participants issued the following statement on foreign policy questions.

The successes won in recent years in the struggle to ensure peace and to promote cooperation and mutual understanding between the peoples are being threatened by the continuously growing arms race. Imperialism is endangering world peace and seeks to obstruct the peoples' liberation struggle. The arms buildup is going on in all regions. Also in the north of Europe NATO is intensifying its military activities. New terrifying types of mass destruction weapons have been developed, while conventional arms are becoming increasingly more effective and destructive. Therefore, Europe and the world as a whole is faced with an imperative choice. The furthering of détente requires adoption of concrete steps toward disarmament. Unless the arms race is stopped, it could lead to a nuclear war, which threatens humanity with destruction.

The commitments undertaken by governments in Helsinki, which are included in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, serve as a good starting point for the adoption of vigorous and effective measures to stop the arms race.

It is essential for the present arms limitation talks (SALT-II) to produce speedy results, which would open a way to progress in other talks on limiting and reducing armaments.

The socialist and non-aligned countries, as well as the European communist parties (at their 1976 Berlin Conference) already made a number of constructive proposals aimed at ending the arms race.

The northern countries could — each one independently and all together — play an important role in ending the arms race. President Urho Kekkonen of Finland recently repeated his proposal to make northern Europe a nuclear-free zone and suggested that the nuclear powers should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against the

countries of this region. The Soviet Union has, on its part, declared its readiness to give such a guarantee. The northern countries should begin negotiations with the nuclear states in order to create such a guaranteed nuclear-free zone. Such an agreement would serve solely to relax tension.

Peace and détente must be ensured, and the people must be guaranteed the right freely to decide on their future. The arms race and the growing threat of nuclear war, linked with the production and use of the neutron bomb, must be vigorously rebuffed by all democratic forces. We support every measure designed to establish trust between the countries. These are: expansion of contacts between the peoples in all spheres, thereby facilitating a better understanding of each other. This is an important part of the efforts aimed at rebuffing the attempt to revive the cold war.

The communists of the northern countries hold that cooperation between the communists, socialist and social-democratic parties is of enormous importance in the peoples' struggle for détente and disarmament. We welcome such cooperation.

The forces that are plotting a third world war must be countered by a broad popular movement throughout the world capable of averting such a tragedy for all mankind. The communist parties of the northern countries will contribute to the best of their abilities to this movement. They declare their solidarity with the peoples' liberation struggle against imperialism and fascism: in Chile, South Africa, Palestine and in other regions, as well as with the people of Vietnam who are building socialism.

Ny Dag, December 20, 1978

AN IMPORTANT LANDMARK IN THE LIFE OF COMMUNISTS

An event of great ideological and political importance has taken place in the life of the international communist movement. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in conjunction with the Editorial Council of the journal *World Marxist Review* (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) held an international theoretical conference, "The Construction of Socialism and Communism and World Development," in Sofia from December 12 to 15.

International theoretical conferences have long become a tradi-

tional form of cooperation between communist and workers' parties. This serves to show that the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in social development is growing and that fraternal parties are seeking, through joint efforts, to gain a more profound understanding of new phenomena in order to improve their strategy and tactics.

It goes without saying that each party will draw its own conclusions from the discussion in which its representatives took part. We think that the Sofia conference differed in many ways from most of the previous international theoretical conferences.

To start with, one should note the topic of the discussion. In effect, it covered the crucial problems of our time. The idea that dominated the speeches of the participants and the discussions was that it was impossible to comprehend any major international and social problem of our time, let alone the relationships between these problems, without making an accurate, full and objective analysis of the role which existing socialism has to play in the world.

Secondly, the importance of the conference also lies in the fact that the views on the problems discussed were expressed by leading representatives of the communist movement. The conference was attended by 73 delegations, of which 21 delegations were led by general and first secretaries and 37 by full and alternate members of political bureaus and secretaries of central committees. This gave more political weight to the debate and the conclusions made in the course of discussion.

Thirdly, the importance of the Sofia conference lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties demonstrated their profound desire for more active relations, broad internationalist cooperation, interaction and coordination of efforts. The conference itself was, of course, a step forward, particularly from the point of view of cooperation in the field of theory and ideology. At the same time, the common theme of the conference was that it emphasized the importance of unity for the world's communists, their solidarity, especially taking into consideration the nature and specific features of the current situation.

What were the main problems raised in Sofia?

The problem of war and peace, the basic, most acute and crucial problem of our time, occupied the central place in the work of the conference.

The foreign policy of the CPSU is well known. "The chief objective of our foreign policy is to do everything to halt the arms race and

to strengthen peace and the security of the nations," Leonid Brezhnev said.

Having described in a comprehensive way the fundamental objective features of existing socialism, the participants in the conference pointed out that existing socialism was the bulwark of the struggle for world peace and for the prevention of a new world war.

The speakers analyzed in detail various aspects of the role of existing socialism in the maintenance and consolidation of peace. They qualified this role as decisive for the destinies of mankind. In this connection they expressed the striving of the communists in all areas of the world to strengthen solidarity with existing socialism in promoting détente and consolidating peaceful coexistence.

It is important that the problem of the dependence of successful struggle for peace on the consolidation of the world socialism's positions, and expansion of solidarity of other revolutionary and peace-loving forces with it, was not considered in a general, abstract form, but in close coordination with the current international events and the pressing problems figuring on the political agenda of today.

The conference participants showed that in the present-day situation both the thesis of the absence of a military threat on the part of imperialism, which is being spread here and there, and the thesis of "inevitability of a world war" are equally dangerous. The latter is being propagated by the Peking leaders, clearly instigating the imperialist forces to torpedo détente and to step up the arms race.

The head of the Soviet delegation Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, clearly showed in his speech that communists do not consider war inevitable, but take a sober view of the hard facts, such as the latest decisions of the NATO aggressive imperialist bloc, the growth of the military budgets of the capitalist states, and the development and deployment of new kinds and systems of weapons. The systematic falsification of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and the spreading of the myth about a "Soviet threat" directly pursue the political aim of covering up the arms race carried out by the NATO countries and their efforts to gain military superiority. In these conditions, the socialist countries, the conference pointed out, are obliged to take appropriate measures to build up their defenses and at the same time bend every effort to stop the arms race. By their might, socio-political and ideological unity, the patriotism and internationalism of their peoples, the socialist countries block the way to the

aggressive proclivities of imperialism. They see this as their duty to all mankind.

The implementation of the proposals of the Moscow Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, said, will create a material force that will influence the course of history.

The conference highly appraised the consistent and principled foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries in the struggle for peace and détente. "In the present-day situation, as always when questions of war and peace are being decided, we communists state: follow the example of the countries of existing socialism," said H. Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party.

The majority of the delegates resolutely exposed the anti-Marxist positions and the hegemonistic, great-power proclivities of the Chinese leaders and their actions in the international arena that constitute a threat to peace. It was indignantly pointed out that the Chinese leaders had made preparations for war their state policy.

Another dominant theme at the conference was the contribution of existing socialism to the struggle for democracy, for ensuring democratic rights and freedoms.

The speakers at the conference dwelt on fundamental advantages of socialist democracy. The delegates of the CPSU and other fraternal socialist countries — Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and others — adduced concrete examples to show the successes of their countries, unattainable under capitalism, in ensuring fundamental human rights — the right to work, education, health protection, housing and active and efficient participation in managing public affairs.

The delegates approached this question from Marxist-Leninist positions. The development of socialism is an objective historical process. No one asserts that socialism has reached the limits of its development, passed through all its stages, solved all the problems and overcome all difficulties and shortcomings. As was pointed out by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the main, essential thing is that socialism has wrested society from the captivity of economic chaos and social inequality and that it has ensured a rapid economic growth and a steady rise in the people's well-being. It has emancipated the masses spiritually and politically and drawn them into free and crea-

tive social activity. The main thing is that socialism is implementing a fundamentally new type of democracy, socialist democracy, which not only proclaims but guarantees in practice the broadest rights and creates conditions for massive and active participation by the working people in various forms and at various levels of society management.

