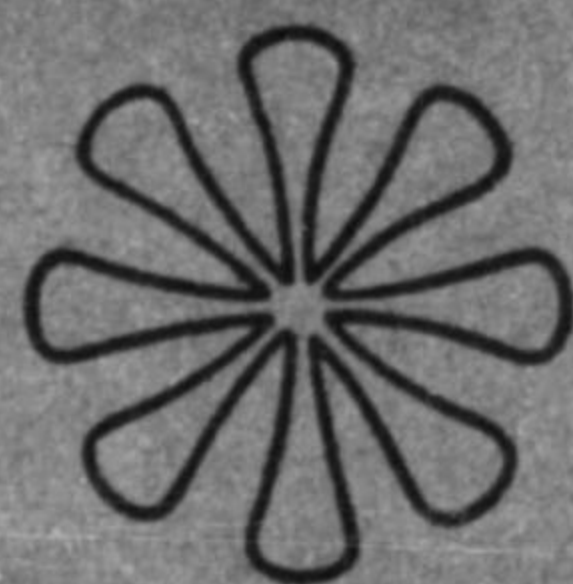
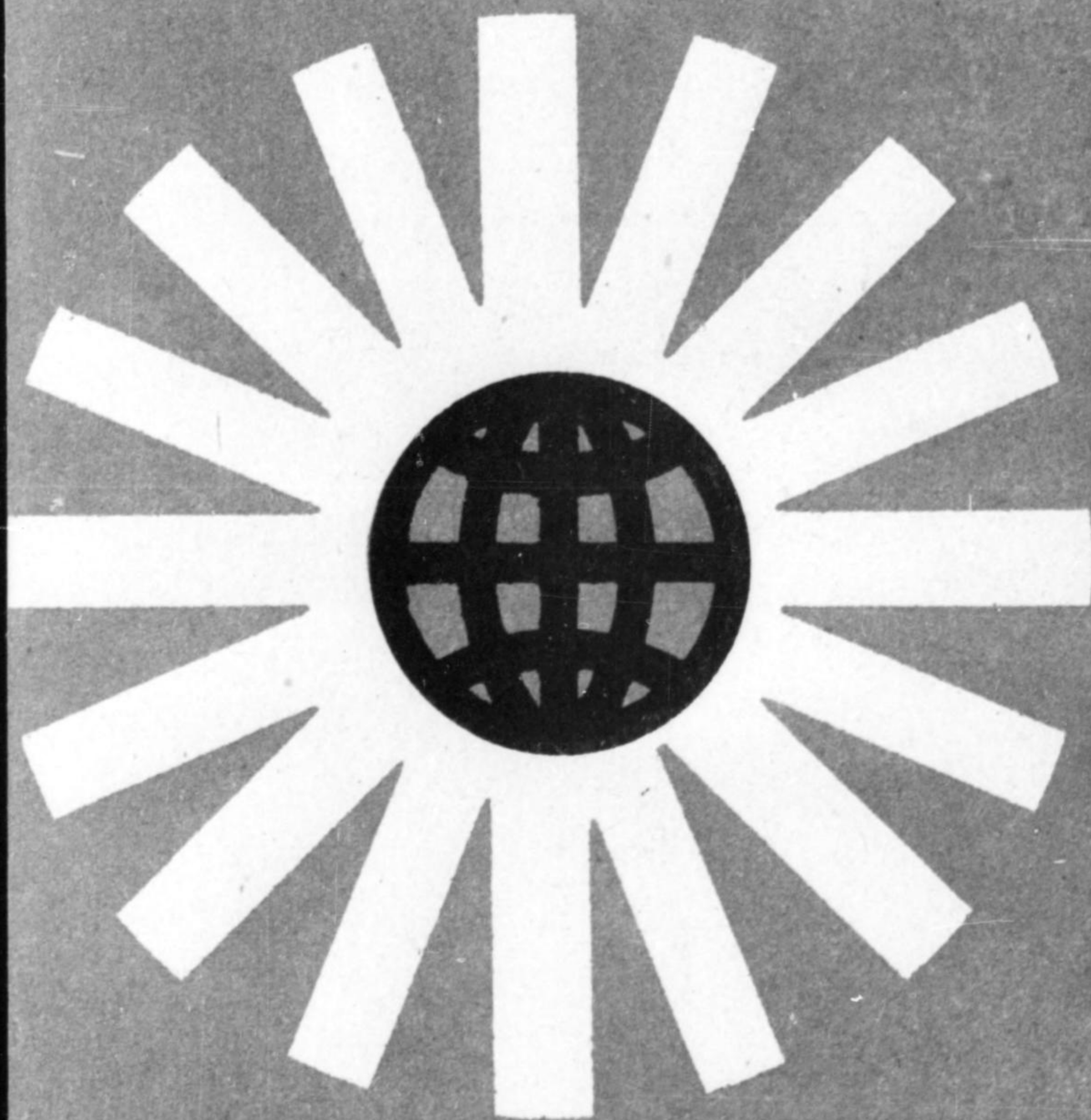


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BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

USA



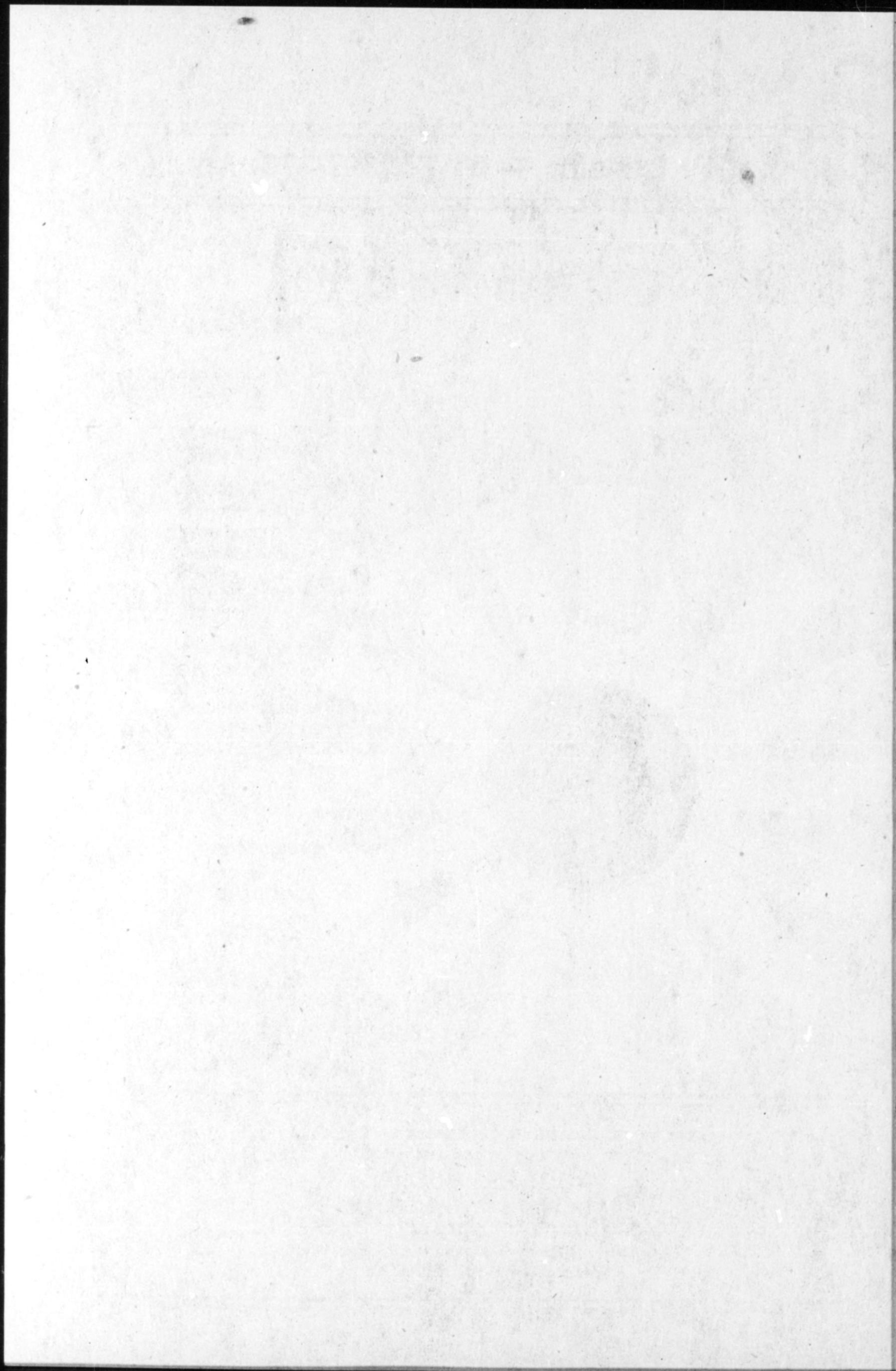
**NON-ALIGNED
CONFERENCE**



CHILE

21-22

(397-398) • 1979



information bulletin — 21-22 (397-398) Vol. 17

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST ST., THIRD FLOOR,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5V 2P6

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PRINTED IN CANADA
NOVEMBER 30, 1979

PRICE: 10 CENTS



TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS OF THE U.S. COMMUNISTS

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USA was held in Detroit from August 23 to 26, 1979. Congress heard the Central Committee report and adopted a number of resolutions.

Below we publish two documents of the congress: part of the CC report, which dealt with the party's ideological struggle at the present stage and a resolution on solidarity.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

MAOISM

Our basic attitude toward questions related to Maoism is stated in our party's "Open Letter to the Central Committee, Communist Party of China." You should know that we have not yet received a reply.

Our rejection of Maoism is based on all grounds. We reject it because in its basic essence it is anti-working class. We reject it because its main orientation is to obtain small favors by doing the bidding and acting as a tool of imperialism. We reject it because it is basically anti-national liberation.

Maoism works with the most reactionary forces of imperialism in every area of the world. Their anti-national liberation activities include political and ideological pro-imperialist propaganda and the joint arming, with imperialism, of reactionary anti-liberation forces.

We reject Maoism because it advocates imperialist wars as a means of attempting to halt the world revolutionary process.

We condemn Maoism because it is conducting an active war of aggression against socialist Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

We reject Maoism because anti-Sovietism continues to be its main ideological and foreign policy line.

We reject Maoism as a guide to building socialism. We reject it because it is basically bourgeois nationalist and because it is in essence anti-Marxist.

Since the death of Mao Tse-tung there have been no basic policy changes in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. There are

differences within the leadership, but all the main groups continue to push the anti-Marxist, anti-working class policies of Mao. The so-called "four modernizations" is basically a program of modernizing and building up its military complex.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Our party's positions on general questions of theory and policy rest on basic foundational timbers of the class struggle, the bottom line of our times. Issues, institutions and personalities around it go through a process of change. But the essence of the class struggle, the class forces and the main class contradiction are like Old Man River — they just keep rolling along.

We work on the basis that it is the *objective* processes and the forces related to the class struggle that determine the basic behavior patterns of classes.

The capitalist class behaves the way it does because of its relationship to the economic and production process. It will continue to behave as it does until a counter class force resists or stops it.

Therefore, no amount of "good will," common sense or persuasion will change its basic behavior patterns. The capitalist class does not reciprocate good deeds or favors.

Monopoly capital can not be transformed or co-opted into a force for progress or for socialism. Any attempt to do so is illusory as well as a waste of time.

The bottom line of our times is the *class struggle*. These two words are inseparable; give up the concept of struggle and you can also forget the concept of class.

Any and all ideas that there can be social progress of any kind without a struggle is as impossible as the concept of reality or matter without motion.

The element of struggle is the motion in political and social affairs. Compromises in a tactical sense are necessary. But compromises, accommodation and capitulation that give up the concept of the class struggle also give up the concept of motion — motion toward progress and socialism.

We firmly believe that bourgeois nationalism is a weapon of monopoly capitalism. It is not an instrument the working class can adopt as its own. We realize a working-class revolutionary party must take into account feelings of national pride and a sense of people's patriotism. But we do not accept the bourgeois concept of nationalism that is used to cover up class divisions and class exploitation. This can not

be the outlook of a working-class revolutionary party. National consciousness is one thing; nationalism is quite another matter. Our national consciousness and our concept of proletarian internationalism are not contradictory. Rather, they are intertwined strands that serve the working class and the peoples of the world well, including our working class and people.

We believe tactics are necessary. But they must never be used to ignore or corrode basic positions that are rooted in the class struggle. Tactics must be supportive of the basic policy positions in the struggle.

Only ideas that are deeply rooted in reality can become a material force for changing it. Therefore, Marxism-Leninism as a science must be a reflection of reality and, in the first place, the reality of the class struggle and the class forces.

SOCIALISM

We are still being asked: What is your party's model for the building of socialism? We do not believe it is possible to build socialism based on models. From this, however, we do not draw the conclusion that the socialist societies being built around the world are not real, or are wrong. That has been the theme of the Trotskyite sects for 60 years. They say they are for socialism. But they are against it wherever it is being built.

Each working class, each people establishes and builds the new society as a solution to the specific nature of their own particular problems. The new society will be influenced by their own history, culture, traditions and their own unique experiences. However, the main essence of real socialism is socialist, in all countries.

No one has ever insisted that socialism must be built based on models. This is an enemy slander. This distortion has always been a slander.

In the building of socialism there are no exact twins or triplets. There are no carbon or xerox copies. And no one has come up with a way of cloning socialist societies.

One of the cold war arguments against SALT-II is that its ratification will lull the United States to sleep. This and other cold-war anti-Soviet arguments are fast losing their credibility. The majority sentiment for SALT-II demonstrates that anti-Sovietism is on the decline in our country.

Anti-Sovietism is fed by the biggest of all big lies. It starts from the false premise that the Soviet Union is a military threat. It continues

along the lines that every victory against imperialism is directed by the Soviet Union, that every national-liberation movement is Soviet-inspired. All rebellions, all uprisings, all protests are attributed to the Soviet Union. Therefore, those who oppose SALT-II place the condition that the Soviet Union would have to give aid to the forces of imperialism in their attempts to stop the world revolutionary process.

While engaged in an active and consistent drive for détente and peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have never, and could never have undertaken to guarantee preservation of the social status quo in the world or halt the class and national-liberation struggles bred by the objective laws of historic development.

The proof that we can now break through the old barriers and limitations and become a mass party is all around us. There has never been a better, more enthusiastic response to our policies and to our ideas. We have never had greater influence.

Many factors that in the past were negative factors have now turned into their opposite. The fact that we are a revolutionary party, a party with a revolutionary outlook, is a big plus.

In the past, the fact that our party proclaimed its stand on proletarian internationalism was a minus in the minds of the majority. Today our relationship with the world revolutionary process, our friendship with the communists of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Angola, Chile, Nicaragua and most of the socialist countries adds to our prestige and influence.

In the past years, many were afraid to associate with us because of persecution and harassment under the Smith Act and the McCarran Act anti-communist laws. Now, people express admiration and respect. They are proud to associate with us.

But above all else, our people are looking for our kind of solutions. When they say: "Somehow the system doesn't work," they are also ready to say: "There must be a better way."

For all these reasons and more, the moment has arrived for a mass Communist Party in our land.

I would like to conclude this Report to our 22nd National Convention with some wise counsel from Lenin:

"... great periods in the history of mankind ... present such a mass of political doctrines, opinions and revolutions, that this extreme diversity and immense variety, especially in connection with the political, philosophical and other doctrines of bourgeois scholars and politicians, can be understood only by firmly holding, as to a guiding

thread, to this division of society into classes, this change in the forms of class rule, and from this standpoint examining all social questions — economic, political, spiritual, religious, etc.” (V.I. Lenin, “The State”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29).

If we heed Lenin’s advice, which remains sound today; if we hold firm to the class struggle and the classes like a “guiding thread,” we will find the shortest, the least painful and the most peaceful path possible to socialism in our great land.

RESOLUTION ON SOLIDARITY

Whereas, our party dearly embraces the communist precept of working-class internationalism, believing as we do that the working people of the world have more in common with one another than they do with the oppressors of their own nations; and

whereas, anti-imperialist solidarity is in the deepest and best traditions of our country which was born in struggle against colonialism, a struggle which enjoyed the solidarity of peoples of many lands; and

whereas, we, the Communist Party, USA, living as we do in the heartland of the most powerful and most violent imperialism in history, recognize our special responsibility to the world’s peoples who are victimized by U.S. imperialism; and

whereas, we recognize that imperialism is a world system, that each defeat inflicted upon it in any arena is a victory for all peoples, not least of all our own people; and

whereas, the peoples of the world, using varied and many forms of struggle, including when necessary, armed struggle, have risen to overthrow their national and international oppressors to establish systems of national independence and social emancipation;

therefore be it resolved that our party, the Communist Party, USA, reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples in struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the first place U.S. imperialism; and

further be it resolved that we extend our special thanks and unqualified solidarity with the valiant, heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea facing the wrath of imperialism in league with Maoist treachery, even as they launch the arduous task of socialist construction; with the comrades, sisters and brothers of the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, in battle

against the monstrous fascism of apartheid and imperialism; with the Communist parties, Marxist-Leninist formations and the Palestine resistance, fighting Zionist expansionism and racism, and reaction at the service of the transnational oil monopolies; with the people of noble Cuba, led by its great Communist Party, with the sister people of newly and finally liberated Nicaragua, with the peoples of Puerto Rico, Chile and Latin America in struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascism in imperialism's back yard and last but far from least, with the comrades of the fraternal communist parties the world over, in the forefront the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the best guarantor of peace, justice, security and the very future of humanity.