The speakers firmly and in a well-argued manner rebuffed the slanderous imperialist propaganda campaigns being conducted under the false pretext of "defending human rights" in socialist countries. A number of delegates pointed out that these campaigns were directed not only against existing socialism but also against communists and all the other progressive forces in non-socialist countries.

During the exchange of views it was pointed out that today creative development of revolutionary theory is inconceivable without a study and generalization of the experience of socialist countries, the experience of the victorious struggle to create a new society. "Marxism-Leninism," Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, pointed out, "is a theory that is being constantly enriched by the continuous struggles of the popular masses and their vanguard — the communist and workers' parties throughout the world. And in this sense it is a common, collective task of the entire world communist movement to add to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism."

Speakers at the conference specially emphasized the role of Leninism as the Marxism of our time. The concepts aimed at playing down the universal significance and viability of Lenin's teaching were thoroughly criticized. Some people, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, said, would like to belittle the role of Leninism, alleging that it is a theory corresponding to a certain period of development and suitable only for the peoples of backward countries, that it is "only one of the many trends that have emerged on the basis of Marxism." Such an approach to the development of the theory of scientific socialism is not creativity but a regression, a sliding down to the positions of social-democracy.

It goes without saying that other countries taking the road of socialism will introduce their own experience in the process of building it, enriching the theory and practice of the new social system. But it cannot be considered legitimate — as was emphatically stated at the conference — to seek the most effective forms and methods of progress toward socialism not along the lines of overcoming capitalist reality with all its vices and contradictions, but along the lines of

unjustified attacks on existing socialism, in unison with the propaganda of the class adversary. Finding faults with one's class brothers in the socialist countries, who have already scored no few achievements in their grim struggles and will make still more headway, can only disorientate the masses, and weaken the common offensive of all the revolutionary forces against imperialism.

The delegation of communists from the Federal Republic of Germany, the USA, Portugal, Greece, Argentina, Uruguay, India, Syria and other countries have shown that attempts to misrepresent existing socialism, its domestic and foreign policy are today one of the main directions of imperialism's ideological and political strategy. To slide down to such positions is unworthy of genuine fighters for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The importance of the socialist countries, their solidarity with the cause of the peoples' national liberation figured prominently in the discussions.

It was emphasized in many speeches that the existence and successful development of the community of socialist states favored the revolutionary victories won over imperialism by the peoples of Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan and other countries. This was stressed, for instance, by S. Vieira, member of the FRELIMO Central Committee (Mozambique), who said, among other things, that the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries made possible the effective checking of imperialism's aggressive acts against Angola, Ethiopia and other states.

The fact that a number of newly-liberated countries have embarked on the road of radical social transformations is a manifestation of the inexorable movement of millions upon millions of people to socialism. They want freedom to really benefit their nations and, hence, they choose the socialist orientation.

The Conference subjected to a thorough scrutiny the experience accumulated by the countries of socialist orientation. The participants supported the proposal of the CPSU delegation that the theoretical aspects of this question should be discussed.

The participants paid considerable attention to the examination of various aspects of the influence exerted by existing socialism on the social processes taking place in the world. It was said that the main influence of existing socialism is exercised by its successful economic activity and by the very development of the new social system. These successes show more and more broadly the advantages of socialism, give an impetus to and determine the criteria of the struggle the

working people of capitalist countries are waging for their rights and freedoms. A number of speakers underscored that the strengthening positions of socialism facilitate the spread of socialist ideas.

Naturally, in examining the role existing socialism has to play the speakers dealt with the question of how the principles of proletarian internationalism should be understood. It was noted that internationalist solidarity was embodied in the day-to-day activity of the international communist movement. Its pivot is the mutual support of the peoples of the socialist community and the revolutionary, progressive forces in non-socialist countries.

It was pointed out at the conference that international meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties at various levels and on various problems of our time were an important manifestation of internationalist solidarity.

The Sofia conference was held at a time when events of great importance were taking place in the international arena, resulting in the intensification of the ideological and political struggle and when the communist movement faced new urgent and complex problems. Most participants agreed that the conference had made a substantial contribution to the analysis of world developments, which is highly important for the solution of these problems.

Understandably, some delegations held specific views on a number of problems discussed, of which *Pravda* reported in its dispatches from Sofia. A frank and comradely discussion was held on a number of problems. On the whole, however, there was a broad unanimity of opinion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

All this ensured the success of the conference and made it one of the most significant communist forums in recent years. The conference has made a great contribution to the development of Marxist thought, to the strengthening of internationalist solidarity and to the attainment of the great goals of democracy, national liberation and socialism. The materials of the conference deserve much attention and should be studied by all communists and all fighters for the cause of the working class and for the vital interests of the peoples.

Pravda, December 29, 1978

ECONOMIC PROPOSALS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Document of the ICP leadership

I

The ICP leadership has examined developments in the economic and social situation and the economic policy tasks facing the government and the parliamentary majority.

At this stage in the evolution of both the international economy and the realities of our country, highly negative trends and a danger of new complications are emerging. This danger, which may materialize as early as 1979, is due primarily to the uncertain prospects of world trade and international economic and monetary relations. The inflation rate in Italy threatens to remain high or even to rise again; the growth rate of the national product may remain inadequate and, indeed, so may that of research and investment. At the same time, there are signs of further concentration of the development effort in the more advanced regions of the North and Center, with a consequent sharpening of the problem of the South and, above all, all the drama of unemployment. The number of young job-seekers is increasing and unemployment among the youth is going from bad to worse in every respect. The demand of women for skilled jobs is not met. In the long term there is a prospect of substantial deterioration of the domestic situation and international standing of Italy.

There are still serious limitations in the effort to put public finances on a sounder basis and to reorientate them particularly by increasing appropriations for investment. The growth rate of industrial production and investment is still low, and the effort to reconstruct and expand the production machinery as a whole with due regard to the changes that are coming about in the international division of labor is entirely insufficient. An adequate solution of the problems posed by the structural crisis of our economy is still a long way off.

It follows that reality itself refutes the affected optimism of those

who said only recently that the emergency was over, with the sole aim of calling in question the new policy line initiated with the communists' entry into the parliamentary majority. What is confirmed, on the contrary, is the necessity for an effective national solidarity policy capable of grappling with the dramatic problems of production structures and public finances which must be solved if the country is to enter a new phase of development and regain tranquility and confidence in its democratic future.

II

The program agreed upon by the forces constituting the present parliamentary majority has created the essential initial conditions for change. In the past year, the policy of unity and the sense of national responsibility of the working class and the communists have helped make notable gains in combating inflation, settling accounts with other countries and providing new legislative instruments for a democratic programming of development. This, in turn, has helped stave off the more serious danger threatening the tax system, the rate of employment and the very institutions of republican democracy.

However, there are manifestations of uncertainty within the parliamentary majority as well as attitudes that tend continuously to slow down and disrupt action aimed at putting the economy on a sounder basis and at transforming it. Certain forces encourage divisive moves and accentuate corporatist interests born objectively of the crisis and prevent its settlement on a democratic basis. Even in government quarters there are — as recent scandalous incidents have shown — those who oppose the trend toward unity and the reformatory content of the agreed program.

The ICP calls on all democratic forces and the government itself to strive anew for unity and honor most rigorously the program commitments and deadlines beginning with those relating to the three-year economic development plan whose elaboration has been most unsatisfactory so far. In the sphere of legislative government activity, very important conditions and prerequisites have developed already that make it possible to begin a new stage in the economic and social development of the country. Those who operated in a way nullifying these possibilities would be assuming grave responsibility.