OUR PEOPLES FIRMLY BELIEVE IN PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Visit by Alexei Kosygin to Socialist Ethiopia

At the beginning of September, Alexei Kosygin, Member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made an official visit to Ethiopia where he attended the celebrations devoted to the fifth anniversary of the Ethiopian national-democratic revolution.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia and Alexei Kosygin spoke at a dinner given in honor of the Soviet guest on September 12. We print their speeches below in slightly abridged form.

SPEECH BY MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

The Ethiopian people, having proclaimed the slogan "Revolutionary motherland or death," received internationalist assistance in upholding their revolution, independence and unity against internal and external enemies. Inasmuch as the Ethiopian revolution is a part of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for equality, justice, democracy and socialism, revolutionary Ethiopia never was and never will be alone in its struggle.

The party and government of the Soviet Union sided with us and the material, moral and political support they rendered us not only fueled our revolutionary spirit but helped us substantially in defeating our enemies.

The Ethiopian people's struggle against the imperialist forces was far from easy. Yet with the assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries the broad popular masses surmounted with revolutionary resolve the obstacles on their advance along the road of socialism, which constitutes a big victory for the socialist camp.

Despite the fact that over the past five years our revolutionary army, leaning on the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, resoundingly defeated both the reactionary forces outside the country which pursue an expansionist policy, and internal reactionaries, we cannot say that imperialism and the reactionaries are leaving us alone. So we still have a long road ahead of us until the final triumph of our revolution.

We have not the slightest doubt that we will go on together till our final victory, for our peoples firmly believe in proletarian internationalism. And these are not merely words.

There exist only two guarantees of our revolution, of our unity and construction of a socialist system: the laying of a stable economic base, and the creation of a party of the working people to provide constant guidance. To this end we have organized, in accordance with the program of the national-democratic revolution, the chief center for the creation of a party, which will shortly begin its work.

We believe that our friends, like ourselves, see the formation of the center for the creation of a party as an historic victory of the Ethiopian people, a blow at the plans of those who are undermining people's power and at the left extremists and counter-revolutionaries. At the same time this will inspire all genuine revolutionaries to continue the struggle, and will strengthen their belief in proletarian internationalism.

Revolutionary Ethiopia, as an inalienable part of the anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary camp and the socialist community, realizes that it is its historic duty to line up with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are waging a struggle to strengthen peace and world security, and for the complete elimination of oppression, exploitation, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Inasmuch as the struggle now going on in the south of Africa for national liberation and democracy is also a struggle against oppres-

sion and exploitation, against the racist regimes, it should be backed by all the peace forces. The supporters of racism, who are frightened and weakened as a result of the armed struggle being waged by the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, have changed their tactics in an attempt to deceive world opinion by staging unlawful elections. The position of our two countries on this question is unshakable — we know that it is necessary to continue rendering assistance and support to SWAPO and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front. We must thwart all attempts by the racists and chauvinists — with their partiality for the language of diktat — to put off the day when the peoples win their independence.

Another African problem is that of Western Sahara. In this connection both our countries must strive to have it resolved on the basis of the UN resolutions on granting the people of Western Sahara the right to self-determination, to settling the contradictions peacefully. We believe that all the countries involved in the conflict should follow the example of Mauritania, which stated that it relinquished all claims to the territory of Western Sahara, thereby demonstrating its peacefulness.

The situation in the Middle East is at present more complicated and explosive than ever before. Socialist Ethiopia and all peace forces are closely following the Soviet initiatives aimed at achieving an overall settlement of the problem. Clearly the deal of the reactionary forces of the region with international imperialism which ignores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people does not help in the least to settle the conflict. No nation can be denied its legitimate historical rights. Hence we support the position of the Arab states which condemn the Camp David deal.

We firmly believe that a real peace in this region can be established only on the basis of the UN Security Council's resolutions which demand that Israel pull out from all the lands it seized in 1967 and that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people be ensured. In this connection it is necessary, in our opinion, to call without delay a conference at which all the sides concerned would be represented. Moreover, all the peace forces should press for an immediate cessation of military actions in Lebanon.

As a result of the intrigues of the expansionists and imperialists the situation in Asia, particularly in its southeastern part, has greatly deteriorated.

Together with the imperialists, the chauvinistic reactionary leadership of China is trying to undermine stability in Southeast Asia.

China's aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, who waged a prolonged, victorious struggle against imperialism and served as a model for all the anti-imperialist forces, has outraged all progressive mankind. China, while trumpeting about fighting against imperialism, has actually become a Far Eastern ally of imperialism in the struggle against the progressive forces by launching its aggression against Vietnam. Therefore all progressive forces, especially the peoples of Southeast Asia, should remain vigilant.

The overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary — puppets of the chauvinistic leadership of China — by the revolutionary people's movement in Kampuchea was a victory for all forces of peace and progress. The reactionary policy of China and its expansionist proclivities aimed at subjugating neighboring countries, have failed. The peace forces should expose and condemn the aggressive policy of China toward Kampuchea and Laos, a policy which jeopardizes international security.

Ethiopia fully supports the Soviet Union's efforts in the struggle for stronger peace and security, for speeding up the process of arms reduction and for détente. The signing in Vienna of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty demonstrated to the whole world that the Soviet government advocates peace.

We believe that the struggle for peace was given a fresh impetus as a result of the Sixth Conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries, held in Havana. Thanks to the far-sightedness of the outstanding communist, Comrade Fidel Castro, solutions were found to many complex problems which gave new strength to the movement and infused it with new life.

SPEECH BY ALEXEI KOSYGIN

The whole of progressive mankind has deep sympathies for Ethiopia and its working people who have been making heroic efforts in the great endeavor of building a new life and beating back the attacks of both internal and external enemies.

Five years is a relatively short period of time, but the important changes that have occurred in Ethiopia makes them an historic stage that signifies more in the life of its people than centuries under other conditions. As a result of the anti-feudal agrarian reform, nationalization of the banks, insurance companies and basic industrial enterprises, prerequisites are being created for the development of the national economy. Step by step the Ethiopian people are taking over

control of their national resources, learning to manage their economy and are playing a growing role in the nation's political life.

We are developing cooperation between our countries not for the sake of gain, but because we, like you, want goodness, justice and progress to triumph, and we fully realize that to achieve this we must stand together, support each other and maintain unity with everyone in Africa, Asia, Europe, indeed on all continents, who is fighting for freedom and democracy, for peace and social progress, for the happiness of the working people.

Our Communist Party and the Soviet people will continue to strengthen solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution, to promote all-round Soviet-Ethiopian cooperation in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our countries.

We want to congratulate you on the fact that Ethiopia's entry into the sixth year of her revolution will see the launching of a vanguard party which sets itself the aim of serving the interests of the working people. We are at one with you in the belief that the establishment of such a party is a decisive factor for the consolidation of the political, economic, social and military victories gained in the past and for providing leadership in future struggles.

We know that as an active participant in the non-aligned movement and member of the Organization of African Unity Ethiopia is making a constructive contribution to the common efforts of peaceful states aimed at strengthening peace and international security. And we fruitfully cooperate in that major field of activity with Ethiopia because the main objective pursued by the Soviet Union in international affairs has always been peace between nations on the basis of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and territorial integrity of states.

The Soviet Union firmly advocates making détente a continuous irreversible process so that countries in all continents, Africa included, would benefit from détente. And we are determined to do everything we can to this end.

The African peoples know who opposes détente in Africa and obstructs the national-liberation movement on the continent, seeking to turn the south of Africa into a permanent source of threat to the independent African countries, to impair African unity and to divide Africa into conflicting groups. These are the forces of imperialism and reaction.

One cannot fail to see that détente would receive a strong favorable impulse if the remaining seats of racism and colonialism were

removed there and if the burdensome heritage of colonial domination which hinders the progress of African nations and creates international tension is eliminated. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia must be free and the shameful apartheid system in South Africa must be abolished!

We call for the earliest elimination of the sources of tension in the newly-independent Africa and we advocate a peaceful settlement of differences between individual African states. This applies to the Horn of Africa where lasting peace, mutual understanding and good-neighborly relations should be established as soon as possible. It goes without saying that political settlement there is possible only on the basis of the renunciation of territorial claims and on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We know that most independent African countries share this view.

Our policy in Africa is clear and consistent. We want to see the sovereign African states really independent, free from neo-colonialist exploitation, advancing confidently along the road of economic and social progress, and equal and active participants in current world affairs. In pursuing this line, the Soviet Union seeks no advantage for itself; it is not seeking political domination, nor soliciting military bases. Our country has no selfish interests in the African continent — neither in the exploitation of Africa's natural resources nor in pumping out profits. And we have never tried to decide African matters behind the backs of the Africans. The Soviet Union has lent and continues to lend every assistance in protecting the legitimate rights of the young states of Africa and strengthening their economic independence.

The Soviet Union hails the consolidation of the independent African states' prestige on the world scene, and their vigorous anti-imperialist activities, including those in the United Nations and other international bodies, and in the non-aligned movement, the supreme forum of which recently completed its work in Havana.

The peoples of Africa may look to the future with optimism. The continent's destiny rests in their hands. The history of Africa is now being written by the Africans themselves. When he was already in prison, in the hands of his executioners, Patrice Lumumba, a great son of Africa, wrote: "Africa will write its own history, and this will be — in the north and south of Africa — a history of glory and

dignity." The development of the Ethiopian revolution is a vivid affirmation of these prophetic words.

Pravda, September 13, 1979

THE FORCES OF LIBERATION AND PROGRESS KNOW WHO ARE THEIR FRIENDS AND WHO ARE THEIR ENEMIES

*Visit by Alexei Kosygin to the People's Democratic
Republic of Yemen*

Alexei Kosygin also made a short friendly visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Abdel Fattah Ismail, General Secretary of the CC, Yemeni Socialist Party, and Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme People's Council of the PDRY, and Ali Nasser Muhammed, member of the CC YSP Political Bureau and Prime Minister of the PDRY were present at a dinner given by the PDRY leadership in honor of their esteemed guest on September 16.

Below we publish in an abridged form the speeches made by Ali Nasser Muhammed and Alexei Kosygin.

SPEECH BY ALI NASSER MUHAMMED

The relations of friendship and cooperation between democratic Yemen and the Soviet Union are still very young. Yet in these few years we have achieved definite progress in diverse spheres: party, state, economic, military and cultural.

Our viewpoints and positions have always coincided on problems of democracy and peace, particularly on Vietnam and the situation in the Middle East and the south of the African continent. This progress was made thanks to the spirit of mutual understanding and the revolutionary principles of our parties and governments — principles of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and racism, and for progress, peace and socialism.

The Soviet Union has supported our people's fight for national independence and sovereignty, and rendered fraternal aid in our advance along the road of social progress during the trying times of

imperialist and reactionary plotting against the Yemeni revolution and the Yemeni people. We must note that our hearts are filled with feelings of respect and gratitude to the Soviet people for their internationalist solidarity with our people's endeavor to build a new life.

The Soviet Union's role as a pillar of the peoples' struggle for freedom, economic independence and progress has infuriated world imperialism. It has unleashed a malicious anti-Soviet campaign with the aim of isolating the Soviet Union from the national-liberation movement which is fighting against the colonialists, for freedom and independence. But despite the imperialists and their flunkies' attempts to distort historical facts, the forces of liberation and progress know who are their friends and who are their enemies. They know too that world imperialism, which is essentially inimical to the cause of the peoples' liberation and progress, will never support the peoples' liberation struggle.

By siding with the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe in their struggle against racist domination, with the just struggle of the Arab peoples for liberation of the Arab lands, to enable the Arab people of Palestine to decide their own destiny and to set up an independent national state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Soviet Union shows that it is following the road mapped out by the October Revolution, which proclaimed the ideals of freedom, progress, peace and equality.

We do not want to draw a line between the efforts of your state to achieve the freedom and self-determination of the peoples and your unstinting endeavor to reach the goals of détente, particularly in the sphere of strategic arms limitation and the total elimination of mass destruction weapons. We in democratic Yemen fully support your efforts and your principled stand.

The Soviet people's new victories in building a mature socialist society arouse our admiration and respect. The growing role played by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries in international affairs is an enormous achievement of the peace forces in their struggle against imperialism.

SPEECH BY ALEXEI KOSYGIN

The Soviet people are following the creative endeavor in democratic Yemen with feelings of respect and solidarity. The years of independent development have brought about substantial changes in your country.

The Yemeni Socialist Party, which proclaimed scientific socialism

as its ideological platform, will mark its first anniversary in a month's time. The formation of the party was an outstanding event in the life of democratic Yemen. The history of the national-liberation, revolutionary movement shows that a vanguard party which has absorbed the forward-looking part of the working class and peasantry constitutes a great force, for it assesses correctly and expresses the interests of the popular masses.

We sincerely wish the Yemeni Socialist Party and its leadership successes in the construction of democratic Yemen, developing the country's productive forces, improving the people's well-being and consolidating the security and international prestige of your republic.

This depends also to a great extent on the general situation shaping up in the Middle East.

The separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty has not brought the region a single step nearer to a stable peace. On the contrary, it has created new obstacles to an overall, just settlement, which alone could ensure such a peace.

Not surprisingly, Israel, spurred by the conclusion of this anti-Arab deal, is acting ever more unscrupulously, particularly with respect to Lebanon. Almost daily, Israeli shells and bombs take a toll of the lives of peaceful Lebanese inhabitants, and Palestinians who are in Lebanon, merely because their lands have been occupied by Israel. Those who deny the Palestinians' right to a homeland, allow themselves to act as if morality and international law did not exist, as if the recent past did not present grim lessons which ought to be remembered.

There is talk now about "autonomy for the Palestinians," which, allegedly, is a search for a solution meeting the interests of the Palestinians. But this talk about "autonomy" and "self-determination" has nothing in common with realizing the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. What it actually aims at is strengthening Israeli domination over the occupied Palestinian lands, obstructing the self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine, whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Arab peoples rely on broad international support in upholding their legitimate rights and interests. They have on their side the invariable solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of all those who advocate justice in international relations and respect of the peoples' rights. We support the Arabs' just cause and identify ourselves with your struggle for a stable Middle East peace. It

can be achieved only given the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied by them in 1967, satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to self-determination and formation of their own independent state, and the guaranteed independent existence and security of all states of the region.

Pravda, September 17, 1979

LET THERE BE A FIRM DETERMINATION TO STRUGGLE

Speech by Fidel Castro at the Havana Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

Your Excellencies,
Guests,
Comrades,

I would like to ask that the first moments of this solemn event be dedicated to the memory of a beloved friend whom we all admired, a hero of his country's liberation and revolution, a man who guided the Algiers Summit Conference brilliantly in 1973 and who did much for the strength and prestige of the non-aligned movement, the late President of Algeria, Houari Boumedienne. How it grieves us that he cannot be with us in Cuba to share this occasion in our movement's history. I ask this worthy Conference to observe a minute of silence in his memory.

Mr. Chairman, Junius Jayawardene, I would like to express my sincere recognition of your constant concern for the future of our movement and democratic respect for the dissimilar components of this powerful association of countries and the wise prudence you have shown in every difficult situation our non-aligned countries have had to face in the past three years — which have not been easy. In spite of distance and economic problems, your small country has made a noble and worthy effort to live up to the honorable responsibilities entrusted to it in Colombo.

I thank all of you for the tremendous honor you do us with your presence here. I greet all of you warmly and welcome you on behalf of our people.

I would also like to fraternally greet the new countries that are joining our powerful movement at this Conference: Iran and Pakistan, which become members following the toppling of the Shah's throne and the breaking up of the aggressive, reactionary CENTO military alliance; Surinam, Bolivia; tiny brave Grenada; and the indomitable people of Nicaragua, the recent historic march of whose heroic, self-sacrificing fighters brought freedom to Sandino's homeland and dignity to our America.

Ethiopia and Afghanistan now accompany us with a new revolutionary character, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has full member status.

Our family is growing and increasing in quality, which is the way it should be.

The Philippines, Saint Lucia, Dominica and Costa Rica are new observers and we have a number of guests, including Spain — whose gesture of sending a delegation to this Conference for the first time we view as a hope for friendly and useful relations with all the peoples of the world. For it did not allow itself to be drawn into the aggressive NATO military bloc, which would only jeopardize the brilliant future of that self-sacrificing people whose historical, cultural and blood bonds with the nations of our America are so solid. We also need friends in industrialized Western Europe that are not tied to the imperialist wagon.

Ninety-four states and liberation movements are represented here as full members of this Sixth Summit Conference. This Conference is, therefore, the one with the largest attendance and with the greatest number of non-aligned and national-liberation movement leaders ever held. This is not something for which our modest country should take credit; rather, it is an unmistakable sign of the vigor, strength and prestige of the movement of non-aligned countries.

All efforts to sabotage the Havana Summit Conference have proved futile. All pressures, hectic diplomatic efforts and intrigues to prevent this Conference from being held in our country were in vain.

The Yankee imperialists and their old and new allies — in this case I refer to the Chinese government — didn't want this Conference to be held in Cuba.