III

What is needed first of all is for the government to take a prudent yet firm stand in the coming negotiations on the European monetary

agreement under discussion to which Italy could adhere on the terms set out in parliament by the Minister of the Treasury, provided there are precise guarantees, not so much of the necessary flexibility of monetary maneuver, as of a modification of the community's agricultural policy and the coordination of the EEC countries' economic activity with a view to hastening and not hampering the development of the South and, in general, the weaker EEC countries.

But above all else it is necessary, of course, to make a more vigorous and consistent effort in our own country in order to reorganize and renew public finances, bring down the inflation rate, make our production system more competitive structurally, maintain the employment rate in the South and raise it immediately, and pave the way for steady and balanced growth of the national economy and for the organic development of the South.

The deadline set by the government for submitting the draft three-year plan — a deadline recently confirmed in the Chamber of Deputies by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers — is December 31. There is an urgent need, therefore, for a serious effort to step up and coordinate the activity of the government with the cooperation of the majority parties, in order to meet this deadline. It is not a question of presenting a comprehensive plan or a technically definitive document but of achieving a first important result in meeting the commitment to carry on from 1979 to 1981 an explicit and effective programming policy intended to remove structural shortcomings and the more negative spontaneous trends of economic development. The draft three-year plan, to be submitted to both the majority and parliament, will be the more convincing, the more it concentrates on certain fundamental issues and the more it takes account of the offered contribution of the regions, the trade unions and other mass organizations. . . .

IV

What is very important and politically decisive now is, therefore, the following: (a) the solution of the problem of replacing the Minister for Industry, Commerce and Arts and Crafts and the guarantees that will be furnished for a decisive solution of the problem of coordinating economic policy, even through an executive reform; (b) passing a reform law on agrarian agreements in line with the agreed program, and a commitment to give the force of law to the agreement between the trade unions and the government on pensions; (c) increased discussion between the government, the trade unions and elected demo-

cratic bodies on pressing problems of the South; (d) the outcome of the parliamentary debate on the state budget and financial law. The debate should help, among other things, in guaranteeing a real increase in and an adequate distribution of public investments in 1979, primarily investments designed to raise the employment rate in the South. . . .

V

At the same time, the ICP leadership stresses a number of important points that should lie at the basis of the draft three-year plan. . . .

(a) take more drastic steps against tax evasion; reform the tax agencies and raise their efficiency. . . .;

(b) adopt a development plan for agriculture and the food industry. . . .:

(c) introduce effectively the mechanism of incentive and state intervention envisaged by Law 675 on industrial reconversion. . . .;

(d) revise long-term programs of the public sector of the economy and put state participation on a proper basis. . . .;

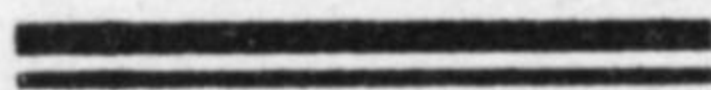
(e) work out various measures . . . to speedily carry out specific programs for public spending on agriculture, power, housing, transport, public works. . . .;

(f) draft a reform of regulations on the training, placing and re-assignment of labor power. . . .;

(g) draft a plan for the reorganization of administrative bodies to remedy their present decline, contribute to the decentralization of state power, and to help increase the role of public employees and executives and make them more aware of their responsibility. . . .

The document says in conclusion that the ICP Leadership appeals to all party organizations, the workers and the people to launch actions on the largest possible scale for reform, justice and the economic and cultural renewal of the country. It points out the need to steadfastly advance in the course of these actions the demand that resources and efforts be concentrated on solving the more urgent problems of the South, dealing with critical situations and raising the rate of employment in the South.

Abridged from *Unita*, November 24, 1978.



TO THE PARTY, THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMY

Address of the PRPL CC and Government of Laos

Below is a joint address issued by the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the government of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, to the party, to the people and the army on the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic on December 3.

Over the past three years, the solidly united people of the whole country, under the leadership of our party and government, has overcome various complicated and difficult trials and has steadily advanced, scoring conspicuous victories.

Our national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, our social order and socialist construction have been reliably defended. The political situation has become more stable than ever before. Our armed forces and multinational people have enhanced their revolutionary vigilance and are prepared to fight so as to foil any schemes and moves by imperialism and international reactionaries, who seek to produce complications, to resort to subversive acts and to encroach on our territory, thereby defending and strengthening our revolutionary might and the new system.

We have scored some early successes, which are of tremendous importance in reconstructing the economy as it advances toward socialism. Our investments in the building up of a material basis have been steadily growing, and this helps to develop various branches of the national economy and gradually to solve the important problems in the people's everyday life. Hundreds of factories, plants and other enterprises have resumed their operation or have been built anew. Our cadres and other working people, resolved to rely on their own strength, have been using to the utmost the raw materials and equipment available in our country, constantly improving the management of enterprises and steadily increasing output. The light and handicraft industries have been rehabilitated and remodelled in various districts, and this largely promotes the development of agricultural production and improvement of the people's living standards. Our agriculture has scored fresh successes. The peasants of the various nationalities have joined collective producer associations. In more than 1,000 villages,

including those areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, a new form of production — agricultural cooperatives — have been set up. With revolutionary élan and with the help of the organization of manpower, our peasants have ploughed up tens of thousands of hectares of virgin and waste lands, repaired and built hundreds of installations within the irrigation system, used new methods of land cultivation, enlarged the area under summer rice crops, so converting in many areas the fields which had earlier yielded only one crop, into fields which now yield two crops a year. A large number of livestock was lost during the war, but now the cattle population in the country comes to over one million. Our people have concentrated their efforts especially on overcoming the after-effects of the gravest natural disasters over the past century.

Concerning our external relations, we have successfully pursued a foreign policy of independence, peace and non-alignment. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our country and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is being successfully fulfilled, and this helps further to develop the special solidarity between Laos and Vietnam, to strengthen national defense and advance socialist construction in each country, together with defense of the socialist outposts in Southeast Asia. The friendship and diverse cooperation between our country and the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries have been steadily growing, developing and yielding remarkable results. We have been doing everything we can to promote the defense of peace and security in Southeast Asia, to strengthen our relations with the non-aligned countries and international organizations, and to support the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The prestige of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic and its role in international affairs have increased.

Our great successes in the past three years provide a sound basis in every sphere of our people's life and help to fulfill the tasks set by the party and the government in defending our country and building a new social system.

The party's Central Committee and the government, expressing joy at the successes of our party and people, and taking pride in them, thank the workers, peasants, the armed forces, the employees, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the monks and nuns, the democratic leaders, the patriotic and progressive leaders of ethnic groups, the whole people and Laotians living abroad for their contribution to the great cause of our country's development and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

On this occasion, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Laotian government and the Laotian people voice their gratitude to the parties, governments and peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries, and the friendly states and international organizations for their great and sincere support and assistance to the Laotian people in ensuring its national defense and national construction.

The present situation in our country and the rest of the world favors the development of our revolution. The three revolutionary streams are acquiring unprecedented power. Over the past three years, the revolutionary struggle has repeatedly scored successes in many parts of the world, and many countries have taken the socialist road.

The forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace are becoming ever stronger and more united. However, the panic-stricken imperialists and international reaction have joined together in an effort to realize their crafty schemes and to divide and undermine the revolutionary movements. But the revolutionary trend of our day has been steadily developing. These forces of evil are becoming more isolated than ever before and are being sternly condemned by progressive world opinion. As a result of their invariably reactionary character and acts, the situation in Southeast Asia and other parts of the globe has been growing more complicated. That is why we must take a clear and firm stand and display high vigilance.

In order to defend and develop our revolutionary gains and to be prepared for any situation, the party's Central Committee and the government urge the people of the whole country to strengthen their unity and cohesion with all the nationalities, devote their strength and energies to the cause of socialist transformation and construction, to make our country strong in every respect, so as to produce abundance, to ensure a happy life for our entire people, and to defend our country, an outpost of socialism in this part of the world.