They also engaged in dirty scheming, saying that Cuba would turn the movement of non-aligned countries into a tool of Soviet policy. We know only too well that the U.S. government even got hold of a copy of the draft final declaration, drawn up by Cuba, and made

feverish diplomatic contacts in an effort to modify it. We have irrefutable proof of this.

We believe that the draft — which was submitted to all the member countries earlier than any other conference and was then redrafted to include many of their suggestions — is a good one but subject to improvement. Improvement means strengthening, not weakening, it. In any case, since when does the United States have the right to involve itself in the non-aligned movement and decide how our documents should be drawn up?

What is the reason for the reactionary opposition to Cuba?

Cuba isn't exactly a country that is inconsistent toward the imperialists; Cuba has never ceased to practise a policy of close solidarity with the national-liberation movements and all other just causes of our times; Cuba has never hesitated to defend its political principles with determination, energy, dignity, honesty and courage; nor, in over 20 years, has it ever stopped fighting against the aggression and the blockade imposed by the most powerful imperialist country in the world simply because Cuba carried out a genuine political and social revolution just 90 miles from that country's coast.

It is all too well known — and has been admitted and officially published in the United States — that the authorities of that country spent years organizing and methodically plotting to assassinate the leaders of the Cuban revolution, using the most sophisticated means of conspiracy and crime. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that these deeds were investigated and publicized by the U.S. Senate, the U.S. government has not yet deigned to give any kind of an apology for those vituperative and uncivilized actions.

The true measure of a revolutionary people — the unblemished conduct of a country that cannot be bribed, bought or intimidated — is given by the imperialists' hatred.

In our international relations, we express solidarity with deeds, not fine words. Cuban technicians are now working in 28 countries that belong to our movement. In the vast majority of those countries, because of their economic limitations, that cooperation is provided without charge, in spite of our own difficulties. Right now, Cuba has twice as many doctors serving abroad as does the UN World Health Organization. Noble, self-sacrificing Cubans have died thousands of miles from home while supporting liberation movements, defending other peoples' just causes and fighting against the expansionism of the South African racists and other forms of imperialist attacks on human dignity and the integrity and independence of sister nations. They

express the purity, selflessness, solidarity and internationalist consciousness that the revolution has forged among our people.

What charges can be brought against Cuba? That it is a socialist country? Yes, it is a socialist country, but we don't impose our ideology or our system on anyone, either inside or outside the movement, and being socialist is nothing to be ashamed of. That we had a radical revolution in Cuba? Yes, we are radical revolutionaries, but we don't try to impose our radicalism on anyone, least of all on the non-aligned movement.

That we maintain fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community? Yes, we are friends of the Soviet Union. We are very grateful to the Soviet people because their generous cooperation helped us to survive and win at some very difficult and decisive moments in our people's life, when we were even in danger of being wiped out. No people has the right to be ungrateful. We are grateful to the glorious October Revolution because it ushered in a new era in human history, made it possible to defeat fascism and created a world situation in which the peoples' self-sacrificing struggle led to the downfall of the hateful colonial system. To ignore that is to ignore history itself.

Not only Cuba but also Vietnam, the Arab countries under attack, the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies, and revolutionary processes in many other countries throughout the world, and the liberation movement that fights against oppression, racism, Zionism and fascism in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and elsewhere owe a debt of gratitude to socialist solidarity. I wonder whether the United States or any other NATO country has ever helped a single liberation movement anywhere in the world. In fact, I am convinced — and I have said so on other occasions — that, without the power and influence which the socialist community exerts today, imperialism, harassed by the economic crisis and by the shortage of basic raw materials, would not hesitate to divide the world again. It has already done so more than once. It is even threatening to do so again and, in point of fact, is creating special intervention forces aimed menacingly at the oil-exporting countries. To cite just one example of this: the United States has unilaterally decided to respect no more than a three-mile limit of maritime sovereignty.

If our membership in the non-aligned movement depended on betraying our deepest ideas and convictions, it would not be honorable for me or for any of you to belong to it. No revolutionary has the right to be a coward.

There are some who have made an art of opportunism. We Cuban revolutionaries are not and never will be opportunists. We know how to sacrifice our own national economic interests whenever necessary, to defend a just principle or an honorable political position. We Cubans will never renege on what we said yesterday, nor will we say one thing today and do something else tomorrow.

We are firmly anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-neo-colonial, anti-racist, anti-Zionist and anti-fascist because these principles are a part of our thinking; they constitute the essence and origin of the movement of non-aligned countries and have formed its life and history ever since its founding. These principles are also very fresh in the life and history of the peoples we represent here.

Was any country that now belongs to our movement really independent more than 35 years ago? Is there any member that hasn't known colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, racial discrimination or imperialist aggression, economic dependency, poverty, squalor, illiteracy, and the most brutal exploitation of its natural and human resources? What country doesn't bear the burden of the technological gap, a lower standard of living than the former metropolises, unequal terms of trade, the economic crisis, inflation and underdevelopment imposed on our peoples by centuries of colonial exploitation and imperialist domination?

Cuba will be in the front line defending these principles, independence, and the unique, prestigious, fraternal and ever more constructive and influential role of the non-aligned movement in international life, so the energetic and rightful voice of our peoples may be heard.

Moreover, I believe that, if you thought Cuba had no position of its own, was not completely independent or lacked the loyalty and honesty it owes the movement in line with its concepts and goals, you would not have given your generous cooperation, confidence, interest and enthusiasm to this Sixth Summit Conference.

Throughout our revolutionary life, no one has ever tried to tell us what to do. No one has ever tried to tell us what role we should play in the movement of non-aligned countries. No one told us when or how to make the revolution in our country, nor could anyone have done so. By the same token, no one, except the movement itself, can determine what it should do and when and how to do it.

We have worked tirelessly to create the material and political conditions to make this event a success. We have respected and we will continue to totally respect the rights of all members of the movement. We have fully and scrupulously fulfilled our duties as host

country and will continue to do so. Our views will not always coincide with those of each and every one of you. We have many close friends at this Conference, but we don't always agree with the best of them. We hope that everyone will speak out with the greatest of freedom and honesty and feel that he is being heard with interest, respect and consideration. The combined experiences of all of us gathered here can produce tremendous results. Certain topics are controversial, and certain words may seem strong. If anything we say displeases anyone, please understand that we do not mean to hurt or wound. We will work with all member countries — without exception — to achieve our aims and to implement the agreements that are adopted. We will be patient, prudent, flexible, calm. Cuba will observe these norms throughout the years in which it presides over the movement. I declare this categorically.

We have grown and advanced. Fortunately, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands are now fully independent countries, after a heroic and unequal struggle. Today, as sovereign states, they are prestigious and influential members of our movement. Just six years ago, at the Algiers Summit Conference, they were only liberation movements.

Vietnam is united and free after 30 years of extraordinary and admirable struggle.

The Shah is no longer the Shah. CENTO no longer exists; Somoza is no longer in power; and the fascist Gairy no longer rules tiny, heroic Grenada. These are unquestionable victories for independence, progress and freedom. Our causes triumph because they are just!

Growing numbers of people are joining our ranks as they break the bonds of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and other forms of oppression and dependency. In one way or another, all these struggles have been supported by the movement of non-aligned countries, and these are victories for us as well.

Nevertheless, imperialism has not ceased its tenacious efforts to maintain its subjection, oppression and occupation of other peoples and countries, whose causes demand our resolute support.

First of all, I refer to the long-suffering, courageous Palestinian people. No more brutal pillage of a people's rights to peace and existence has occurred in this century. Please understand that we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiated the merciless persecution and genocide that

the nazis once visited on the Jews, but there is nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and Zionism are currently practising against the Palestinian people.

Pushed off their land, expelled from their country, scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid example of sacrifice and patriotism, living symbols of the most terrible crime of our era.

Piece by piece, Palestinian lands and the territories of neighboring Arab countries — Syria, Jordan and Egypt — have been seized by the aggressors, armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated weapons from the U.S. arsenal.

The just Palestinian and Arab cause has been supported by world progressive opinion and our movement for nearly 20 years. Nasser was one of the prestigious founders of this movement. Nevertheless, all UN resolutions have been scornfully ignored and rejected by the aggressors and their imperialist allies.

Imperialism has sought to impose its own peace, using betrayal and division. An armed, dirty, unjust, bloody peace will never be a true peace.

The Camp David agreement is a flagrant betrayal of the Arab cause and of the Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian — all the Arab peoples, including the Egyptians. It is a betrayal of all the progressive peoples of the world who, at the United Nations and all other international forums, have always supported a just solution to the problem of the Middle East, one that would be acceptable and honorable for all and guaranteed by all.

True peace in the Middle East can never be built on such injustice, such a Machiavellian policy, such betrayal and such a flimsy basis.

Instead of one gendarme for the Middle East, the Arab world and Africa, imperialism now wants two: Israel and Egypt. If peace really exists between Egypt and Israel, why does Egypt need all the weapons it is getting — even though they aren't as sophisticated and modern as the ones that are going to the Israelis? How will these arms be used, except against the peoples in the area, including the Egyptians themselves?

International policy should be ethical. The movement of non-aligned countries should roundly denounce the Camp David agreement. Moral censure, at least, is essential.

We have witnessed ten years of imperialist maneuvers, deceit and crimes in Zimbabwe. Six million Africans there are oppressed by a

tiny arrogant and genocidal racist, fascist minority. We should firmly denounce and reject the so-called internal settlement and Muzorewa's puppet regime, which is a mockery of Africa's conscience, and give the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe — sole legitimate representative of its people — the non-aligned movement's all-out support and solidarity.

The people of Namibia are also suffering from South Africa's scorn, mockery and disrespect for United Nations' orders and resolutions — and South Africa is fully supported by the NATO powers, including the United States. Racist South African troops that have no right to be there are depriving the Namibian people of their independence and imposing a bantustan system on that long-suffering country, in defiance of the international community and world public opinion.

South Africa itself constitutes the most shameful blot for the peoples of Africa and the world. Human dignity cannot help but be offended by that repulsive stronghold of the nazi-fascist spirit that remains in the southern cone of Africa, where 20 million Africans are oppressed, exploited, discriminated against and repressed by a handful of racists. Who spawned that system? Who supports it? They say the South African racists even know how to make atom bombs. I ask: against whom are they likely to be used? Against the Black ghettos of Pretoria? Will they, perchance, be used to block the just and inevitable liberation of the people?

Why are the Rhodesian and South African racists allowed to bomb Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana almost daily, murdering with impunity thousands upon thousands of refugees and citizens of those countries as well? Why are the Zionist aggressors permitted to bomb the Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns daily? Who has given them that right? Who has given them that power? Why are they allowed to use the most sophisticated weapons of destruction and death? Who supplies them? Isn't this undeniable proof of imperialism's aggressive role and the type of peace and order it wants for our peoples? Or isn't it a crime to kill a child, an old man, a woman, a Black adult, a Palestinian, a Lebanese? Can these methods and these concepts be differentiated from the methods and concepts that fascist Germany once used? Reports of genocidal acts of this nature are broadcast daily, even by the imperialist press agencies, as if to accustom us to accepting such deeds with resignation and meekness.

Another problem that concerns African and world opinion is that of Western Sahara. Cuba has no particular dispute with Morocco,

whose government maintained diplomatic and trade relations with us even in the most critical period of the U.S. blockade of our country; but, looking at the matter from a principled point of view, Cuba expressed its total support of independence for the Saharan people, considering the occupation of their territory to be utterly unfounded and their desire for free self-determination to be unquestionably just. Cuba was a member of the UN commission that investigated the desires of the Saharan people prior to the conflict and can attest to the fact that 99 per cent of the inhabitants want independence. We congratulate Mauritania on its courageous decision to renounce all territorial claims and hope that Morocco will reconsider its policy on Western Sahara, a policy that not only isolates it and weakens its international position but also exhausts and impoverishes it economically. The right to independence of the valiant Saharan people and the POLISARIO Front, their legitimate representative, should be recognized by all.

We support the people of Cyprus in their struggle against the foreign occupation of a part of their territory and for the development of peace and fraternal coexistence by all components of that sister country's population.

Cuba's position on the problems in Southeast Asia is crystal clear. For our people, Vietnam is sacred. We once swore that we were willing to die for Vietnam.

No other people of recent times has paid such a high price in sacrifice, suffering and death in order to be free; no people has made a greater contribution to the national-liberation struggle; no other people has done so much in this period to create a universal anti-imperialist consciousness. Four times as many bombs were dropped on Vietnam as were used in World War II; the most powerful imperialist country had its claws cut off in Vietnam; Vietnam taught all oppressed nations that no force can defeat a people that is determined to fight for its freedom. The struggle in Vietnam reinforced the respect and dignity of all our peoples.

Now, when Vietnam has been made the victim of intrigue, slander and encirclement by the Yankee imperialists and of betrayal, conspiracy and aggression by the government of China, Cuba offers it its firmest support.

With all their talk about the problem of the Vietnamese refugees — the direct result of colonialism, underdevelopment and the 30-year war of aggression — why don't the U.S. government and its allies even mention the two million Palestinians scattered all over the world

and the hundreds of thousands of Zimbabwean, Namibian and South African refugees who are dispersed, persecuted and murdered in Africa?

What right does China have to teach Vietnam a lesson, invade its territory, destroy its modest wealth and murder thousands of its people?

The Chinese ruling clique that supported Pinochet against Allende, that supported South Africa's aggression against Angola, that supported the Shah, that supported Somoza, that supports and supplies weapons to Sadat, that justifies the Yankee blockade against Cuba and the continued existence of the naval base at Guantanamo, that defends NATO and sides with the United States and the most reactionary forces of Europe and the rest of the world has neither the prestige nor the moral standing to teach anybody a lesson.

We also support the Laotian People's Democratic Republic against the Chinese government's threats of aggression and expansionism.

Cuba's position on the problem of Kampuchea is known. We recognize the only real, legitimate government of Kampuchea, which is the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and we endorse Vietnam's solidarity with that fraternal country. People keep saying that Vietnam sent fighters to support the Kampuchean revolutionaries. Why don't they say that the bloody clique that had seized control of the country, in complicity with China and imperialism, provoked and attacked Vietnam first and that there is indisputable documentary proof of mass murders perpetrated against Vietnamese men, women, old people and children?

With all our energy, we condemn the genocidal government of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Three million dead accuse them. Even Sihanouk has admitted that some of his relatives were murdered. It is a shameful thing for the progressive forces of the world that such crimes could ever have been committed in the name of the revolution and socialism.

Nevertheless, Cuba, mindful of its obligations as host country, offered the facilities for both parties to be present in Havana until the movement comes to a decision in this regard. It is inexplicable that, while some oppose the expulsion of Egypt that allied itself with the United States and Israel, openly betraying the noble Arab cause and the Palestinian people, efforts are being made to condemn Vietnam for its acts of legitimate defense against aggression and the fiction is maintained that Pol Pot's bloody government, an affront to all mankind, still exists.

The movement should preserve its unity and always seek a peaceful solution to any difference that may arise among its members, but it is equally bound to maintain impartiality, realism and political logic in its decisions. Tanzania was also obliged to defend itself against Uganda's aggression and to support the patriots of that country against the repressive regime. Now, the legitimate, revolutionary government of Uganda is represented at this Conference. Why should we deny this right to People's Kampuchea?

We firmly support the Korean people's struggle for the reunification of their country. We denounce the unjust division and virtual occupation of a part of their territory by U.S. troops. We denounce the inconsistency and hollowness of the U.S. government's promises, for, far from reducing those troops, it is reinforcing them and increasing their aggressive potential.

In our America, we reiterate our firm and staunch solidarity with the fraternal people of Puerto Rico, whose right to self-determination and independence is stubbornly denied by the colonizing power. Puerto Rico — just like Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Palestine and other countries — needs our help, and we must give it unhesitatingly and unswervingly, in spite of the strong pressures that the United States constantly brings to bear on all countries in this regard.

We support Panama's right to full sovereignty over the Canal and condemn the reactionary maneuvers aimed at hindering the implementation of the new treaties.

We support Belize's right to independence, which is being held back mainly by the opposition and threats of the bloody, pro-Yankee satrap who oppresses Guatemala. The people of Belize are completely different from the people of Guatemala — ethnically, culturally and historically — and both of them need freedom equally.

The new Nicaragua requires maximum cooperation from the international community for the reconstruction of the country, which was destroyed by nearly half a century of the Somoza dynasty, spawned by the Yankee Marines. It is only right that we give it our solidarity.

Bolivia, whose territories were cut up a century ago in a war promoted by imperialist interests, aspires to have an outlet to the sea, and this is absolutely justified and vital. We therefore consider it our duty to support it.

We are opposed to the continued existence of any kind of colonial enclave in this hemisphere.

Cuba needs solidarity, too. Our country is suffering from a criminal, savage economic blockade imposed by the United States — a

blockade which is even applied to medicines — and a part of our national territory is still occupied by force.

Does the United States have the right to try to prevent our development at all costs? Does it have the right to own military bases in another country against the will of its people?

All these topics and struggles about which we are concerned and that require our solidarity contain a constant, invariable element: the action of imperialism. Can our movement ignore it? Is it extremism on our part to set forth the facts clearly?