The following must above all be done to fulfill these tasks:

1. Changes must be rapidly put through in agriculture, the targets for the production of foodstuffs set by the state must be fulfilled and even overfulfilled; the people's life must be rapidly stabilized and self-sufficiency in food gradually achieved; all conditions must be created for carrying the peasants of every nationality onto the path of socialist collectivization; the existing cooperatives must be organizationally strengthened in terms of fuller use of manpower, organization of production and distribution; farming techniques must be improved, administrative management at various levels must be skillfully com-

bined with an effort to induce the peasants to make extensive use of the necessary farm implements, agricultural production must be developed in every respect, so as to make the fullest use of the tremendous potential of our agriculture.

2. The people's living standards must be raised, the handicrafts and industrial production must be developed so as to increase the output of goods to meet the needs of production and the people. We must improve our work in the supply and distribution of goods, in procuring the produce of agriculture and forestry, in providing the necessary goods and materials for men and women of all nationalities in accordance with the policy of the party and the government. Our people must be moved by a spirit of collectivism, helping each other in production and in the difficult and trying struggle against our enemies, taking an active part in building schools, hospitals and children's establishments, combating illiteracy, raising the level of education, developing culture, art, physical training and sports, so as to create advanced villages and advanced cities.

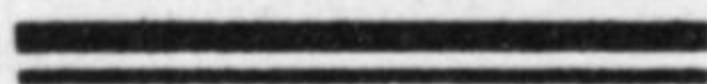
3. The local economy, local armed forces must be built up, involving a combination of efforts to muster broad masses of people and the movement for collectivizing agriculture with the development of the political forces, the national defense and security forces, increasing the output of agriculture and forestry, giving attention to the development of the handicrafts and the light industry, strengthening and extending transport and communications, and building an appropriate local economic structure. In every area, a sense of collectivism and creative spirit must be developed among the people, rational use must be made of manpower, and our natural resources correctly applied. All party cadres and members at every level must work in every way to develop their revolutionary qualities and respect the people's right to be the country's collective master.

With firm confidence in the sagacious leadership of our party and government, and our people's radiant future, the whole party, army and people, moved by their revolutionary spirit, work to unite millions of men and women and courageously advance into the future.

Kaosan Pathet Lao Agency,

December 3, 1978

Abridged



END THE TYRANNY AND ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY

On December 8, 1978, a statement of solidarity with the Iranian people was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA. The statement is printed below:

The Communist Party of the United States of America expresses its complete solidarity with the millions of Iranian working people who are in struggle to overthrow the dictatorial rule of the Shah of Iran and to replace it by a democratic republic of Iran in which the people, not the Shah, are sovereign.

The forces in Iran fighting the Shah are many and varied, but are united on one thing: the need to end the Shah's tyranny and to establish democracy. On that basic point, every citizen of the U.S. can and should agree, and should immediately make his or her sentiments known to President Carter, the chief foreign supporter of the Shah and his despotism, and to the Congress.

We demand an immediate halt to all U.S. support for the Shah, immediate withdrawal of the more than 38,000 U.S. military advisory personnel in Iran, immediate termination of all U.S. military and economic aid, including so-called "in-the-pipeline" aid of money and small arms and artillery ammunition.

We demand the immediate severance of U.S. diplomatic relations with the regime of the Shah, the recall of Ambassador William H. Sullivan and the closing down of the U.S. Embassy.

Tens of millions of Iranians have been involved in the protests against the Shah for a year now. Under democratic rule, the Shah would have been ousted peacefully long ago. He remains in power because his U.S.-armed and U.S.-trained military in the past year have killed well over 10,000 unarmed protestors, with the blessings of President Carter, the Pentagon, the CIA and the big U.S. oil companies.

The issue in Iran is not "religion," it is democracy, the right of the people to rule and not to be ruled. The Shah is a brutal, inhuman dictator put in power by the CIA in 1953. His bloodstained rule over Iran exists against the will of the overwhelming majority of all Iranians of all religious and political persuasions.

The trade unions and organized labor in the U.S. have a special interest in solidarity with the struggling workers of Iran, the Iranian

oil workers, steelworkers, teachers, etc. There are no real trade unions in Iran, no rights for labor, no freedom to organize or to bargain collectively. This has meant gigantic profits for the Shah, his cronies, and the big international oil companies, and these profits in turn have been used to finance anti-labor actions by U.S. corporations in the U.S. and around the world. A democratic Iran, one where Iran's natural resources would be controlled by Iran's people and a freely-organized labor movement, would not permit this to continue. By showing solidarity with Iran's workers, U.S. workers would be fighting in their own cause, the cause of labor.

In this regard, the CPUSA expresses its deepest solidarity with the illegal Iranian Trade Union Movement and the illegal Tudeh ("Masses") Party of Iran, which are playing important roles in the struggle for democracy in Iran. The Tudeh Party, a party fraternally allied with the CPUSA, is demonstrating that it is heir to the finest revolutionary-democratic and socialist traditions of the Iranian peoples.

Henry Winston,
National Chairman
Gus Hall,
General Secretary,
CP USA

Abridged from Daily World.

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FROM THE PRESS

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ARGENTINA

*Statement by Geronimo A. Alvarez, General Secretary
of the CPA*

Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, has warned that the reactionary forces "try to prevent every step toward rapprochement, a dialogue and a progressive outcome" of the process initiated when, in March 1976, the armed forces took power and promised the country a "renewed democracy."

Speaking at a comradely dinner, Arnedo Alvarez analyzed the situation in the country, the hemisphere and the international arena. In Argentina the activity of political parties had been suspended, and so their leaders were compelled to resort to statements and documents in a personal capacity to acquaint public opinion with the positions of their organizations.

The process under way "is not uniform, nor should one expect it to be. We should not be surprised or disconcerted by the growing internal contradictions and struggles, which are due to the magnitude of the forces involved and the grave problems to be faced and solved."

In accordance with this concept, the speaker analyzed the recent cabinet shake-up and noted that "public opinion received with deep disappointment and discontent the confirmation of Alfredo Martinez de Hoz as Minister of the Economy. The inclusion of new ministers is a concession to the right in view of the ideas they represent.

"If matters stand as is suggested by the reputation and past activity of the new and old ministers, the promised dialogue may find itself in jeopardy, with all the negative consequences this would have for the reorganization process."

There were "signs of one of the worst crises ever experienced by the government. The causes and gravity of this situation should give the government under General Jorge Videla cause for serious re-

flection. Two currents are struggling in the armed forces and this struggle will become much more complex and much more open.

"It is one of our duties as well as a duty of all democratic forces at this crucial hour to defeat 'Pinochetism' and pave the way for a renewed democracy, with the active participation of the workers and people."

Arnedo Alvarez pointed to the need to set "specific and early deadlines so as to guarantee the achievement of the democratic objectives" promised by General Videla. Not long ago, this promise had been repeated by Lieut. Gen. Roberto Viola, commander of the ground forces.

The people expect the promise to be kept and want to "express their opinion and take part in decision-making. Otherwise promises may become a boomerang torpedoing such goals as democratization and a civilian-military convergence."

This unification was "not merely a tactical concept but an essential condition for the democratic modernization and progress of Argentine society. This implies agreement among all political forces and all citizens with a view to working out in common with the armed forces a national plan, a political timetable and a government program that would subsequently have to be carried out on the basis of collective responsibility."

The speaker described the need to release several thousand political prisoners and ascertain the fate of "thousands of missing persons" as a particularly urgent problem. Over a hundred communists are in this condition and as many are being held without trial.

Arnedo Alvarez emphasized that "the whole country emphatically rejects the economic plan." He said that the results of carrying out this plan have already caused concern in military quarters. He spoke in some detail of the impact of the plan on the living conditions of the masses, on industry, agriculture and national security. The General Secretary mentioned the disastrous consequences of dismantling the public sector and the protests which this drew and which are assuming a universal character. The CPA is working out an economic plan as an alternative to the Martinez de Hoz plan, "applauded only by U.S. bankers."