Even though the underdeveloped countries, which suffer from poverty and very low living standards and life expectancies, have the least to lose in a war, we cannot be insensible to the need for world peace. If we were, it would mean giving up hope of a better future for the peoples. We do not support the thesis that a world nuclear war is inevitable. That fatalistic, irresponsible attitude is the surest path to the annihilation of mankind in a universal holocaust. Never before has mankind had that technological possibility. We cannot be so stupid as to ignore it. For the first time in history our generation has had to confront these risks.

In our world today, mountains of ever more deadly weapons are piling up, along with mountains of problems of underdevelopment, poverty, food shortages, squalor, environmental pollution, school and housing shortages, unemployment and an explosive population growth. Such natural resources as land, water, energy and raw materials are beginning to be in short supply in various parts of the world.

The developed capitalist societies not only created wasteful and untenable models for standards of living and consumption but also, unfortunately, propagated them throughout a large part of the world. Many countries in our area conceive of development only as the aspiration to get to be and live like New York, London or Paris.

One way or another, the world economic crisis, the energy crisis, inflation, the depression and unemployment oppress the peoples and governments of a large part of the earth. Very few, if any, of the members of our movement are free of these difficulties because we bear the brunt of these calamities.

The struggle for peace and for a just economic order and a workable solution to the pressing problems that weigh on our peoples is, in our opinion, increasingly becoming the main issue facing the movement of non-aligned countries.

Peace, with the immense risks that threaten it, is not something that should be left exclusively in the hands of the big military powers.

Peace is possible, but world peace can only be assured to the extent to which all countries are consciously determined to fight for it — peace not just for a part of the world, but for all peoples. Peace, also, for Vietnam, the Palestinians, the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the oppressed majorities in South Africa, for Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Ethiopia, Syria, Lebanon, and the Saharan people. Peace with justice, peace with independence, peace with freedom. Peace for the powerful countries and the small countries. Peace for all continents and all peoples. We understand perfectly well that we will not achieve it without a tenacious, resolute struggle, but we should believe in the possibility of achieving it in spite of imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism, expansionism and the other regressive elements that still exist in the world. The strength of our united countries is very great. Never before have the forces of progress and the advanced political awareness of the peoples attained such high levels. Even within the imperialist, reactionary countries themselves, important progressive sectors are determined to struggle for the same ends. The important role that the people of the United States and world opinion played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should never be forgotten.

We must demand peace, détente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. We must demand and win them because they will not come about by spontaneous generation, and there is no alternative in today's world if we are to preserve the very existence of mankind.

We must encourage every step that leads along this path. Therefore, we should welcome the SALT-2 agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States and the future steps that may be expected in this field. At the same time, we should denounce the reactionary forces that support the cold war and that, mixed up in the dirty business of arms sales, destruction and death, oppose the ratification of these agreements in the U.S. Senate.

We realize, however, that, though these steps are positive and important, they are still far from the ideal of denuclearization that continues until all nuclear weapons have disappeared — which, in the end, would be the only fair and equal state of affairs for all nations and would mean the end of the arms race.

The day should come when mankind resolutely condemns arms production and trade.

More than \$300 billion a year is spent on arms and other military expenditures throughout the world, according to statistical publications, and this figure may be a conservative one.

The U.S. armed forces alone, for example, use 30 million tons of oil for these purposes — more than all the energy used by all the countries in Central America and the Caribbean put together.

\$300 billion could build 600,000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20,000 factories, with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land — that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people. Mankind wastes this much every year on military spending.

Moreover, consider the enormous quantities of young human resources, scientific and technical resources, fuel, raw materials and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

We Marxists consider war and weapons to be historically and inevitably tied to the system of man's exploitation of man and to that system's insatiable greed in seizing the natural resources of other peoples. Once, in the United Nations, I said, "Put an end to the philosophy of plunder, and the philosophy of war will be ended."

Socialism does not need arms production to keep its economy going; it doesn't need armies whose purpose is to seize the resources of other peoples. If the slogan of unity and fraternity among all peoples and men reflected today's reality, there would be no need for arms either to attack and oppress people or to win freedom and defend it.

No matter how long or utopian the path may seem and no matter how harsh the setbacks and even betrayals within the progressive movement, we should never become discouraged or stop persevering in our struggle to attain these objectives. It is absolutely necessary to demand in all international forums and organizations that we move from rhetoric to deeds.

These questions lead us directly to the topic of economics.

More and more statesmen and leaders in our movement are stating the need to place this matter at the center of our concerns. You are statesmen who wrestle every day with the knotty economic questions of your countries. You know full well what the great difficulties are: the constantly rising foreign debt, a shortage of foreign currency, the soaring prices of fuel and other import products, unequal terms of trade, low prices on the foreign market that constantly and increasingly rob us of the products that are the fruit of our peoples' labor,

inflation, the rise of domestic prices and all the social conflicts that arise from this state of affairs.

Progressive governments that are making a noble effort to develop and increase the well-being of their countries are overwhelmed and may even be wiped out by economic difficulties and unfair, unpopular conditions imposed by the international credit agencies. What political price haven't many of you had to pay because of the rules laid down by the International Monetary Fund? We Cubans, who were excluded from that institution because of an imperialist dictate, aren't quite sure whether that exclusion was a punishment or a privilege.

Some governments placed in power by the people's revolutionary struggle suddenly find themselves faced with horrifying conditions of poverty, indebtedness and underdevelopment that prevent them from responding to even the most modest hopes of their peoples.

I'm not going to tell you half-truths, nor am I going to hide the fact that social difficulties are much greater when, in any of our countries, a small minority controls the basic wealth and the majority of the people are completely dispossessed. In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater. Some countries present the phenomenon of growing economies with equally growing poverty, illiteracy, the increasing number of children who have no schools to go to, malnutrition, disease, begging and unemployment — all of which show in no uncertain terms that something is wrong.

The underdeveloped countries — some optimistically prefer to call them developing countries, when, in fact, the gap separating their per capita incomes and standards of living from those of the developed countries is constantly widening — contain 65 per cent of the world population but account for only 15 per cent of total world production and only 8 per cent of industrial production. The conglomerate of countries in this category, which have no natural energy sources, now have a foreign debt of over \$300 billion. It is estimated that around \$40 billion a year goes to servicing this foreign debt — more than 20 per cent of their exports. Average per capita income in the developed countries is now 14 times greater than in the underdeveloped countries. In addition, the under developed countries contain more than 900 million illiterate adults. This situation is untenable.

One of the most acute problems facing the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries — the vast majority of the members of our movement — is the energy crisis. The oil-exporting countries — all of which are in the underdeveloped world and almost all of which belong

to the movement of non-aligned countries — have always been supported by the rest of our countries in their just demands for the revaluation of their product and an end to unequal terms of trade and the wasting of energy. These countries now have a much greater economic potential and negotiating capacity with the developed capitalist world. This is not the case of the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries. Sugar, bauxite, copper and other solid minerals, peanuts, copra, sisal, tea, cashews and agricultural products in general are terribly under-priced on the world market. The developed capitalist countries selfishly raise their tariffs against those few products that our countries manufacture and even subsidize goods that compete with ours, whenever possible. The European Economic Community and the United States do this, for example, with sugar. The prices of the equipment, machinery, industrial articles and semi-finished products that we import are raised constantly; the privileged exporters of these goods charge ever higher prices for them. It is easier for them than for the underdeveloped countries to pay for fuel. They even export tens of billions of dollars' worth of arms annually and often buy oil with this money. The Shah of Iran was one of their favorite multi-millionaire clients, until he was rightly overthrown not long ago. Most of the surplus money from oil sales is deposited and invested in the richest, most developed capitalist countries. These funds are also used to supply them with fuel. But what recourse do the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries have?

It is absolutely necessary to be aware of this reality because the situation in many countries, a large number of which are members of this movement, is truly desperate. We should consider and discuss this matter. A solution must be found. Imperialism is already maneuvering to divide us; it is trying to isolate the oil-producing countries from the rest of the underdeveloped world, blaming them for the economic crisis — whose cause really lies in the unjust order established in the world by the imperialist system. And, what is even more dangerous, it is looking for pretexts and covering up its aggressive plans against the oil-exporting countries.

Cuba isn't bringing this topic up in order to defend interests that affect it directly. Of course, we suffer from the indirect effects of the international economic crisis and the low prices established for our products in Western markets, but we have an assured supply of oil which we purchase with sugar, whose price is directly proportional to the price of oil and other articles which we import from the socialist area.

Nevertheless, we should point out that, if all the sugar produced in Cuba — nearly 8 million tons in the 1979 harvest, the largest production of cane sugar in the world — had been sold to the Western world at the price now being paid on the so-called world market — around 8 cents a pound — it wouldn't have paid for the fuel that Cuba uses, at its present prices.

We must look for solutions to the energy crisis, but not only for the developed countries that already use most of the energy produced in the world; basically, we must also find solutions for the underdeveloped countries.

We appeal to the sense of responsibility of the large oil-exporting countries in our movement, asking them to strike out courageously, firmly and boldly in implementing a wise and far-sighted policy of economic cooperation, trade and investments in our underdeveloped world because their future depends on ours.

I am not asking you to sacrifice your legitimate interests; I am not asking you to stop all-out efforts to develop and raise the well-being of your own peoples; I am not asking you to stop trying to safeguard your future. I am inviting you to join us and to close ranks with us and struggle together for a really new international economic order whose benefits will extend to all.

No money can purchase the future, for the future lies in justice, in our consciousness and in the honest and fraternal solidarity of our peoples.

The solution to the economic problems faced by our countries requires a tremendous, responsible, conscious and serious effort of a world nature.

Those of us meeting here represent the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Let us close ranks and unite the growing forces of our vigorous movement in the United Nations and in all other international forums to demand economic justice for our peoples and an end to foreign control over our resources and the theft of our labor. Let us close ranks in demanding respect for our right to development, to life and to the future. Enough of building a world economy based on the opulence of those who exploited and impoverished us in the past and who exploit and impoverish us today and on the poverty, the economic and social underdevelopment of the vast majority of mankind. May a firm determination to struggle and concrete plans of action come out of this Sixth Summit Conference: deeds, not just words.

Perhaps this speech inaugurating this Conference has been some-

what undiplomatic, not quite in line with protocol, but no one should doubt the complete loyalty with which I have spoken.

Thank you.

Granma, September 4, 1979

TRIUMPHANT MARCH OF SOCIALISM ON GERMAN SOIL

Erich Honecker
General Secretary of the CC SUPG

On October 7, 1979, the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant socialist state on German soil, will mark the anniversary of its foundation for the 30th time. Over these three decades our people have traversed, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party, a road of deep-going revolutionary transformations in all spheres of public life. This has been a road of hard work and persistent, severe class battles against imperialism. It has been a successful road. Much has been achieved. We can say already today that socialism has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism also on German soil.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic was a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. Today one cannot imagine the world without the GDR. Our state has done much so that war never again starts from German soil. Its 30-year history is a clear indication of the viability of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The 30 years of the GDR mark three decades of creative endeavor by millions of working people.

Thanks to the enormous changes that have been made in our country for the good of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and the working people as a whole, it is possible to pose today, on the basis of the Ninth Congress decisions, the task of continuing the construction of a mature socialist society and creating the prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism. Over the past 30 years socialism has proved in our country as well to be a system that meets the genuine interests of the working people, an

earnest of the citizens' social security and defense, of freedom, democracy and human dignity.

Three decades is a short period in history. Especially when it is a question of founding an absolutely new state and of its successful development. This was possible in the GDR because it is based on the most progressive social system in human history — socialism, the first stage of a communist social system.

In accordance with the laws of social progress, the working class has, together with its allies and under the leadership of our party, exercised political power judiciously. This concerns above all the creation and strengthening of socialist production relations in accordance with the requirements of developing the productive forces. From the outset to this day our party has never lost sight of these fundamental questions.

Whereas during the first years socialist property in industry, and later in agriculture, became the basic form of property, now it has essentially become the sole form of property. Relying on it and guided by the Leninist teaching on the process of collectivizing labor, we are developing socialist production relations consciously and in a planned manner. In industry, for instance, this is manifested by the growing number of combines, which bear a greater economic responsibility and are directly subordinated to the ministries. In agriculture we are guided by forms dictated by progress.

The dialectical connection between qualitative and quantitative development is expressed in the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism. In the course of socialist construction, a balanced economic structure has been built up in industry, agriculture and other sectors in place of the unbalanced, war-ravaged economic structure. This is a major achievement, for its results form the basis of the GDR's social progress. The creation of a material and technical base responding to the present-day requirements of socialist development is linked with deep-going qualitative changes which enhance the effectiveness of the entire economy. That is the only explanation of the fact that our national income has increased by 600 per cent over these three decades, while the work force has grown but insignificantly.

The level of our productive forces has grown immeasurably since 1949. In accordance with the socialist character of production relations, they have developed to a degree thought by some to be almost impossible. Thanks to our achievements and our stably developing economy, the GDR is now among the world's ten most developed

industrial states. Whereas in 1949 the national income amounted to some 22,000 million marks, in 1978 it totalled more than 161,000 million marks.

Two circumstances, above all, were decisive in strengthening the GDR over these 30 years. First, the merging of the CPG and the SDPG and the formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which mended the rift in the working class and ensured its unity on a revolutionary foundation. Second, with the formation of the GDR the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other working people established and strengthened its political power. It set up a worker-peasant socialist state as a form of proletarian dictatorship. Thus we realized the fundamental lessons of the history of the international working class and the German working-class movement. We saw to it that the working class was able to fulfill its historic mission. In its subsequent activity, our party was also continuously guided by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, adapting it to the concrete conditions of our country. The SUPG assimilated the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties which made it possible for the working class of our country to establish and implement its political power.

The establishment of socialist state power was an important stage in going over to a socialist revolution and simultaneously the decisive prerequisite for the socialist reconstruction of social life in all spheres, for, as everyone knows, the question of power is the basic issue of every revolution. We realized that the responsibility of the working class and its party is greatly enhanced in resolving the new historical tasks of state leadership and hence in the country's entire political, economic and cultural and spiritual development. The 30 years' existence of the GDR has reaffirmed that the construction of socialism is possible only if the working class possesses and reliably defends political power.

From the outset the worker-peasant power in the GDR paid much attention to a planned socialist economy. We were able with its aid to heal the war wounds and to achieve dynamic economic development. Despite the different requirements at diverse development stages, they clearly reflected the general features determining our activity.

The SUPG has continuously relied on the strength of the workers and the working people as a whole, on socialist competition, which has expanded and acquired qualitatively new features. The fact that we could rely on the solidarity of the Soviet Union and other fraternal states and the consistently expanding socialist economic integration

was especially important. At the same time we were forced constantly to rebuff the attacks of imperialism, from economic blockade and outright sabotage to currency speculation to trade in human beings. The threats, attempts at blackmail and exhortations for a "market economy" suffered a defeat. Our party has always sought and found solutions to new problems, relying on the principles of planned socialist economy, development of democratic centralism in managing the economy.

The GDR's entire history shows that our party has always sought to develop the advantages of socialism for the benefit of the people, while remaining true to its internationalist duty to the world communist movement. Understandably, such a deep-going, all-round process of revolutionary transformation of the old and creation of new social relations is not free of problems and difficulties. Its results for the people are not always immediately and fully appreciated. A characteristic of the 1970s is that the advantages of socialism and the benefits it creates for the people are being ever more clearly manifested. Our central objective today is to make the fullest possible use of the socialist production relations. It is necessary to raise the material and technical base to a level corresponding to present-day productive forces, the scientific and technical revolution and their demands. The point is to raise the people's material and cultural level and to create the necessary prerequisites for this.

Today the GDR possesses a highly developed, well equipped socialist economy and a modern leadership for the solution of immediate and long-term objectives. We are continuously improving it, in accordance with the Ninth Congress decisions. Development of a network of highly productive combines has created good conditions for promoting scientific and technical progress, and raising its social and economic effectiveness. The sphere of the combines' independent activity has been enlarged, permitting the central organs of economic leadership to concentrate efforts on elaborating strategic national-economic objectives. This makes for a better use of the advantages of our socialist social system.

Our party has generalized the economic regularities linked with the construction of a mature socialist society in our country. Improvement of the people's material and cultural level on the basis of a speedy development of socialist production, higher efficiency, scientific and technical progress and higher labor productivity have been declared the chief objective. The blending of economic and social policy has yielded a new quality that is characteristic of our further

advance. There is a closer interconnection between production and the people's requirements. Our party has thus drawn important scientific conclusions from the present development level.

The program for the further construction of a mature socialist society adopted at the Ninth Party Congress envisages constant improvement in diverse spheres of social life. The key role in this belongs to an effective economy, operating on a high scientific and technical level.

With each five-year plan we have promoted fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community states. The present high level of interaction is directly linked with the maturity of socialist life in our country and its dynamic development. Our chief partner in economic cooperation is the Soviet Union with its powerful scientific and technical potential. During the difficult period when we launched our construction we received food and tractors from Lenin's homeland, and Soviet communists passed on their experience in socialist leadership to their German class brothers at state enterprises. This community of interests has always been a vitally important condition for the stability and flourishing of our economy. We will continue to consistently develop our cooperation. The elaboration of a broad program of specialization and cooperation also serves this goal.

Decisive importance attaches to the fact that as a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which recently marked its 30th anniversary, our republic belongs to the most dynamic economic region of the world. The key directions of our cooperation for the next decade are defined in the CMEA's long-term goal-oriented programs. Such major problems of our time as the scientific and technical revolution, energy and raw material supplies also require further expansion of economic integration. The GDR is developing its activity in the CMEA framework accordingly. It proceeds from the fundamental interests of our people and contributes to the strengthening of the entire socialist family of peoples.

Peace and worker-peasant power, peace and socialism are indivisible. In this sense as well, the existence of the socialist GDR represents an important factor. Our republic has been able to fulfill its internationalist role for the same reason which decisively determines its internal development, that is, thanks to the steadfast strengthening of the fraternal alliance with the USSR and other countries of the socialist family of peoples. Thanks to our joint, coordinated actions in the world arena Europe has enjoyed the longest period of peace in its

entire history. The vicious circle spawned by German imperialism — transfer from a postwar to a new prewar period and then to war — has been broken. Whereas for many years the most aggressive circles of the FRG, USA and other imperialist countries waged a cold war — which is inimical to the interests of the peoples and brought them enormous losses — against socialism, now a turn has been made toward détente. The GDR, together with the Soviet Union and its other Warsaw Treaty allies, has also contributed substantially to this end. If we say today that we take pride in the results of the 30 years, it is due above all to the fact that we have made an effective and substantial contribution to the cause of peace. Humanity's development has confirmed our party's conclusion about the enormous importance of all-round strengthening of the socialist homeland — the GDR — for a present and a future without wars.

Realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which determine the foreign policy of our republic, has benefited all the peoples. With the improvement of external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism in our countries, new opportunities emerge for expanding the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation across the world. At the same time, the struggle against forces which advocate a return to the cold war in the hope of realizing their aggressive, counter-revolutionary imperialist goals, has grown sharper. That is inevitable. The question of war and peace has become the crucial issue of our time. Our primary internationalist duty is to help resolve it in the interests of peace, in the interests of humanity, for the GDR is situated at the dividing line between two social systems: socialism and imperialism, between two alliances: the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

Today, curbing the arms race, going over to limiting armaments and concrete disarmament measures constitute the basis of a reliable and lasting peace. We highly assess the results of the Vienna meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter and the signing of the SALT-2 Treaty, for they are an extremely important landmark on the way to promoting détente and achieving disarmament. In accordance with the Ninth Party Congress decisions, the GDR will continue to work vigorously to achieve new positive results in international development in the interests of peaceful coexistence, results that promote and stabilize détente.

Understandably, we must take account of NATO countries' colossal arms expenditures, and their endeavor under various pretexts to develop and produce new types of weaponry. Bearing in mind these

open war preparations directed against the socialist countries, we have no choice but to maintain the GDR's defense potential at an adequate level at all times, in accordance with the general aims of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Our foreign policy is geared to a lofty humanistic goal — to make peace the rule of peoples' everyday life. We link with this goal our active solidarity with and support for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, whose fight for freedom, independence, progress and a better life is part of the present-day struggle for the overall transition from capitalism to socialism, for a stable peace, for the happiness of the peoples.

In the 30 years of the GDR's existence our people have accomplished major historical transformations. Along with living conditions, man has also changed under socialism. The program for the further construction of a mature socialist society adopted at the Ninth Party Congress has outlined the prospects of communist construction. We have every right to say that socialism is continuing its triumphant march on German soil.

Abridged from *Einheit*, No 9/10, 1979

LEONID BREZHNEV RECEIVES THE SI WORKING GROUP ON DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS

The working group of the Socialist International on disarmament problems, led by its Chairman Kalevi Sorsa, visited the Soviet Union in late September and early October. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received the group in Moscow on October 1. Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, took part in the talk.

Noting that the Socialist International is paying increasing attention to the problem of disarmament, which the CPSU has always considered crucial and vitally important for the working people of all countries, Leonid Brezhnev spoke in detail of the CPSU leadership's fundamental approach to this problem. He emphasized that in the 1970s a noticeable relaxation of tension had been achieved, thereby

pushing back the cold warriors. The Final Act signed in Helsinki constitutes a code of rules for peaceful coexistence whose relevance transcends the European framework. The ground has been paved for a series of important steps in curbing the arms race, above all with respect to SALT-1 and SALT-2. The first accord was provisional and limited. SALT-2 goes further. As Leonid Brezhnev noted, this treaty not only sets quantitative and qualitative ceilings on strategic armaments, but, what is probably even more important, it opens up prospects for further advance along this road.

At the same time, Leonid Brezhnev called attention to the fact that the enemies of détente and disarmament have not laid down arms and, if not rebuffed, could bring to nought everything useful that has been achieved in this field. The keynote of our party's policy is to safeguard détente, to advance the cause of disarmament, and to expand and deepen peaceful international cooperation. Social-democracy, the CC CPSU General Secretary emphasized, can also do much to curb the arms race.

Whoever has marched along the road of war, Brezhnev said, will never forget its lessons. Everything must be done for the young generation to know only the roads of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding. Yet ever more sophisticated mass destruction weaponry is being developed with every passing day. The danger of its spreading across the world has become very real. Should anyone let loose such a weapon it would spell disaster for all humankind. It is imperative that the peoples be aware of the looming danger. It is the duty of the communists and social democrats, the duty of the world working-class movement to work to this end, Brezhnev stressed.

Touching on imperialist propaganda speculations on the so-called "Soviet threat," the CC CPSU General Secretary noted that this lie is needed as a smoke screen by the instigators of the arms race, including those who are prodding plans to turn Western Europe into a launching pad for U.S. weapons targetted on the USSR. These forces are playing with fire.

The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev said, is not threatening anyone and has no intention whatsoever of attacking anyone. The Soviet Union — from its leaders to any worker or farmer — sincerely wants lasting peace, and in building its defense potential it does nothing in excess of what is absolutely essential to ensure its security and the security of its allies. The Soviet Union insistently proposes a curtailment of the armaments and armed forces of both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It has submitted dozens of proposals to this end. Regret-

tably, Brezhnev noted, our Western partners are resorting to diverse pretexts to circumvent real agreements on disarmament. As a matter of fact, this is the sole reason why the arms race is still going on.

Leonid Brezhnev urged going over from words to concrete disarmament measures. We, on our part, the CC CPSU General Secretary said, intend to act in that direction and will seek to stimulate real disarmament. For progress in disarmament, decisive importance attaches to the creation of a climate of confidence and mutual understanding.

The CPSU, Brezhnev concluded, will continue to advocate businesslike contacts with the socialists and social democrats, and constructive dialogue with all the other forces of peace and democracy.

We appreciate what has been achieved in this area and are prepared to continue promoting such relations. For the main thing is that we have common objectives, which are vitally important for the destinies of the peoples.

The members of the working group of the Socialist International listened closely to Leonid Brezhnev's speech.

In his speech, Kalevi Sorsa, Chairman of the working group, expressed gratitude for the warm hospitality accorded them and conveyed to Leonid Brezhnev warm personal greetings and best wishes from Comrade Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Socialist International. We, he said, are deeply grateful to you for finding the time to meet and exchange views with us on the question of disarmament, the most urgent problem now facing humanity. We see this as an expression of your personal resolve to spare no effort in the struggle for disarmament and relaxation of international tension.

The creation a year ago of the working group of the Socialist International on disarmament reflected the growing concern among socialists and social democrats over the continued arms race and the threat it poses to the security and well-being of all peoples. We see no reasonable alternative to détente and we firmly believe that to maintain the present level of political détente we must make new steps toward universal and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Our meeting is taking place at a crucial period. A mere three and a half months ago you, Comrade General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Jimmy Carter signed SALT-2 in Vienna. We consider this treaty as a gratifying historic step in the process

of establishing control over strategic arms. We hope it will be ratified in the near future and that further negotiations will begin without delay on a new quantitative and especially qualitative limitation of strategic armaments.

We are now at a crossroads: the decisions we are to take in the coming months and years will determine the development of the entire international atmosphere. What we have in store for us is either major successes in the field of disarmament, or a period of a new dangerous round of the arms race in the coming years. We are now faced with the danger of losing the fruits gathered during the decade of détente.

We believe in the effectiveness of the organized struggle for peace and disarmament, which enjoys the support of the popular masses. We are also prepared to recognize our responsibility with regard to worldwide efforts in this respect.

During our meetings with the U.S. President, representatives of non-aligned countries and the UN Secretary-General we resolutely called for détente and disarmament. We would like to make a similar appeal here in Moscow. Knowing your long-standing commitment to the policy of peace, we are convinced that we shall get the most positive response from you.

Bernt Karlsson, General Secretary of the Socialist International, stated that the visit of the Socialist International's delegation to the Soviet Union is the first of its kind and is truly historic in character. This initiative is motivated by the urgency of the struggle to control armaments, for disarmament and détente.

Our meeting, he continued, became indispensable because of the persistently mounting arms race and technological sophistication in the military field, a process which develops its own momentum and tends to get out of control.

We realize the need to establish control over armaments and of disarmament especially now, while visiting the Soviet Union, which lost more lives during World War II than any other country — 20 million people; a country in which the nazi military machine wrought havoc but which made the chief contribution to the destruction of that machine.

Our visit should be considered as a kind of dialogue between socialists and communists on the problem of disarmament, which is our common concern.

The Socialist International intends to continue expanding its activity in the field of control over armaments and of disarmament. The

activities of the working group headed by Kalevi Sorsa will continue till the congress of the Socialist International. The coming years will see the subject of disarmament transformed into a major factor in the work of our organizations and parties in different countries, with an affiliation of more than 15 million.

Our delegation has arrived in Moscow at a time when the world is on the dangerous brink of a new and even more perilous round in the arms race. It is from this viewpoint that we must approach our tasks.

Allow me, on behalf of the Socialist International, to express our appreciation for the invitation to take part in the discussion and negotiations held here.

Also present during the discussions were A.M. Alexandrov, alternate member of the CC CPSU and assistant to the CC CPSU General Secretary, and V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

• Pravda, October 2, 1979

TOGETHER WE WILL BUILD THE FUTURE OF CHILE

Luis Corvalan

The following item by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, is part of a collection of four articles published and circulated illegally in Chile under the general headline "Our Democratic Draft." Simultaneously with their publication, these materials were submitted to all Chilean democratic forces with the aim of reaching mutual understanding among them in order to put an end to the Pinochet regime.

Can a fire be put out without the pooling of efforts? In the European countries that were enslaved by nazism, all the champions of freedom and national sovereignty joined hands to combat it. They were guided by the sole aim of liberating their peoples from oppression. So in the post-coup conditions of our country unity of all Chileans who advocate democracy is the most appropriate road. This is what the Communist Party has been working for from the outset.

Social phenomena have their own logic, however. Not all those involved in them can always find correct answers to the problems facing us. Time was required before fascism fully exposed its bestiality, before everyone came to see the disastrous consequences of its policy, and before it passed over from attacking the Popular Unity parties to an onslaught against all the democratic forces. It took time for the illusions engendered by the policy of the Carter administration to be dispelled, for the communists' word to find a response and for the anti-fascist alliance to start taking shape.

Today there clearly exists an objective basis for a movement comprising diverse classes and social strata whose interests, progressive and national sentiments are being trampled on by the tyranny.

Along with other objectives, the government's repressive policy is aimed at imposing the lowest possible level of wages in order to raise the rate of surplus value and intensify capitalist exploitation. The same aim is served by maintaining a high level of unemployment, abrogation of mother-and-child care legislation, diminution of pre- and post-natal leaves, paying young people only 60 per cent of established wages, reduction of the employers' allocations for the social security fund, more restrictive pension laws, as well as the abolition of the other social security gains.

Fascism has hit the hardest at the working class. In this it pursues far-reaching goals. Whatever it does goes to benefit not only capitalism in general, but and above all, imperialism and the financial clans. It does not hesitate even to dismantle part of the national industry. Reduction of customs tariffs has brought about an inflow of all kinds of imported goods which compete unfairly with Chilean products. As a result, a number of metalworking and electronics plants and textile mills have been closed while others have cut down production. The sugar industry is on the verge of ruin. Clouds are gathering over the automobile industry. All national production, including agriculture, has suffered. Concentration of capital in the hands of a small group which uses investments for speculative purposes has accentuated the social contrasts, and aggravated the contradictions between the concrete interests of this group and imperialism, on the one hand, and of diverse non-monopoly capitalist circles, on the other. Many of the latter are now changing the sphere of their activity, switching over, for instance, to imports. In this way they manage to survive, and quite successfully at that. Moreover, being captive to bourgeois ideology, they not infrequently remain at the side of the dictatorship and still have faith in its economic model. Yet a substantial part of entre-

preneurs in industry, commerce, agriculture and transport do not fit into this model and demand change. The lack or shortage of production investment, under-capacity operation in industry, the impossibility for basic agricultural products to compete with imports, the high rate of unemployment, the impoverishment of the bulk of the population, the balance-of-payments deficit and growing indebtedness all combine to aggravate the structural crisis and have resulted in general discontent and criticism of the regime's economic policy by the majority of the population.

On the other hand, curtailment of public works, lack of incentives for industrial development, transfer into private hands or curtailment of the state sector's sphere of activity, regression in the higher educational system and the restrictions imposed on the arts and culture seriously affect the expectations of professional people, scientists and the intelligentsia generally obstructing thereby their fervent desire to place their knowledge at the service of society and the country's progress. The systematic violation of human rights and arbitrariness that has become the principle of government policy, the crimes of the DINA-CNI* are incompatible with the democratic conscience of the majority of the people.

The policy of fascism, which affects the interests of all working people without exception, compels them to step up their struggle and to coordinate their actions. The unity spirit of the United Workers' Center (CUT) lives on. Enormous importance attaches to joint action by the National Trade Union Coordination Center, the United Front of Working People, the Confederation of Private Employees, the Group of IO and the federations of the Union of Chilean Working People which occasionally join them. This represents a triumph of unity over Pinochet's divisive policy. Opportunities are appearing for the working people to recapture some of their gains. They come out directly against the regime, against its "economic model" and repressive policy. The working class is thus the pivot of the anti-fascist movement and creates conditions for rallying the majority of Chileans.

The popular organizations, leaders and members of various parties, anti-fascists and non-fascist groups find common points of view, define the common enemy and re-establish contacts, which eventually lead to joint actions in opposing fascism. This process is gaining in scope with every passing day. Hence the key task is to develop it energetically. A people set in motion is sure to win.

* National Information Center, which replaced DINA, the National Intelligence Agency. — Ed.

This task is, of course, not easy to achieve. Contradictions exist among the popular masses as do diverse class, ideological and political trends. A part of the population is captive to anti-communist prejudices. Furthermore, imperialism interferes in our internal affairs not only to support Pinochet, but also to defend its own interests, which are threatened by the popular struggle.

Such being the case, certain opposition circles who oppose unity with all the democratic forces are prepared to enter into an alliance only with some of them, while attempting to force the others to renounce their principles or to impel the revolutionary parties to participate in drawing up plans for a bourgeois-type state. At the same time some left groups still cling to sectarian positions. They are opposed to mutual understanding between all opposition forces. While urging unity with only one sector of the Christian-Democratic Party, they maintain that agreement with the entire party would signify conciliation with the bourgeoisie, with those who were in one way or another involved in overthrowing the Popular Unity government, and that, they claim, is tantamount to a rejection of the hegemony of the proletariat.

Despite all this, the idea of democratic unity has found a wide response in the masses, for it meets their interests. This idea will ultimately prevail, and we are confident that unity will be achieved. Clearly, this does not depend solely on the wish of the vanguard, important though it is. Unity of the people does not come about of itself. It requires constant and persistent effort by thousands of fighters who are guided by a correct and clear orientation worked out on the basis of a profound knowledge of the complex social situation. We must therefore focus attention on key contradictions from the standpoint of what unites and not what divides us. At the same time we must conduct a tireless ideological struggle against hostile positions, particularly against anti-communism, which is synonymous to a division of the popular forces.

To achieve anti-fascist unity, it is essential above all to elaborate in common the vital economic, social and political demands of the masses, to step up the activity of the popular and workers' organizations, set them up at all levels throughout the country, wherever the need is prompted by life itself, so as to organize, stimulate and coordinate the struggle for concrete objectives.

Hence the importance of forming a committee for the defense of human rights, a committee in defense of the rights of youth and other organizations uniting all democratic forces without exception.

The communists have on more than one occasion acted from unitary positions. They proceed above all from the need to strengthen and maintain the unity of the working class — the most important social force not only because of its numbers, but also because it is an inalienable part of material production, is highly organized, conscious and disciplined. Its immediate and long-term goals coincide with the interests of the majority of the population. For that reason its role is decisive whenever it moves into action. This is precisely why we constantly seek to enhance its ideological and political level and why we are guided by the principle of setting up a single trade union at each enterprise, a single federation in each industry or service sphere and a single national trade union center. This is the Chilean working people's traditional form of organization. Experience has shown that no other way would ensure better conditions for struggle for the working people's rights and demands.

We are fighting for unity of the student and youth movement as a whole, unity of women, of townspeople and peasants, members of diverse professions, writers and artists, small and middle entrepreneurs, irrespective of the existence of unitary organizations among these and other population groups.

With respect to parties, we invariably urge mutual understanding between the Communist and Socialist parties, between all Popular Unity parties. At the same time, we seek agreement between all the democratic forces.