Progressive changes in the country can be brought about only if the working people play an active role. The rightists are trying to divide the trade union movement and "stave off struggles to win an increase of the low wages and defend social gains." The trade union movement, visibly affected by government interference and divided

into several currents, must create "one coordinating center," which would mean "an advance toward one General Confederation of Labor in the future, that inalienable gain of Argentina's working people."

The speaker warned against the dangers posed by the plans attributed to the armed forces and described by some as a political project being agreed upon inside the military junta. It is necessary to grant the political parties and trade unions complete freedom and meet their demands for a democratic order in the country, consultations with the people and direct elections on the principle of proportional representation. "No restrictions, no bans, no witch hunt!" In this connection Arnedo Alvarez called attention to the growing "McCarthyist campaign."

The CPA leadership considers that the government's foreign policy "maintains a position of independence and good relations with all countries irrespective of their economic and political structures and systems. This is all the more commendable since reactionary circles exert enormous pressure to turn us into satellites."

The General Secretary also declared in support of bilateral talks to settle the current conflict with Chile. He warned that "on both sides of the Cordilleras there are those who make war-mongering speeches. The so-called hard-liners of the Argentine political spectrum bank on a war with Chile, hoping that this will help them abolish the limited freedoms that still exist."

"A primary patriotic task is to avoid an armed conflict with Chile. This can be done if the Argentine people as a whole mobilize and ensure a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the dispute. The progressive trend of the entire process going on in Argentina and of our immediate future hinge on success in this respect."

Arnedo Alvarez noted with satisfaction the increased activity of the workers and people, of Argentina's industrialists and peasants, as well as the statements of political parties. He pointed, however, to such lingering shortcomings as "the lack of unity, joint action and a common coordinating center." These forces must work out "a political plan to give a stronger spur on the convergence of all Argentine patriots," including the military.

The General Secretary put forward the following minimum program of eight points as a way out of the crisis:

— to begin a dialogue without any discrimination whatever to discuss internal and external problems and work out solutions acceptable to all sides;

— take steps to eradicate terrorism and end repression; lift the state of emergency and restore democratic freedoms;

— release all political prisoners and persons arrested for trade union activity; bring about a complete solution of the serious problem of the missing and kidnapped;

— revise the present economic program along with taking steps in regard to wages, establishing price control, extending the home market, protecting state enterprises and safeguarding the interests of national industry and agriculture;

— settle the conflict with Chile by peaceful means “with due regard to the interests of either side;”

— normalize life in the universities on democratic lines; end all discrimination;

— pursue a foreign policy for peace and support the principle of peaceful coexistence;

— bring about a civilian-military convergence on the basis of a democratic action program for the country, a minimum government program and a timetable of measures paving the way for an institutional way out; convene a constituent assembly on the basis of proportional representation and without discrimination.

“Argentina, like the Latin American continent as a whole, is not marching to fascism but to a renewed democracy, even if we have to overcome many obstacles and make sacrifices to achieve it, and even if light and shade alternate for a time until the day dawns for good.”

THE WORKING CLASS HAS REACHED A HIGH LEVEL OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

Interview with the leader of the Iranian Tudeh Party

“In what other country has there ever been such a mighty and broad popular movement as the one that has been continuing in Iran for a whole year? The Iranian people have been waging their struggle since January, organizing more and more demonstrations and general strikes against the dictatorship despite the mass arrests and bloody reprisals.”

The person being interviewed had gone through prisons, court trials and years of exile. That is why we met with Iradj Eskandari, First Secretary of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), and Second Secretary Kianuri, in one of Europe's capitals.

The Tudeh Party has been working underground since 1949. Persecution of its activists was particularly harsh after the 1953 coup d'état. Some have been in prison for 30 years, many have died there.

"The situation in our country is peculiar. The scale of the opposition movement is very great because the despotic regime's brutal reprisals, squandering of finances and corruption have caused general dissatisfaction. All segments of Iranian society — from the working class to the national bourgeoisie, excluding those closely linked with the Shah and the foreign monopolies — are opposing the government which retains power only with the help of fascist methods.

"The Shah's economic policy has in recent months led to a powerful strike movement in support of economic demands. Sections of the small bourgeoisie such as artisans and shop-keepers are suffering from the competition of foreign goods that have flooded and undermined the national market.

"The so-called 1960 agrarian reform has ruined thousands of peasant families and forced them to migrate to the cities." Prior to 1960, 80 per cent of the population lived in the rural areas, now the figure has been brought down to only 45 per cent.

"Despite the strong government pressure and the fact that the trade unions are fully in the hands of SAVAK (the Shah's secret police), the strike movement of the working class, part of which had but recently migrated to the cities, has shown that it has reached a high level of political awareness. A recently formed underground movement for trade union freedoms is demanding that SAVAK be dissolved and political prisoners released.

"At present the general strike that has been joined by all of Iran's working people and is actively supported by the entire population, has become an important stage in the struggle against the dictatorship.

"Until recently, practically the only place people could meet was in the mosques and this explains religion's influence on the movement. But actually this is a deeply political movement whose goal is abolition of the monarchy, establishment of an anti-imperialist democratic regime, observance of freedoms and withdrawal of the American advisors."

These aspirations have influenced all of the clergy whose position reflects the will of the people.

“We respect Shiism, the religion of the majority of the Iranian people, because we are an integral part of that people. For many years now Shiism has been the national basis of the resistance to foreign invaders by the Arabs or Turks. Today it is rising up against U.S. imperialism in our country.

“That is why for the last few months we have been proposing the formation of a united front bringing together all the opposition forces. We regret, however, that so far there has been no response to our appeal.”

Iradj Eskandari is certain that in the future the movement will acquire a still greater scope.

“The situation is very complex: on the one hand, there is the broad and powerful popular movement whose main goal is the overthrow of the Shah, but which has no clear-cut leadership and no organized political party, except for the Tudeh Party.

“On the other hand, there is the monarchy and U.S. imperialism. It is not in doubt that the United States is seeking a compromise to re-establish stability in the country and thus protect its interests. However, the United States has not yet found an alternative solution and therefore continues banking on the Shah. It has tried to split the movement and win over the reformist trends, but the pressure from the people is too great. So far it sees no other means of dealing with the situation save reprisals.

“We have already said that the overthrow of the monarchy is the common goal. But what will happen when this aim has been achieved? That is why the Tudeh Party proposes forming a provisional government of national unity which could hold democratic elections with free participation by all political parties.”

The Tudeh Party will support any government that will guarantee freedoms, democracy and national independence. “We demand freedom for all political prisoners, dissolution of SAVAK, repeal of the martial law, putting on trial all who resorted to torture, freedom for all political parties and freedom of speech.”

As for national independence, the Tudeh Party demands restoration of the laws on oil nationalization, abrogation of all agreements with the imperialist monopolies and military treaties with the United States.

“On the economic and social plane,” the First Secretary of the Tudeh Party concluded, “measures should be taken to guarantee and improve the Iranian people’s living standards.”

L’Humanité, November 27, 1978.

AGAINST DISTORTION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF EXISTING SOCIALISM

A book by the five French communists Alexandre Adler, Francis Cohen, Maurice Decailot, Claude Frioux and Leon Robel, entitled *The USSR and Us*, was put out recently by Editions Sociales in Paris.

The wide publicity accompanying its appearance is continuing to this day.

The reason?

The authors sought, in their own words, to give an "integral conception" of the Soviet Union, to "show the general direction of Soviet society's advance."

We Soviet communists specializing in various spheres of the life of Soviet society, have carefully studied the book and since it deals with our country and the activity of our party, we consider it essential to express an explicit opinion of it. Regretfully, we have come to the conclusion: whatever its authors' subjective intentions, the book gives a distorted picture of both the history and the rise and development of socialism in the Soviet Union and of Soviet society today.

In dealing with the past and present of the Soviet Union and the international influence of existing socialism, the authors, while laying claim to objectivity, have adopted an ambivalent, ambiguous position. There are passages that simply reveal their incompetence and lack of knowledge of the life of the Soviet country and people. As a result the book is not objective and is in many respects untruthful.

WHEREFORE THE REAPPRAISAL OF VALUES

The authors of *The USSR and Us* base their arguments, to use their words, on the fact that the French communists must make a "new" appraisal of the USSR and its role in the present-day world, or more explicitly, a reappraisal of values. Why do they consider such a reassessment necessary? Why do they infer that the French communists should change their opinion of the Soviet Union?

The chief reason in their view is that the French Communist Party began to define, particularly at its 22nd Congress in February 1976, "their own original road to socialism." The elaboration of this road, as they see it, requires "a knowledge and study of the existing socialist experience in order to draw lessons from it, and either to rely

on it or to reject it." It is in this connection that the authors pose the question of reappraising the experience of the USSR which, they acknowledge, "played a role in the international movement toward socialism."

We have not set ourselves the aim of examining the course adopted at the 22nd FCP Congress. This is an internal affair of the French Communist Party and it is up to the French communists alone to draw conclusions on the successes and failures of that course.

In describing the need to "reassess" Soviet experience, the authors assert that two contradictory conceptions have currency in the West regarding the Soviet Union. "One, that of the dominant ideology and mass media, is the concept of 'evil as an inseparable feature of the USSR', the other, the communists' heritage from the past, is that of 'absolute goodness' (p. 10). So what do they propose? They propose elaborating a "true conception of the USSR."

The authors, if we have understood them correctly, spelling out their own idea proclaim a quest for some middle-of-the-road position between the avowedly hostile concept of socialism which dominates bourgeois propaganda, and the concept "inherited from the past."

In their search for some middle-of-the-road position with regard to the USSR, the authors have seen fit to substantially re-evaluate the past activity of the French Communist Party, which from the outset, often in the most difficult conditions of rampant anti-Sovietism, spoke out courageously in defense of the truth about the first country of socialism.

Until quite recently the FCP was clearly aware of the purpose of the class enemies' anti-Soviet propaganda. Only four years ago, the FCP Central Committee issued a special statement in connection with the anti-Soviet campaign launched by the bourgeoisie and urged all French communists and democrats to vigorously expose this campaign. "What is the aim of the anti-Soviet campaign?" the statement noted. "First of all, it is an attempt to discredit existing socialism, to sow doubt as to the possibility and benefit of socialism in our country, to undermine the faith of manual and brain workers in changes capable of improving their lot. This campaign also aims to distract attention from the catastrophic consequences of the crisis and monopoly policy for the majority of Frenchmen. It aims at isolating the working class and its party, intimidating and alienating the peasants, intellectuals, democrats and Christians from an alliance with the revolutionary working people." The FCP Central Committee noted that "the truth of socialism, its experience and its quests, of its advance toward

greater and greater welfare and democracy, is a great force of progress, a source of faith in the future."

Justified words. The anti-Soviet propaganda campaign has not abated since then.

On the contrary, it should be noted that in recent years anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda has been stepped up in France. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois press is sinking deeper and deeper into the rut of virulent anti-Soviet propaganda. It is a kind of psychological war of certain bourgeois press organs against the USSR and existing socialism as a whole. Understandably, this cannot but affect one or another section of the population and partially even progressive public opinion.

It is in the atmosphere of an anti-Soviet propaganda boom that *The USSR and Us* made its appearance. That being the case, the primary task of people who write about the Soviet Union is to determine the place they wish to occupy in the present ideological struggle. Whether they want to emphatically oppose this stream of defamation and slander and tell the truth about the Soviet Union or they seek, for one or another reason, to play a different rôle, for instance, to make use of something in this stream and to reject the rest? One can readily see that the proponents of the second position may find themselves in a very ambiguous situation.

A CONTRADICTIONARY APPROACH

Just recently — only a year ago — our country marked the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Marking this outstanding event, the entire progressive world, including the French Communist Party, stressed at the time the enormous achievements of the Soviet people despite all the difficulties and obstacles. Now five French communists portray the history of the Soviet Union as if in a distorting mirror, in which the historic achievements of the Soviet people and the objective and subjective problems and difficulties on our way are reflected totally out of proportion.

In vain one searches in the book for any commendation of the Soviet people for their heroic effort in peaceful construction, their staunch struggle for the triumph of the common ideals of socialism. There are instead endless lamentations to the effect that the hard-won struggle for socialism in the USSR has prevented it from acquiring what the authors consider an ideal image.

Such an approach to our history cannot but be taken as an insult to the Soviet people, who have indeed endured grim ordeals, cherish-

ing in their hearts the dream of communism not only for themselves but for all the peoples.

In dealing with our history, the authors, as we see it, have ignored the main criteria in assessing the historic gain of international socialism and the difficulties it has encountered. While acknowledging the well-known fact that the October Revolution put an end to capitalist domination in one-sixth of the world and initiated the epoch of humanity's transition to socialism, the authors however declare that our revolution was like a "traumatic shock." Such an approach obscures the real results of October for the peoples of our country.

The authors did, of course, make a cursory mention of these results. They speak of the industrialization of the Soviet Union, elimination of social and national oppression, and the emancipation of women, etc. But all this — we repeat — is only in passing, while the emphasis is on the unwarranted repressions of the 30s connected with the personality cult, to which they keep reverting again and again.

The authors' extensive disquisition in connection with the personality cult period, the very presentation of the material is designed to create the impression that they are virtually the "pioneers" in this respect. Whereas a truly direct and much more profound criticism of the personality cult had been made by our party at its 20th and consecutive congresses, in the well-known June 30, 1956 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and other party functionaries.

We would like to recall, for the benefit of those French communists who might not know about them, some documents of the CPSU and the FCP of that period.

The above-mentioned CC CPSU resolution gave a clear answer to the question of what led to the emergence of the Stalin personality cult, its essence and manifestations, and its consequences. It gave a balanced evaluation of Joseph Stalin's activity at the head of the party in the concrete historical period of socialist construction in the USSR in the incredibly difficult conditions of backwardness, devastation, hostile capitalist encirclement, and a permanent threat of an attack from outside. The party's general line was fiercely attacked by opportunists and factionalists from both the left and the right. All this required an iron discipline and heightened vigilance. Fiercely attacked by the imperialist states, Soviet society had to resort to certain temporary restrictions of democracy, which were lifted as the Soviet state grew stronger and the forces of democracy and socialism de-

veloped across the world. But in this period, too, socialist construction continued in the USSR and it gained in strength, which was of tremendous importance also in the victory over Hitler Germany. During these years enormous successes were scored in creating the material and technical base of socialism, in developing education, science and culture, in improving people's living standards.

Contrary to the allegations of the enemies of socialism, the personality cult was unable to disrupt the operation of the objective laws governing the socialist system of society, it did not alter the profoundly democratic, truly popular character of the system or the leading role in it of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

In the report to the 14th FCP Congress in July 1956, that is, a few months after the 20th CPSU Congress, FCP General Secretary Maurice Thorez expressed on behalf of the party complete solidarity with the above-mentioned CC CPSU resolution. Thorez said: "The frank and bold self-criticism on this question was a new vivid expression of the strength of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the soundness of the socialist system" (M. Thorez, *Sel. Works*. M., Gospolitizdat, 1959, Vol. II, p. 355). And further on, exposing the hysterical campaign launched by the bourgeoisie with the aim of causing disarray in the communist ranks, Thorez, to the loud applause of the congress delegates, stressed: "The trust of the working people of France in the first socialist state in history and its Communist Party not only has not been shaken, but has grown stronger as a result of the courage and lofty political qualities manifested in connection with these events by our Soviet comrades" (ibid., pp. 355-356).