The Communist Party declares against any policy, whatever its source, that excludes the democratic forces from the struggle. We reaffirm that anti-fascist unity does not imply a rejection of principles. In fighting against fascism it is now more imperative than ever before to proceed from the present activity of parties and individuals. The Communist Party calls for mutual understanding with all democratic parties, and not with their separate sectors. Believing unity at grass-roots level to be of primary importance, it simultaneously stresses the significance of a dialogue and mutual understanding between leaders, for without them any advance would be difficult. The Communist Party holds that working-class hegemony cannot be achieved either by dramatic declarations or naive demands for its acceptance in that role. This hegemony is achieved in the very process of struggle which, to be effective, requires a correct interpretation of reality and an understanding of the concrete interests of the majority of the people.

Now and again the dictator attacks politics and politicians. A

demagogue par excellence! Politics express the strivings and activities of people or groups of people who are either united in a party or non-affiliated, and who act in the interests of the classes to which they belong or which they serve. As noted in our May 1979 Manifesto, "Chile's first and great politicians were O'Higgins and other founding fathers of our homeland" and "Chile is known in Latin America for its parties and politicians who over the past 150 years gave it the form of a republic by establishing democratic institutions, which were destroyed by fascism and which must be reconstituted." Hence all politicians cannot be lumped together or measured by the same yardstick. There are revolutionary politicians and reactionary ones, progressive and retrograde, honest and dishonest ones. Pinochet is the worst of them, a fascist through and through who opposes the least insubordination, all who think differently from him. He rejects every single norm of democracy and tolerance which existed in the country and which we must restore, without, of course, excluding the social struggle and ideological debate.

Some democratic personalities are of the opinion that the parties are going through a crisis, that they should recognize this fact and adapt themselves to the situation. They prefer remaining on the sidelines and letting the social movement develop of its own accord. This idea is incorrect.

It is essential to know what the situation will be tomorrow, what parties will be stronger than others during this period, and how they will be able to restore their ranks, and build up their strength and influence. Today it is safe to say that the parties do exist despite the repressions. Nor is this fortuitous. They have their roots in the history of Chile, going back to the first years of our independence, and they express the interests of the different classes and social strata.

The popular parties have a rich tradition of struggle for unity. The formation of the Popular Front was a major event, bringing to power the democratic government of President Aguirre Cerda.* That was a period of national progress. Despite its ups and downs, the people's unity has always been the decisive weapon of struggle highly assessed by the masses.

Popular Unity was formed ten years ago. Despite fascism's fierce attacks, it has held its own over the past six years. It has weathered

* Aguirre Cerda, a radical, President of Chile in 1938-41. The Cerda government followed a policy of the country's independent development and implemented a number of democratic reforms. — Ed.

both victories and defeats, thus demonstrating its viability. Those who have declared it obsolete are engaged in wishful thinking. The understanding reached between its parties is not something artificial. It corresponds first of all to the need for unity of the most consistent and decisive forces in the struggle for the people's interests. It comprises the Chilean left forces which have existed as such for long already. From their own experience its different components realize the significance and strength of their unity.

Popular Unity has made substantial qualitative headway since the coup. It adheres to a correct anti-fascist orientation. It has worked out a general, strategic line, which consists above all in correctly defining the final goal, socialism, and the stages of advancing toward it, with due regard for the character of the present-day struggle and the policy of broad alliances. Its constituent parties and many of their members have made and continue to make a valuable contribution, thereby enriching this line. They continue to conduct extensive collective and individual work aimed at carrying out structural changes with a view to eventually setting up democratic institutes, defining the functions of the armed forces, the role of the church, and resolving other vital problems. This does not imply, however, that we are glossing over their past and present shortcomings and lack of cohesion which pose a threat to Popular Unity. Not at all. We are opposed to such manifestations and urge that they be eliminated through a sincere and friendly dialogue without any letup in the struggle.

It is significant that, for all their shortcomings or errors, Popular Unity, the left forces of Chile represent a powerful force which is already being reckoned with in the country and will increasingly be taken into account in the future.

The Christian-Democratic Party represents another real force. It has and will continue to have an appreciable impact on national life, particularly the middle strata and the working masses. The difficulties we have had with this party and the differences separating us do not prevent us from recognizing the fact that many of its members — men, women and young people — are fighting valiantly against fascism.

Hence the following problem is on the agenda: will the Christian-Democratic Party and Popular Unity once again vie with each other in winning popular support for the conquest of political power? The possibility of such a confrontation exists. But it could also be relegated to the background, while giving priority to the need to achieve mutual understanding around common goals.

Rivalry would erode mutual understanding and lead to a clash among the democratic forces. In the event that the Christian-Democratic Party decides to join the rightists, the country will once again be divided into three parts. Either eventuality would only benefit reaction.

We openly call for mutual understanding between Popular Unity and the Christian-Democrats, for a dialogue between all democratic, civilian and military forces without exception. What has happened is much too serious, and the magnitude of the tasks we face is such that we cannot afford not to reach mutual understanding. We cannot afford the luxury of remaining divided at a time when our common enemy is intent on mustering his forces to maintain or to once again seize power, and to continue to impose his reactionary policy on the country even though by other means. The people will eventually cope with that as well. But it is the duty of all democratic forces to help achieve unity and not to torpedo it.

I have already said that there is a basis for building up a broad social anti-fascist movement of the democratic forces, for their alliance based on common goals. As the prospect for joint actions opens up before these forces, their views on social development come closer together, and a minimum program is being formulated for the country's socio-economic development after the overthrow of fascism. It would be of a great importance to expand, intensify and concretize efforts in these spheres.

Agreement on the formation of a coalition government is not yet in sight. The Christian-Democratic Party has rejected the idea. It does not want to form a government jointly with Popular Unity, particularly with the Communist Party. The Demochristians' intransigence stems from their definite class interests or from their belief that conditions are not ripe for the formation of a government that is not to the liking of the USA or the top military circles. This attitude does not take into account either the peoples' capacity for struggle, or the new situation in the world. Nicaragua is a most eloquent example of this. There, like in Iran, the USA supported the despot. However, the democratic forces of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, rose up against him and the dictatorship he imposed. The imperialists' arms were powerless to suppress these forces. The United States suffered an unprecedented political defeat in the OAS. The support given to the people of Nicaragua and their provisional government by the majority of states and governments of Latin America and the Caribbean is an indication of the new situation.

Those who argue for excluding any political force from a future government are neither consistently democratic nor free of sectarianism. A government without Popular Unity or without the Christian-Democrats will not be sufficiently representative, or strong enough to carry out what will be required of it. In urging mutual understanding on the formation of a representative government that would reflect the interests of the majority of the population, we follow the principles of democracy and are fighting for a better future for our people and country. Indeed, one need not be a visionary to realize the magnitude of the tasks of tomorrow or the scope of mass demands. No government in which the people or at least a majority of the people is not represented will be able successfully to resolve the problems and tasks posed by life. This does not mean that we are making unwarranted threats or rejecting anyone. Simply, everyone must fulfill his duty and be fully aware of his responsibility in setting forth his goals, in determining his definitive stand.

We, for our part, aspire to political power in alliance with all the democratic forces. We are not prepared, however, to take part in just any government. But as realistic politicians we are ready to examine diverse situations and to facilitate any steps that meet the interests of the people providing the viewpoints of the Popular Unity parties coincide. Always bearing in mind that the crucial task today is to overthrow fascism, we are prepared to reach agreement, if only to attain this goal.

We are prepared to assess the situation realistically, which does not, however, signify renunciation of our views. We are fighting and will continue to fight in any circumstances for the formation of a broad democratic and representative government and believe that the people of Chile alone must have their say in the matter. We do not exclude the possibility of such a government being installed after Pinochet's fall.

If the balance of strength turns out to be unfavorable for us, and if the overthrow of the dictatorship is followed by the installation of a government different from the one we advocate, we still believe that Popular Unity, having maintained its cohesion and independence, can in one way or another cooperate with that government provided it draws up a minimum program in the interests of the workers, the people and the state. At the same time, Popular Unity will continue to fight for the implementation of its own program and the formation of a most representative government with its full participation.

Today, we believe, it is already possible to reach a democratic

compromise, leaving the question of forming a government for subsequent consideration.

The communists' broad unitary policy, particularly in achieving mutual understanding between Popular Unity, the Christian-Democratic Party and all other organizations and movements which advocate national progress, is not merely our tactical line. It is our strategic orientation. In other words, it is not an ad hoc policy designed to form a temporary alliance in order, as some aver, to use it in our own interests.

Believing that everyone should clearly state his views and proposals, we say that our final goals are socialism and communism. We are not out to deceive anyone. We reaffirm, however, that this issue is not on the agenda at present. But we cannot relinquish our socialist ideals or the struggle for them.

At the same time we are convinced that the development of the productive forces and progress in the social, political and cultural spheres will enable the Chilean people to set themselves the objective of building a new society. We see the changes now taking place as an uninterrupted process in which the broadest democratic forces can and should take part. We say once again: it certainly is not our intention to seek allies for today just in order to reject them tomorrow. Life itself will eventually bring to socialism those forces which hold aloof from it today.

“THE TIME HAS COME TO ACT”

Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party USA

On August 26 a rally of working people was held in Detroit under the slogan “Put People Before Profits!” General Secretary Gus Hall addressed the 8,000 workers, students and professionals gathered there from different parts of the country. Below we publish a slightly abridged version of his speech.

I think all of you who have joined us here today sense that this is not just another meeting, another rally. This gathering marks the beginning of something new — something really big. It marks the beginning of people on the move.

Big business and the Carter Administration are saying to the people: "We give you a choice. Either you have to accept high unemployment *or* high inflation." They claim we can't have both low unemployment and low inflation. What they are really saying is that we are going to have to suffer both — high unemployment and high inflation.

In fact, the solutions to this crisis we're facing are really simple:

Cut \$100 billion off the \$150 billion military budget, and \$100 billion off the \$150 billion in corporate profits: Use this \$200 billion to cut prices and create jobs — to build schools, hospitals, recreation centers and housing.

And if that's not enough — take the \$1 billion the government is giving away in "cost overruns" — right at this very moment — to corporations making military equipment — bombs and missiles and submarines for war. Cost overruns are nothing more than extra rip-off profits the corporations steal from the government after they sign a contract — already making maximum profits. Then they simply tell the government that they won't finish the job unless they get additional billions, over and above the contract price. These so-called "cost overruns" are just a cover-up for outright extortion.

This is the kickoff rally for a new people's political movement — a mass movement that will bring about people's power, working people's power.

FOR SALT-2 RATIFICATION

The nuclear maniacs — Senators Jackson, Tower and Nunn — say we can have SALT-2 only if we agree to spend close to \$100 billion more on totally wasteful military installations.

This rally launches the crusade that will tell these nuclear Dr. Strangeloves that: "We demand SALT-2."

The racists say we can have affirmative action, if it doesn't change the racist patterns and discrimination in hiring, layoffs, upgrading and promotion.

And, as if things haven't been bad enough, we're now going into an inflationary recession — which simply means that you will work less and pay more — for everything. It means higher unemployment, higher inflation and higher corporate profits.

The age of science and technology under capitalism has brought with it the age of industrial ghost towns and plants. They stand as monstrous monuments to the greed and irresponsibility of monopoly capital.

There is now terrible job insecurity. Every worker is haunted by the fear that he or she may be the next victim in a plant that is scheduled to become another ghost. They live with the constant nightmare, the frightening specter, of their plants, communities and cities falling prey to the corporate criminals.

When these tragedies hit towns in the old days people simply picked up and moved West. Today, the people who work in these abandoned plants have no place to go.

This Cobo Hall rally marks the beginning of an all-out campaign to keep all plants open and productive. "No more ghost plants. No more ghost towns. No more runaway shops."

AGAINST FACTORY CLOSINGS

When the rich stockholders and executives of Youngstown Sheet and Tube and the Chrysler Corporation decided to close their plants they talked about what to do with the machinery, the plants, the raw materials, the nuts and bolts, the land values and the profits. But there was one thing they never mentioned, one thing that never entered their minds. And that is: What's going to happen to the 50,000 human beings involved in their two plants, what's going to happen to the most basic of all human rights, the right to make a living. That never came up in their discussions, in their plans.

The question is: What is the solution? There are many solutions. Let me give you one we think is realistic and in the interests of working people.

These plants could very easily be converted into plants for building desperately-needed subway cars to help solve the mass transit crisis in so many of our cities.

The banks, the big stockholders and the executives who make millions in salaries, bonuses and dividends deserve no sympathy and no handouts. Rather, they should be indicted and convicted for robbery and criminal conspiracy against the people. The threat to the jobs of workers, to the cities and city services and the public welfare deserves not only sympathy, but immediate action.

The workers' role as producer-taxpayer is decisive. Any arrangement, any plan, that denies the workers effective influence and control in the decision-making process is as useless as Carter's campaign promises or as useless as having a car without brakes.

There is nothing wrong or illegal about the government taking over these plants, because there is the one sacred and inalienable human right that supersedes all others, and that is the right of the people to

make a living, to be able to eat, pay rent, raise and educate their children.

CAPITALISM IS THE THREAT

Other politicians say that we have to keep producing military equipment and military installations and arms because there's a foreign threat to our country; that it's for "national security". That's just more baloney. There's no foreign threat to our country of any kind. The only threat to our national security, to our public welfare, comes from the monstrous big business system, capitalism, that threatens our very lives and those of our families. The real threat is right here; it's an internal threat, not a foreign danger.

General Motors (GM) is laying off thousands of workers, but last week GM's President Murphy said "I'm happy." And why not? GM is making more profits, with less workers.

Last week, President Carter and James Schlesinger publicly vowed that there is no proof the oil monopolies ripped off the public. This week they admitted that within the last year these same monopolies ripped off \$5 billion, over and above the billions they made in regular profits.

President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance say they are for self-determination for the people of Palestine. But when Andrew Young says it, and means it, he is fired.

And the Senate is willing to ratify a strategic arms limitation treaty, but only if Carter agrees to spend an extra \$100 billion of our money for more "overkill" war production.

Carter keeps telling us that the fight against inflation is the "moral equivalent of war." And this year already the basic necessities of everyday life have gone up 28 per cent, and the year's only half over.

At the same time he demands that workers accept wage increases under his seven per cent guideline. Then he tells us that wages are the cause of inflation. He must think we're crazy.

Yes. This is the "moral equivalent of war," war against the people. But the war is going to have to be turned around — the workers against the monopolies, against big business.

LOOMING ECONOMIC CRISIS

We haven't made it out of the last depression, and now we're headed for another economic crisis. More layoffs, cutbacks, take-aways, less social and public services, higher prices, rents and taxes, more sacrifices, more "austerity," more poverty and misery.

And to top it all off the fascist Ku Klux Klan, the white-sheet stormtroopers' brigade is beginning to goosestep again throughout our land. Burning crosses and burning houses and increased police brutality are again beginning to explode across our country.

Is all this for real? Or are we having nightmares — are we imagining it all, as if watching a drama on a television screen? Unfortunately, what we're seeing and feeling and living through isn't a movie or a dream. It's real — almost too real to believe.

And Carter blames everything on the people. He wants us to believe that if things are bad it's because we're too used to "living high on the hog," that we consume too much, that we've lost confidence and our sense of patriotism and loyalty.

Carter blames everything either on the people, or OPEC, when the real culprit is big business.

While Carter is slandering the people and blaming them for the crisis, over 77,000 auto workers are laid off and GM's Murphy keeps getting happier because GM stockholders are making \$5 billion in windfall profits. Carter's got it upside down and inside out; and it's big business who's to blame, but Carter keeps covering it up.

What's the real reason, the cause for all these contradictions and seemingly crazy developments?

The truth is that big business has gone wild. Big business is totally out of control. They are doing whatever they please, with no one in control but themselves. No one is curbing them or regulating them in any way. In fact, the government is not only doing nothing to control them, but it is an accomplice. It's a conspiracy between big business and the government that serves it against the people.

PEOPLE'S POLITICAL POWER

So, we have now reached the point where no one is protecting the interests of the people. We have now reached the point where the people need to take control. People's political power has become a historic necessity;

— The people need control over the government, over the affairs of the country;

— The people need to get control over the political life and they'll never get it through the two old parties of big business;

— The rank and file in the trade unions need to get control of their unions;

— The people need to get control over the environment in which they live. They need control over the ecology of our country which is

being steadily poisoned and polluted by big business;

— Crime is out of control. The people need to get control so they can begin to cure the cause of crime — unemployment, inflation, poor education and recreational facilities, cities in crisis, poverty and hopelessness;

— The people need to get control over the Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare and social service systems;

— The people need control over the public education and childcare systems;

— The people need to get control over the tax system, the mass transit system, public utilities, the banks, real estate operators and big business;

— The people need to get control over their own lives.

But above all else, the people must get control over the monstrous monopolies who have gone wild and are running roughshod over the people. It's time to demand that "People come before profits."

The time has come when it's not enough to be angry, to be enraged. It's not enough to just simmer inside and stew in our own juices. It's not enough to cuss the supermarkets. And it's not enough to call the oil monopolies and landlords bastards and bloodsuckers.

The time has come to act. The time has come for a radical change. If the people don't take control over their lives, in their own self-interests, no one else will.

The crisis in every area of life in our land proves that those now in control are completely out of control, in their own selfish interests.

The big question is: How?

We believe there's only one real, practical and possible answer.