And Georges Marchais, the present FCP General Secretary, answering those who, capitalizing on the events linked with the personality cult sought to distort the history of Soviet society, in the book *A Democratic Challenge*, which was put out in 1973, was fully justified in writing: "What other movement, what other government, what party has ever in history publicly criticized its own errors as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other communist parties have done? And certainly it is to socialism's credit that the development of socialist society resulted in the rectification of these serious errors and is now leading to a quest for everything that will expand democracy and enhance personal responsibility?" (Georges Marchais, *Le défi démocratique*. Paris, "Grasset," 1973, pp. 166-167).

What then has occurred in recent years to motivate the five French authors to call in question the answers provided almost a quarter of a

century ago, by the French Communist Party, among others?

What motivated them (and by what strange coincidence) now that bourgeois propaganda spares no effort to smear socialism, to represent the history of socialist construction in the USSR in such somber colors?

Yet that is how they are representing the entire pre-war period of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Speaking of the 30s, the authors say virtually nothing about the fact that these years saw the successful development of a powerful socialist economy, the building of socialism, the all-round development of the historical creativity of our working people in all spheres of life, and the expansion of the socio-political and economic rights of the Soviet people. But if the entire history of the USSR over these years boiled down to the personality cult and its consequences, then how does one explain the mass heroism of the Soviet people in the past war, their selfless defense of the Soviet Motherland? The whole point is (and the authors acknowledge this in the introduction) that this heroism, this selflessness constituted a great nationwide vote for the socialist system, for the Soviet state, for the policy of the Communist Party.

In the light of these commonly known facts the authors' criticism of the "return to Leninist norms" is startling, to put it mildly. In their interpretation it would seem that the CPSU had decided to "turn back a quarter of a century." All this sounds very strange coming from people who have at least some knowledge of Leninism and our country. Are they actually unaware that for our party, for our country Leninist norms are not only and not primarily history but an invariable code of socialist democracy that is being translated into reality, of course, in accordance with the conditions and on the basis of a creative approach, which constitutes the essence of Leninism.

EXISTING SOCIALISM OR AN ABSTRACT SCHEME

In dealing with the question of the socialist nature of the Soviet Union, the authors carefully avoid using clear formulations, deliberately obscuring things. "We should no longer," they write, "say: in the USSR there exists collective ownership of the means of production and working-class power, therefore, socialism exists there" (p. 216). Rather, they go on to say, an "evolution" is taking place, making the producers the owners of the means of production; power there is "partially" exercised by the working class: there is a movement "purposefully directed more and more at socialism." What is

the meaning of this? Why give such an ambiguous answer to this basic principled question? Actually, socialism has long since been firmly established in the Soviet Union and all its aspects exist in reality. And in our time socialism is every day demonstrating its superiority over capitalism.

At present socialism has emerged victorious not only in the Soviet Union but in a whole group of countries, which are successfully building socialist society, expanding thereby the opportunities of revealing common features, laws and criteria of socialism by comparing the historical experience of diverse countries, by singling out that which is common, which characterizes socialism as a new type of social system.

The authors of the book suggest in a categorical form what way the Soviet people should adopt in order to solve all economic problems. It appears that to find such a solution (moreover, a permanent solution) it is necessary to switch over from "state ownership to self-management under which every producer would be the master of production" (p. 215). What kind of system is this? How is it organized? How does it function? Why is it better than others? While admitting that the forms of social organization they propose have not yet been tried out in practice anywhere, the authors nevertheless claim that precisely these forms of "autonomous ownership" are best of all suited to socialist society, and not only in the USSR but in other countries as well.

What to say about this idea? Above all, it obviously stems from a notion of a kind of "non-state" socialist economy. However, with the present level of social production, and with the existing close and complex interconnection between numerous sectors of the economy, the socialist economy's normal functioning and progressive development is unthinkable without a well-organized mechanism of economic planning and management on a national scale. This mechanism is provided by the socialist state.

In the USSR an integrated national economic complex has taken shape and is functioning. Ignoring the laws of this extremely complex organism, the authors propose what amounts to is fragmentation. One does not have to be an economist to realize that in practice this could only result in anarchy of production, ruin the socialist national economy, engender seats of private enterprise alien to it, and, in the final analysis, lead to local interests being counterposed to national interests. This would undermine the foundations of socialism.

By the way, only recently the French Communist Party itself

vigorously condemned such theories, engendered by leftist-anarchistic elements and economists like M. Rocard, now an economic theoretician of the Socialist Party.

Undoubtedly the Soviet system of planning and management of the economy can and will be improved. This has been directly and clearly pointed out in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, resolutions of CC CPSU plenums, documents of the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders. But obviously this improvement will not achieve its aim if it is implemented on the basis of arbitrary schemes that are not backed by experience and run counter to the public character of the production forces. Our practice is built on a combination of centralized leadership and development of broad initiative at a local level.

The authors are especially vehement in counterposing their views to the experience of existing socialism when they speak of the Soviet political system. They hold that the experience of existing socialism is "ill-fitted" to the principles connected with the "conceptions of freedom and democratic life" shared by them.

Let us take a closer look at the proposed formula. What is its purpose? In point of fact, it is designed to compare the existing experience of socialism not with some other existing experience, but with the "conceptions of freedom and democratic life" which are "shared" by a group of French theoreticians and journalists.

"We do not know exactly what would be an ideal form of political life in a socialist state," we read in the book, and "our discussion is not predicated on the confrontation of one model by another" (p. 131). But this being the case, then what are the authors' ideas of what is bad and what is good in the practice of socialist states?

At the same time, the authors have at their disposal an enormous amount of *factual material* — data on the functioning of the Soviet political system: the Soviets, the CPSU, the trade unions, work collectives, forms of the working people's participation in management, etc.

It is in the framework of these enormous organizational structures that political solutions, that the guidelines for their realization are elaborated, that the interests of the center and the regions, the diverse social groups and citizens are being harmonized. While expressing concern over the "political passivity" of the Soviet population, the authors failed to see such an important form of expressing public opinion and criticism as the broad discussion of fundamental laws and of all plans of economic and socio-political development.

Existing socialism is not merely and not primarily devoted to discussion; it is a working society. That is why our party's and our people's approach is: things are argued out while working out a decision, but after it is adopted it must be fulfilled jointly by all. Socialist society's strength and superiority lies precisely in its purposefulness, in its effectiveness.

Finally, how could the authors ignore the most urgent questions that agitate the working people of France and other capitalist countries and which have been successfully resolved by existing socialism.

We have in mind the non-existence of exploitation of man by man as a primary condition for all the other freedoms, the non-existence of unemployment, hunger, poverty, lack of security, which have been and remain the constant elements of any, even the most developed, the most "democratic" bourgeois society.

We have in mind the universal liquidation of illiteracy and achievement of a high level of general education and cultural development of the Soviet people.

Our country is the most widely reading country in the world. Every sixth book that is put out on earth is a Soviet book.

The achievements of Soviet science and culture, of which the authors also keep silent, are known throughout the world. Yet this is also existing socialism, the result of the general flourishing of our socialist society.

We believe that these and many, many other facts, which clearly show that existing socialism has opened the way for the working people to rid themselves *forever* of capitalist exploitation and its consequences, merit their being made known to the French working people who are fighting for their social rights. This truth about the Soviet Union, an honest, objective depiction of existing socialism in our country would serve as a rallying example, stimulating the struggle for socialist progress.

HAS THE FCP EVER "SUFFERED" FROM INTERNATIONALISM?

The solution of the internal problems of the working-class and democratic movement of France is inseparably linked with the struggle for peace, for détente, for the termination of the arms race, and for international cooperation. In this struggle the Soviet Union is a reliable ally of the working people of France. Consequently, stronger friendship between the French working-class movement and the

Soviet Union, with existing socialism accords with the vital interests of both sides. The book by the five authors clearly does not serve this purpose either.

In any case, through the entire book, from the introduction to the conclusion there runs — now openly, now in a veiled form — the notion that the French Communist Party has all but become the victim of its own internationalism, its close association with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The authors evidently have been strongly influenced by the totally false accusations levelled by bourgeois propaganda to the effect that FCP policy has allegedly not been independent and national in character. "Henceforth the French communists," the authors say, "do not consider themselves, and do not wish to be considered, to be a part, to say nothing of an auxiliary, of the system organized around a single center from which socialism emanates, and which, assuming responsibility for the future of humanity would decide the conduct of world affairs" (p. 11).

"In no way is French policy made in Moscow," the authors exclaim in the very next line. Of course, it is not. That is obvious, whether it concerns government policy of the opposition course steered by the French Communist Party. But why insist on something that is common knowledge? Whence such a passionate desire to distance oneself from Moscow, from the CPSU, from the communist and workers' parties of the other socialist countries?

In the introduction the authors acknowledge that they "have not always had the same conception of the USSR" (p. 13). As if apologizing to the reader, they seek post factum to "justify" the good relations that existed for decades between the FCP and the CPSU, which were clearly manifested also by decades of solidarity of the French working class with the Soviet Union in its far from easy struggle against imperialism, for socialism and peace among the peoples.

Asserting that at its 1920 Tours Congress the FCP took insufficient account of national conditions, and failed to ensure its "national roots," the authors cite the "Soviet party's influence" as the cause, which "was predominant in the central organs" of the Comintern (p. 14). But it is a well known fact that it was precisely Lenin and the Comintern who fought against the "infantile disorder of 'leftism'," explicitly seeking to ensure the "national roots of the fraternal parties." "The great periods of the French Communist Party's battles," which the authors depict as something restricted within a national framework, in reality developed in line with the entire world com-

unist movement and the history of the French working-class movement, and the FCP has been and remains closely linked with the history of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

This was the case in the period of the Popular Front, in relation to which the authors see merely an "initial opposition" on the part of the Comintern. But the truth is that the Comintern highly appraised the Popular Front in France and Spain. And the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow in 1935, with the active participation of the Bolshevik Party, proclaimed the policy of a common alliance of the anti-fascist forces, of a Popular Front in the struggle against fascism and war as a fundamental policy of the communist parties.

And the authors' attempt to cast aspersions on Maurice Thorez, an outstanding leader of the French and international working-class movement, who did much to strengthen the French Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, cannot but engender protest. They accuse Thorez and the FCP leadership of that time of dogmatism, again citing its close links with the CPSU in the "Stalin era."

No Communist Party has ever "suffered" from having remained true to the ideas of proletarian internationalism. This fully applies to the French Communist Party as well. The French communists owe much of the successes scored at various stages of their history precisely to the fact that they were at once dedicated patriots of their own country and consistent internationalists aware of the close connection between the struggle waged by their party and the efforts and struggle of world socialism as a whole.

The French Communist Party has experienced difficult moments and complexities. But what did they stem from? Could that really be due to its internationalist course? To its friendly attitude to the CPSU? Nothing of the kind. It was due above all to the pressure of big business and the forces of reaction on the French communists. It was linked with one or another weakness of the country's left forces, of their disarray. It was linked, as the communists have more than once self-critically noted, also with certain shortcomings in their own work. All the statements to this effect are easy to find in FCP documents relating to diverse periods of its history. Such are the facts. They show that the authors' hints at some weaknesses in their party, the blame for which they attribute either to the Soviet Union or to the former FCP leadership led by Maurice Thorez, are, to say the least, unconscionable in character.

These hints have, of course, made the book extremely attractive to

the ideological opponents of the Soviet Union and socialism, as well as of the French Communist Party itself. Not surprisingly, the French bourgeois and reformist press is giving it wide publicity.

And it urges the authors to step up their actions in that direction. *Le Monde*, for one, printed a review of the book entitled *Comrades, Make Another Effort* (September 14, 1978). The notorious anti-communist Jean-Francois Revel said when the book came off the press: "The FCP can become democratic and pluralistic only if it becomes reformistic" (*L'Express*, September 14, 1978).

All these observations should, in our view, make the authors once again take a close look at the concept of their work, at the place the ideas and provisions it sets forth occupy in the sharp ideological struggle being waged in the world today.

The Soviet communist have always sought to strengthen the ties of solidarity with the French communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They firmly adhere to that position. The crux of the matter is that the basic, fundamental interests of our parties in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, coincide. These are our common interests. Even if differing views should emerge on some concrete questions of theory or practice, this cannot and must not prejudice joint actions aimed at reaching goals corresponding to these common interests. But then we should above all avoid taking steps that could lead to the emergence or increase of mutual distrust, to the distortion of positions. Then, as we see it, we should first of all seek to get to know and understand better the life and positions of each other with account, naturally, for the differing situations in which our parties find themselves, with account for the fact that the FCP is working in a bourgeois society, is fighting for democratic and social changes, while the CPSU has for 60 years been building a new society, forging a road in historical virgin land, and has won tremendous successes, as recognized by the entire world communist movement, in creating a state of mature socialism which serves as the bulwark of peace and social progress.

Abridged from *Kommunist*, No. 18, 1978

IN BRIEF

CUBA

The seventh plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba was held in Havana on December 24, under the chairmanship of Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CPC and Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers.

The Central Committee discussed the draft economic development plan and state budget for 1979. Among the questions of internal party life, the plenum analyzed the party's growth, as well as measures adopted by the CC CPC Political Bureau to improve its social composition.

Fidel Castro made the concluding speech. He dwelt in detail on the tasks of the party and state in the coming year, as well as domestic policy issues.

GDR

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee met in Berlin with FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais. It was noted during the talk that the struggle for peace and security, to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems had chalked up substantial results. The relation of world forces is determined above all by the superiority of the forces of peace and socialism, creating the prerequisites for thwarting the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles.

The leaders of the SUPG and the FCP expressed their resolve to act in the spirit of common goals and ideals of the communist and working-class movement in strengthening the united actions of the communist parties, and all peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces.

IRAN

The present events in Iran are characterized by democratic, popular, revolutionary mass actions, Iradj Eskandari, First Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) said in an interview with the Beirut newspaper *An Nida*. The aim of the revolution in Iran, he stressed, is a fundamental change in the existing regime in accordance with the people's will. The Iranian people protest against the rising cost of living, unsatisfactory housing, widespread speculation and corruption. Their demands are primarily political in character.

Only the army and police now support the Shah, Eskandari went on to say. And even they are doing it solely because the Iranian army is under the leadership of U.S. specialists.

Calling for the unity of all democratic forces, Eskandari noted that the religious movement in the country calls for the overthrow of the Shah's regime and objectively favors the people's victory. In this connection, he emphasized that the People's Party will cooperate with the religious trends in the interest of the unity of the anti-Shah movement.

At the same time, Eskandari said, there exist in Iran reactionary forces which do not want to change the foundations of the existing regime and seek to maintain U.S. and British influence in the country. They adhere to positions of virulent anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. But these forces are powerless without U.S. support, the main prop of the present regime.

The events in Iran, Eskandari continued, have fully exposed the demagogic character of the U.S. administration's "human rights" campaign. Despite mass repressions, murder and arrests in Iran, President Carter is loath to change the United States attitude to the Iranian regime.

In conclusion Eskandari noted that the Peking leadership is supporting the Shah in every way, demonstrating thereby that there is no fundamental difference between China and the United States. The Chinese leadership's withdrawal of its support for the national-liberation movement has occurred not only in Iran. This was the case, for instance, in Chile, in Africa and other regions. In doing so, Peking has conclusively withdrawn from the world's progressive forces.

JAMAICA

The First Congress of the Workers' Liberation League — an organization that was set up four years ago and whose aim was to transform itself into a Marxist-Leninist Party — was held in Kingston in mid-December. The formation of a Workers' (Communist) Party of Jamaica was announced at the congress. Trevor Monroe, who was elected General Secretary of the WPJ, said that the party will wage a struggle against imperialism, and uphold the interests of socialism, the working class and the peasantry.