It's clear that we can't trust the monopolies who build nuclear power plants like Three-Mile Island, who build Pinto cars, knowing they are going to kill people, and who build homes over chemical wastelands that will poison and maim people.

It's also clear we can't trust the government for the answers; can't trust them to control, curb or even penalize the monopolies for their crimes against the people. We can't trust the government because these same monopolies control the government.

So if we can't trust big business or the government, then who can we trust? Only the people themselves.

If we agree, then this rally must become the beginning of a mass campaign to establish a network of People's Control and People's Action Committees throughout the land — People's Action and People's Watchdog Committees — committees that will initiate pro-

tests and demonstrations against high prices, taxes, rents. These People's Committees must become active in the electoral arena. They must be grass roots committees that will unite all workers — Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican and all nationally oppressed people — with all women, youth, farmers, small business people, professionals and intellectuals.

This rally will begin the crusade for a People's Agenda, backed by a massive movement of People's Committees of Action and Control, a People's Agenda that would include:

- Absolute guarantees against the closing of any plants and lay-offs; all laid off workers to be guaranteed full unemployment and other benefits, including a moratorium on all debts;

- Wiping out all wage differentials based on racism and discrimination; wiping out discrimination against women, youth and all racially and nationally oppressed peoples;

- Making acts of racism and discrimination illegal and subject to fines and imprisonment;

- Ratification of SALT-2 and the beginning of negotiations for SALT-3;

- Organizing the unorganized shops and industries;

- Establishing a 6-hour day, 30-hour week with no cut in pay;

- Election of workers to public office;

- Election of racially and nationally oppressed people, women and youth to public office;

- Establishment of free national, comprehensive health and medical care system and education system — from kindergarten through college with living subsidies for those who need them;

- Driving the millionaires out of the Senate and replacing them with workers;

- Setting up affirmative action programs, with teeth, in every area of life — in every plant, every department, shop, office and school;

- Cutting the military budget in half and transferring the funds to build houses, hospitals, schools, mass transit systems, to rebuild our crumbling cities and communities.

The prerequisite for winning this People's Agenda is people's unity — unity of Black and white, women, youth, senior citizens — unity of all the people for the people.

Daily World, August 30, 1979

EFFECTIVE ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES

Message of the Central Committee, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus to the President of the Republic.

Mr. Spyros Kyprianou

President of the Republic of Cyprus:

Mr. President, in view of the spiralling prices and the magnitude of the threat posed by inflation, the AKEL Central Committee would like to draw your attention to the following:

1. The recent increase in the price of oil products on the world market and mounting inflation are bound to adversely affect the Cypriot economy. This poses the threat of intensified inflationary pressure on our economy. The consequences of worldwide inflation will understandably be particularly serious for a relatively small-scale economy like ours. In the light of the above we foresee that the Cypriot economy will soon face a severe trial. We consider it the duty and responsibility of the government, parties, organizations and functionaries in the economic sphere to take energetic measures to help our economy surmount this trial with the least possible losses.

2. In connection with the above-mentioned facts, we note that there is a tendency in certain business circles to use the recent price increase on oil products as well as the growth of value coefficients for raising prices unwarrantedly. We also regretfully note the tendency toward a one-sided, arbitrary setting of prices, evading established procedures. At the same time there are instances of violation of some provisions of the trade inspection.

All these phenomena lead to an aggravation of the problems, and pose the threat of an objectively unwarranted high rate of inflation. If vigorous measures to ensure effective control over the situation are not taken in time the rate of inflation will increase out of all proportion, with a resultant unfavorable impact on living standards, stability, economic progress and the cohesion of the Cypriot people.

3. In view of the above we consider it imperative to take immediate

measures to redress the situation and to minimize the danger. A crucial condition in achieving this goal is firm actions by the state in several directions. The policy of state regulation proclaimed by the late President Makarios in 1974 must be reinstituted, brought into line with present-day requirements and translated into practice. We hold that effective state interference can avert the looming danger, minimize it. To this end we propose the following concrete measures:

(a) To achieve, through active state interference, a situation when an enterprise or branch deeming it necessary to raise prices must apply to the Prices Commission.

(b) Mindful of the threat of another spiral of inflation and seeking to maintain it at a reasonable level, measures must be taken to ensure that high costs, wherever they occur, are covered as much as possible by profit rates. Whenever a price increase is inevitable, there should be no increase in profits in absolute figures, even if this results in a reduction of the profit rates.

(c) The AKEL Central Committee highly assesses the constructive role of the Prices Commission in curbing inflation. We hold that the Prices Commission can play an especially big role in the light of the impending severe trials. The Commission must be strengthened without delay so that it can cope with its tasks. For this it is imperative to staff it with the required scientific and other personnel. Its composition should also be enlarged through the participation of agricultural and other organizations.

(d) Along with the consolidation of the Prices Commission, the trade inspection department should also be satisfactorily staffed to ensure adequate control over the fulfillment of the relevant decisions and the quality of goods. Our party urges strict fulfillment of the trade inspection's decisions. If this is deemed expedient, corresponding legislative changes should be made.

(e) The AKEL Central Committee attaches special importance to controlling prices on certain goods which are crucial in the formation of production costs: automobiles and spares for them, fertilizers, medicine, pesticides, etc. We demand that control over the prices of these goods should be established as soon as possible. We also urge expansion of the range of goods that come under the control of the Prices Commission, to include clothing, footwear, household utensils and others.

(f) As for oil products, the AKEL Central Committee demands that they be transferred into state ownership and that a special state body be set up for the import and sale of oil products.

Mr. President, we believe that you share our serious concern in connection with the threat of inflation and its consequences for the country's economy. We welcome your decision to hold and preside over a meeting of all interested parties concerned to discuss the situation and expect that you adopt due measures aimed at maintaining and strengthening the internal unity of the country in the interests of the people and the political struggle of Cyprus.

Respectfully yours,

E. Papaioannou
AKEL General Secretary
Haravghi, July 29, 1979

CENTENNIAL OF THE POLISH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Decision of the CC PUWP Political Bureau

We will shortly celebrate the centennial of the Polish revolutionary working-class movement. For almost two-thirds of this period the working class and its allies waged a struggle for social emancipation and national liberation, to overthrow the domination of the exploitative classes and establish people's power, for a system based on social justice.

For 35 years now, the Polish working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, working under a new system — existing socialism — have led the people's struggle to strengthen the might and enhance the authority of their state, for the well-being of its citizens.

The founding of the social-revolutionary "Proletariat" party almost one hundred years ago (1882) marked the beginning of Poland's organized working-class movement and was rightly called the "Great Proletariat." This was the first Marxist party of the Polish working class. Its program, drawn up by Ludwik Warynski and published on September 1, 1882, was a big step on the road to introducing scientific socialism into the working class and the conjunction of revolutionary theory with the working-class movement in the Polish lands. This program provided the working-class movement, which until then had been spontaneous in character, with a clearly formulated, far-

reaching goal — socialism — and corresponding revolutionary methods of struggle.

The "Great Proletariat" explained to the working class its fundamentally special character and role, its duty as the hegemon in relation to the other classes and social strata. Thanks to the activity of the "Great Proletariat" and its Marxist program, the Polish working-class movement entered the historical arena, strengthening the revolutionary wing of the world working-class movement and creating new opportunities for the realization of the people's aspiration to independence. The working-class political movement became a powerful factor in social development, the chief force stimulating the dynamics of the national-liberation struggle. The working-class movement once again advanced the idea of mass struggle for independence, which, after the defeat of the 1863 uprising, seemed to be declining.

In accordance with the objective laws of social development, the proletariat as a social class appeared on the arena of our people's history the latest of all. But, in fulfilling its historic role it became the motive force of social progress. The proletariat was not only in the van of the working masses in their revolutionary struggle for class liberation and in establishing a system based on social justice, but also the leading force in the people's struggle against the aggressors' oppression, for an independent Poland occupying a fitting place in the world community of free, democratic and peace-loving nations.

The birth of the Polish working-class movement became an important factor in invigorating the movement of the people and the progressive intelligentsia; it laid the ground for the formation of a modern political infrastructure of society and strengthened the national bonds of the Poles.

The "Great Proletariat" initiated a consistently internationalist trend in the Polish working-class movement. It laid an indestructible groundwork for fraternal cooperation and solidarity between the Polish and Russian revolutionary movements.

The ideas and deeds of the "Great Proletariat" and the legendary heroism of its leaders were continued by almost all subsequent workers' parties. The patrimony of the first Polish Marxist party was enriched and developed by the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and the Polish Socialist Party — Lewice. The development of the Polish working-class movement on the territories seized by Austria and Prussia — Silesia, Galicia and Greater Poland — was of enormous importance for the class and national-liberation

struggle. Along with political parties, the trade union movement, workers' cooperation and cultural-educational activity were broadly developed. Throughout more than half a century when the Polish working-class movement was split in two, all those who advocated a united front of the working class referred to the initial period of its history, when it was represented by one party.

The Polish working-class movement's struggle for social emancipation and national liberation found a powerful response among the world's progressives, and the warm support of the world working-class movement.

Even before that time, Marx and Engels had vigorously defended Poland, which was oppressed by aggressors, seeing the Polish national-liberation struggle as the motive force of the European revolution.

Subsequently, Lenin upheld the Polish cause in the international arena. During an important period of his life and political activity he lived in Poland, upholding friendly, cordial relations with many Polish revolutionaries.

The internationalist ties between the Polish and Russian revolutionaries were forged in the crucible of joint struggle, of which the 1905-1907 revolution was an outstanding manifestation. In 1917 about 100,000 Poles took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia — the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world, which opened the epoch of socialism in the history of humanity.

Under the impact of the Great October Revolution the Communist Party of Poland was formed, which in the 20 inter-war years most consistently defended the vital interests of the Polish working masses, while remaining faithful to proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Poland introduced Leninism to the Polish working-class movement; it reared a numerous cadre of dedicated revolutionaries and did much to develop the awareness of the popular masses, to step up their struggle for social emancipation.

The Polish Workers' Party played a special role in the prolonged and complex revolutionary struggle which in the conditions of war and nazi occupation, relying on the heritage of its forebears, formulated the only correct action program which met the interests of the people and the historical situation. Combining the national and social goals of the working class, of all working people and organizing the struggle of the patriotic popular forces, it rallied the Polish people in a broad front of armed struggle against the aggressor. During the victorious war against fascism Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms was

forged, the basis for alliance between Poland and the USSR was built, and ideological ties were strengthened between the PWP and the CPSU.

Under the leadership of the PWP the greatest revolutionary change in Poland's history was achieved, worker-peasant power was established and the Polish state was restored — with a new system and within new boundaries.

The working class began to play the leading role in rehabilitated Poland. People's power created the prerequisites for uniting the working-class movement and forming the Polish United Workers' Party.

Continuing and developing the glorious traditions of the Polish working-class movement, the PUWP provides effective leadership in realizing the program of socialist construction. In the current decade the party advanced a program of building a mature socialist society and together with the people began to implement socio-economic and cultural changes corresponding to the present stage of socialist development.

The history of the Polish working-class movement is of tremendous importance to our party, the PUWP, enriching its traditions and experience, and serving as a rich source of inspiration in defining the ways of developing socialist Poland.

In the hundredth year of the Polish revolutionary working-class movement we should see to it that the struggle and heroism of its fighters is in the focus of attention of the cultural centers and the mass media. This heritage should be further elaborated and broadly popularized. Above all we should single out the trend in the history of the Polish working-class movement which was capable of combining the class and revolutionary character of its ideological and political principles and internationalist solidarity — particularly with the Russian proletariat and the party of Lenin — with selfless patriotism, understanding of the needs of the struggle for national liberation and independent national existence, and subsequently with the safeguarding and defense of its state. The biographies of tens of thousands of outstanding members of the Polish working-class movement contain an enormous educational wealth that can help to develop patriotism and internationalism, a scientific world view linked with broad interests; they can help to define and inculcate a proper attitude to work and to one's everyday duties, diligence and responsibility for one's words and deeds, and promote a highly humanistic concern for one's closest co-workers and comrades-in-arms.

For a hundred years now the Polish working-class movement has taken an active part in creating Poland's modern history. Organically linked from the start with the progressive and patriotic trends in the socio-political life of Poland, this movement has continued the best traditions of the Polish people and state. Hence its growing role in resolving major national and social problems.

The experience of a hundred years of struggle and labor of the Polish working-class movement is reflected in the activity of our party — the leading force of society — in developing the socialist homeland, strengthening its security and sovereignty, its standing in the great family of free and peace-loving nations, its ideological unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

While building a happy future for the people, we recall with pride and gratification the staunch fighters for the working-class cause who 100 years ago began to pave the way toward a socialist Poland.

Trybuna Ludu, September 24, 1979

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN BEGINS ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN IRANIAN KURDISTAN

Statement of the Central Committee, People's Party of Iran

The struggle against the national oppression of the non-Persian peoples in Iran has been one of the major program requirements of the People's Party of Iran ever since its foundation.

The People's Party of Iran has always believed that in a multi-national country national unity can only be achieved on the basis of mutual respect between the different peoples. This mutual respect requires that within the framework of territorial integrity and a centralized government each people should exercise administrative and cultural autonomy, receive an education in its native language, use that language in all spheres of public life, and freely develop its traditions and social and religious customs.

The People's Party of Iran has always held that an end can be put to the national oppression of the non-Persian peoples in Iran solely through a joint struggle of all the peoples of Iran against the criminal and piratical domination of imperialism, against the monarchist

dictatorship, and the ruling exploiting classes, especially against the big capitalists and landowners linked to imperialism. It is our party's view that in this common struggle paramount significance attaches to the struggle against imperialist rule and dictatorship, while at the present stage — against U.S.-led imperialism, Zionism, and the reactionary remnants of the deposed regime of the shah.

In line with these principles and political planks the People's Party of Iran has always held that its aims are fundamentally in keeping with the aims of the movement of the oppressed peoples of our country. For that reason it has always wanted close cooperation with all the forces representing the interests of the oppressed peoples of Iran on the basis of a common policy and a common program.

Its stand is that in the struggle against national oppression the revolutionary currents of the oppressed peoples of Iran are part and parcel of the united people's front against imperialist domination, neo-colonialism, and the remnants of the dictatorial regime, for democratic rights and freedoms, and also for a basic improvement of the working people's living standard. It is unshakable in its fidelity to these principles.

Acting on these principles the People's Party of Iran, the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan formed a coalition on the basis of a joint program in 1324 (1945). This front played a significant role in extending the democratic and national struggle in Iran.

Following the defeat of 1325 (1946), when the national and democratic forces in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan were crushed, the People's Party of Iran again acted on these principles to initiate the resurgence of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. This struggle did not cease even after the plot in Bakhman in 1327 (February 1949), which led to the outlawing of our party. This struggle was sustained even after our party's organizations in Iran were smashed completely and the center of party activity was moved abroad.

Abiding by the scientific principle that the revolutionary mobilization of the vanguard forces of the working class is imperative, the People's Party of Iran has always urged political and organizational unity among all forces upholding, regardless of nationality, the cause of the working class and prepared to carry on this struggle with the working-class party of the new type.

During that period the People's Party of Iran steadfastly abided by the view that its amalgamation with the Democratic Party of Azer-

baijan and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in a united all-Iranian party of the working class was the only correct and best way of combining the activities of all revolutionary forces for the attainment of common aims.

After prolonged efforts at the conference on unity in 1339 (1960), the People's Party of Iran amalgamated with the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan. At the time this action was lauded also by many Kurdish fighters acting in and outside the People's Party of Iran and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in a united revolutionary front against the shah's regime and imperialism.

An understanding was reached in principle that the all-Iranian party of the working class would be called the People's Party of Iran and that its local organizations in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan would be called the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

Regrettably, from the very outset some Kurdish friends adopted a misconceived orientation under the influence of the evasive activities of Mustafa Barzani and other external factors. They violated the agreement on the foundation of the above-mentioned all-Iranian party of the working class and adopted a line — both in emigration and after the overthrow of the dictatorial regime of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and the resumption of legal activity — that in its basic orientations continues to conflict seriously with the line of the People's Party of Iran. Regrettably, all our efforts to achieve unity of action toward basic political aims and also organizational unity between the two parties did not succeed. At present the People's Party of Iran is confronted with the fact that, on the one hand, Iranian Kurdistan has become one of the most explosive regions in the country, where the most diverse forces are active and the situation is steadily deteriorating. On the other hand, there is an increasingly pressing need for the dissemination of the PPI's views among the Kurdish people and also for the mobilization and organization of those revolutionary forces that support our party's program, orientation, and position in order to win support among the people for this program, orientation, and position. After considering these facts and this need, the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran decided that the PPI would begin organizational activity in Iranian Kurdistan.

The Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran calls upon all of its supporters in Iranian Kurdistan to bend every effort and show every possible initiative in order to organize the party's members and groups in the primary party organizations for the purpose of dis-

seminating the party's program, forming a united people's front, and circulating central party publications in the Persian and Kurdish languages so that Kurdish people could be informed of the PPI's aims.

The People's Party of Iran is firmly convinced that it is acting correctly in proposing the political and organizational unity of all revolutionary forces and organizations fighting for the cause of the working class. As in the past, it will spare no effort to achieve that unity. It is prepared at any time to discuss with all genuine fighters and organizations of the working class any problem linked to this issue, which is vital to the Iranian working-class movement and the entire revolutionary movement in Iran, in order to remove existing obstacles and cooperate with them on the basis of common agreements.

For the victory of the joint struggle of the whole Iranian people for national independence, democratic freedoms, and a higher living standard for the working people, and the abolition of national oppression within the framework of administrative and cultural autonomy!

May the unity of all the Iranian peoples grow stronger in their common struggle against the intrigues of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction!

*Central Committee,
People's Party of Iran*
Mordada 20, 1358 (August 11, 1979)

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GUATEMALAN PARTY OF LABOR

From a Declaration of the Political Commission, Central Committee, Guatemalan Party of Labor.

On September 28, the communists, the working class, the peasants, and all other sections and groups of the nation's working people will mark the 30th anniversary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor. The past three decades of the nation's history have been closely linked to the revolutionary, consistently proletarian struggle of the GPL, with the energetic work, self-sacrifice, and dedication of its members, activists, and leaders in safeguarding the most sacred interests of our

country and people. Ours is a patriotic and, at the same time, an internationalist party. Its historical roots lie in the revolutionary work of the communists of the 1920s. Although the finest representatives of our people did not succeed in forming an organized political contingent of the working class in the country, they did much to disseminate the scientific theory of the proletariat in the then emerging working-class movement in Guatemala. This took place under the impact of the momentous event that shook the world at the dawn of the 20th century, namely, the glorious victory of the Bolsheviks led by the great Lenin in tsarist Russia.

For us our party's 30th anniversary is an important event. For 25 of these 30 years we had to work underground in extremely difficult conditions, because as a political party the GPL was subjected to the most brutal police persecution. This required enormous sacrifices, and we sustained heavy losses. Those who gave their lives for the victory of socialism and communism in our country are remembered by us with admiration and respect. The example set by them is an inexhaustible source of inspiration and a guide to action for the members of the party of our working class. This party has not only successfully repulsed the enemy's savage attacks but found the strength to do away with right and "left" deviations in its ranks ideologically, organizationally and politically.

We shall mark the anniversary free of the liquidationist, opportunist trend that acted from leftist positions in an attempt to seize the leadership in our party and impose a militarist and adventurist policy on it. It is highly significant that in the period since the 29th anniversary we have been able to do away with liquidationist moods in the party. As a result, we are now stronger than ever organizationally, ideologically and politically. The party is implementing its political line and revolutionary program more and more consistently, strictly abiding by Leninist organizational principles. We are aware that the party is steadily winning growing influence among the masses, chiefly among the working class, the peasants and other sections of the population suffering from capitalist oppression and exploitation and fighting to secure the satisfaction of their most vital requirements.

An explosive situation is looming in our country. The contradictions of a society in a crisis are growing acute and coming to light. In the social sphere these contradictions are seen in the fierce class battles waged by the working class and other large sections of the working people against the military clique of reactionary generals,

headed by Romeo Lucas Garcia, the oligarchy of the bourgeoisie and landowners, and imperialism.

Economically, the people are going through one of the most difficult periods. The entire burden of the crisis is being shifted to their shoulders. Food, clothes, dwelling, transport and fuel prices are rising continuously. Inflation has gotten out of hand. The wages and incomes of the working population have been frozen. Their living standard has fallen far below the most modest subsistence minimum. The quetzal has dropped by more than half in value.

The number of unemployed and semi-employed is growing catastrophically. Working men and women, and young people are not certain that they will not lose their jobs tomorrow. In town and countryside workers are dismissed en masse and individually without justification. Many factories and commercial enterprises have lately been closed on the pretext of bankruptcy, lack of markets and raw materials, ruinous competition, or some other excuse. Those who worked at these enterprises were thrown out.

Far from being resolved, the problem of medical assistance, so needed by the people in both town and countryside, is becoming increasingly acute.

In a republic with a population of nearly six million the hospitals can accommodate only 12,000 patients . . . The education system is in a chaotic state. It is controlled by officials who think in terms of barracks, which was a feature of the Cabrera and Ubico regimes. About 70 per cent of the inhabitants over the age of 7 are illiterate.

In the countryside the peasants are being driven from their plots of land. Landless peasants are denied land. The injustice of the system of land ownership, distribution, and cultivation is illustrated by, say, the fact that only 1 per cent of the population owns 80 per cent of the best arable land. On top of everything, 40 per cent of this land is not cultivated at all. The migration of peasants to the towns is becoming a social evil. It aggravates the serious problems facing society, which is experiencing a deep-going structural crisis and leads not only to growing unemployment but also to the spread of crime, prostitution, various vices, hooliganism and the appearance of poverty belts. More and more people are finding themselves outcasts.

As a result of 25 years of reactionary rule, there has been a marked increase of the country's penetration and exploitation by international, notably U.S., imperialism. The ugly, backward and, moreover, overlapped structures on which the nation's capitalist "development" is modelled are the cause of many of the problems

generated in the economy by the "modernization" that meets solely the interests of the wealthy exploiters.

The point is not only that with every change of government imperialism intensifies its rule and exploitive practices but also that in Guatemala it has a social base created by force. It is this that enables it to penetrate the country and strengthen its hand regardless of what reactionary forces and strata are in power. In this situation the nation's economic and political life is becoming entirely dependent on the dictation and interests of imperialism.

Precisely these interests are served by the various projects now under construction — waterways, the Chixoy projects, the motor road in the north, the network of roads, the highways and hotels, the port on the Pacific, the port on the southern coast, the inter-oceanic oil pipeline — and by the "open sky" policy, the tax privileges for exports, the decentralization of industry, and so on.

It is quite evident that the *bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and imperialism* have failed in their attempts to find a "way out" of the economic, political, and social crisis of the past 25 years by means of various "changes" and "reforms," to which they have had recourse throughout that period. For instance, in Central America economic integration is increasingly getting to be too much for those who have turned it into their main business. All the indications are that it will boil down to separate bilateral agreements, to agreements that will become more and more narrow, limited and almost totally without prospect.

The productive forces of the Guatemalan economy, which has been developing along the channel of dependent integration, have been undermined. Pre-capitalist relations have not been abolished . . . The ruination of small enterprises is helping to promote the monopolies, which, for their part, are contributing to this ruination. All this is an example of how the general crisis of capitalism manifests itself in an individual country. In Guatemala production and economic activity is stagnant. One of the signs of this is the population's exceedingly small purchasing power, which objectively limits the growth of the domestic market with all the ensuing consequences. In particular, the already limited, ugly, and dependent process of industrialization is slowing down.

Such, in general, is the objective material basis of the revolutionary and people's struggle in Guatemala, a struggle which must be considered in its totality from the standpoint of the development level, organization and political consciousness reached by the people, a

struggle in which the working class is playing an increasingly larger and determining role.

On the national and international level new and more favorable objective and subjective conditions are being created for the development of our struggle for national and social liberation, democracy and freedom.

At present our minimum program, which can unite large segments of the democratic, revolutionary and progressive strata of the population under working-class leadership, calls for a struggle for democracy, national welfare and independence.

We hold that no democratic process can develop in Guatemala if it does not have the goal of improving the living standard and working conditions of the people and if, as a result of that process, no concrete steps are taken to safeguard national independence. An improvement of the material welfare and working conditions of the people acquires sense only if it is achieved against the background of broad democratic freedoms and an independent policy and is aimed at developing and making rational use of natural wealth and resources in the interests of the majority of the people. The safeguarding of national independence — a measure that has a profound democratic content — is linked to the broadest freedom for the masses and an improvement of the conditions of their life and work.

The program of the Guatemalan revolution, adopted by the party's Fourth Congress, is now of historic significance since it contains the widest and most realistic platform of urgent demands and can unite the people, the nation's revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces for the struggle.

In connection with the party's 30th anniversary the Political Commission of the GPL Central Committee calls upon the working-class movement, trade unions, peasant organizations, the youth and student movement, civic democratic associations, and also the legally-functioning opposition political parties, artisans, white-collar workers, small businessmen and shopkeepers, intellectuals, democratic and progressive personalities, military men — patriotic officers and soldiers — believers and atheists, men and women, and young patriots *to unite in a broad front of struggle against the repressions and terror unleashed by the government, for an improvement of the material conditions of life and work, in defense of national resources and wealth, and the sovereignty of our country.*

We note with deep satisfaction that at present the conditions exist for achieving understanding and creating alliances with other left

revolutionary organizations for the purpose of restoring the unity of the revolutionary movement. As a first step, agreement must be reached on basic issues, then united action must be organized and, lastly, we must set up a common front that would unite us in the struggle against the ruling military dictatorship, for the steady development of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy revolutionary process along the road leading to socialism.

Moreover, we call upon the Guerrilla Army of the Poor to join in our efforts to restore the unity of the left revolutionary forces on the basis of the common problems uniting us in the anti-dictatorship and democratic struggle, which is part of the anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist struggle for socialism in Guatemala. In order to achieve this aim we are prepared to do everything relative to organizations such as, for instance, the Insurgent Armed Forces. Apart from issues that divide us, we have some problems in common with them and these must be discussed jointly.

Our fundamental principles of unity are founded on class, proletarian positions. They are not determined by any variety of opportunism, neither right nor "left." Moreover, this unity must be set up among the masses. To this end it is indispensable to uproot the harmful practices of those who proclaim themselves champions of unity but in fact undermine it by their sectarianism, narrow views, lack of flexibility, and incomprehension and inconsistency in the face of all the currents and forces comprising that unity.

We have been unfailing in our work of preparing the party and the masses to resolve the revolutionary problems confronting us. For this we have had recourse to various forms of organization and struggle within the framework of the forcible way of the revolution's development: legal and illegal, underground and open, peaceful and non-peaceful. *The forcible development of the revolution in Guatemala is the objective course that must ultimately change the situation in favor of the people.*

The armed struggle, which is part of the party's overall activity, should not be conducted in isolation from the masses. It must be a concrete expression of the level of their development, organization, and political consciousness, an expression of their requirements, interests and aspirations. Under correct leadership it must help to expand the actions of the people in order to raise the struggle to a higher level.

A significant improvement of the subjective conditions for unity and the struggle for democracy, the people's welfare, and national

independence in our country must be evaluated from the angle of the material conditions on which this struggle rests and in which it develops.

In marking the 30th anniversary of the our party, we Guatemalan communists call upon the people of Guatemala to fight for a genuinely democratic way out of the present economic, political and social crisis, and safeguard the nation's independence and identity. The popular revolutionary, democratic and progressive organizations and strata must join in creating the broadest cohesion among the people united around the minimum program of pressing demands. This program contains the following points, which we now put forward for discussion:

1. Strict observance of human rights, above all, the right to life, work, education, medicare, freedom of organization and assembly without any restrictions, and freedom of conscience;

2. Steps to end the imposition of candidates at elections, the falsification of election returns, and disregard of the people's will; the right of all popular forces and strata without exception to free participation in political organizations;

3. The immediate dissolution of all the terrorist gangs of murderers serving in the army and the police, and the trial of the chief perpetrators of the repressions and terror started by the government; the repeal of anti-communist legislation impinging on basic labor, civic and political rights; the return of political emigrés;

4. Social equality of women; the granting of rights to young people and children; abolition of discrimination in, and isolation from, public life;

5. A pay rise for all categories of working people; establishment of effective control of prices and also fair control of profits and of the quality of output at profitable enterprises;

6. Greater state participation in production and economic activity, particularly in socially important industries, such as the services industry; organization and planning of economic development in the interests of the majority of the people and the country;

7. An agrarian reform that would lead to the abolition of latifundism, the distribution of all uncultivated land, and the promotion of the free organization and productive labor of the peasants; technical and financial assistance and the establishment of an interest rate on subsidies that would help to resolve the problem of the shortage of staple cereals and exercise a beneficial influence on market prices;

8. A tax reform based on the principle that higher taxes will be

levied on those who have and get more; a change of the present tax system under which most of the tax burden falls on consumers;

9. A vigorous illiteracy abolition campaign, the modernization of rural communities, improvement of child nourishment, and the creation of elementary health, education and public assistance services;

10. An end to imperialist interference in the nation's internal affairs and the use of its territory for interests clashing with national identity and independence; an end to the building of U.S. military bases in Guatemala; Guatemala's withdrawal from CONDECA;*

11. The pursuance of a policy of independent development, and the protection of national resources and wealth; the establishment of broad relations with all countries on the basis of mutual respect and benefit; the annulment of all treaties infringing on national independence and sovereignty; the right of our people to self-determination;

12. Strict control of foreign investments by abolishing legislation giving loopholes for illegal revenues and facilitating tax evasion and a currency drain;

13. Abolition of all anti-national concessions; the use of national resources in the interests of the people and the country;

14. The activities of the army and the police must be founded on the patriotic principles of defending sovereignty, ensuring independence, and respecting the unhindered exercise of the people's rights.

This minimum program of the people's demands must be wrung from the bourgeoisie with the participation of the broadest sections of the population, in unrelenting struggle against the reactionary military dictatorship and its fascist repressive and terrorist apparatus. In it the most vital demands of the people must be generalized; it must express the people's unity in the struggle for the nation's genuine democratization, an improvement of the conditions of life and work, and the protection of national resources, wealth, identity and independence. Without this democracy cannot develop in Guatemala.

*Political Commission,
GPL Central Committee
Guatemala, August 1, 1979
Abridged*

* Defense Council of Central America — a military organization of Central American states. — Ed.

FROM THE PRESS

WHO NEEDED THIS AND WHY?

Recently Washington unleashed another of its recurrent anti-Cuban campaigns. This time it is built around an alleged presence of "Soviet combat units" in Cuba.

Fomenting an atmosphere of tension and attempting to give credibility to these contentions, the U.S. mass media are playing up the "details" of their fantasy. Some say that the Soviet military personnel had arrived in Cuba only recently, and under cover of night. Others say that the presence of Soviet military personnel had long been known, but that they have now been charged with "new functions." Alarming statements have also been made by a number of congressmen.

One would have expected the U.S. government, which is, of course, fully aware of the facts of the matter, to give the necessary explanations to stop this campaign. Regrettably, however, official representatives of the U.S. government followed a different course. The nature of their statements is such that they only add fuel to the fire.

Hence it is essential to recall the true state of affairs with respect to the Soviet military personnel in Cuba.

For 17 years now there has existed in Cuba a training center where Soviet military personnel teach the Cubans how to handle Soviet military equipment. Neither the number nor the functions of the said Soviet personnel have changed over these years. All contentions about the arrival in Cuba of "organized Soviet combat units" are totally groundless.

The Soviet military personnel are in Cuba at the request of the Cuban government with the sole aim of helping to strengthen that country's defense capability. Cuba is compelled to take measures to ensure its defenses not only because of past experience, but also because the present atmosphere is far from conducive to the republic's peaceful development, and because of the intrigues of forces abroad that are hostile to the Cuban people. The many years' Soviet-Cuban cooperation is dictated by the needs of Cuba's defense

and constitutes an inalienable right of two sovereign states. Any attempts to restrict this right runs counter to the accepted norms of international intercourse and are totally unfounded.

It is also absolutely clear that both because of its size and functions the Soviet military personnel in Cuba do not and cannot represent any threat to the United States, or to any other state.

Such is the actual state of affairs. It clearly shows the total groundlessness of the new outcry raised in the USA over Cuba.

The true motives and aims of those who are fomenting this campaign are betrayed by its careful timing.

The U.S. propaganda apparatus, obviously on a signal, began intensive activity just at the time when the heads of state and government, and other ranking representatives of the non-aligned countries who oppose diktat in international relations, advocate elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism, stronger peace and international security had assembled in Havana for their sixth conference. The plan was simple — to try to undermine the prestige of Cuba, one of the most active and prestigious members of the non-aligned movement.

Nor is it by chance that this outcry is being used by those circles in the USA which seek to obstruct the passage of the SALT-2 treaty or, failing that, at least to complicate its ratification.

That is the purpose of this campaign, which is directed against the USSR and Cuba. Those who are conniving at it and especially those who are encouraging it should realize the enormous responsibility they are assuming.

Pravda, September 11, 1979



UNITY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SOURCE OF SOCIALIST POLAND'S STRENGTH AND BASIS OF ITS FUTURE

Speech by Edward Gierek at Peace Manifestation in Gdansk

Forty years ago, on September 1, 1939, nazi Germany perfidiously attacked Poland. That was the beginning of World War II.

Our people were the first to take up arms against the nazi invaders. This was of great importance for future developments, for the formation of an anti-Hitler coalition and its future victory. The decision to fight against the heavy odds was unanimously adopted by the entire Polish people, by all generations of Poles. By those whose fervent love for their Motherland had been steeled in battle against invaders, and by those who grew up in an independent Poland.

We revere the memory of six million of our compatriots who gave their lives in the war against the enemy or were brutally murdered in nazi prisons and concentration camps, in the streets of our cities and in the "pacified" villages.

The courage of the Soviet soldiers who freed our native land will remain engraved in our hearts for all time. We pay special homage to the memory of our 600,000 Soviet brothers who gave their lives in the battle for freedom, ours and yours, and for victory over fascism.

We have done everything possible so that the tragedy of that September will never again be repeated.

Thirty-five years of labor effort, often of self-denial, have changed the face of our country. We have built up Warsaw from ruins, the ancient Polish city of Gdansk, the Piast Szczecin and Kolobrzeg, Wroclaw and dozens of other cities, hundreds of towns and villages.

We have accomplished a social revolution. Power has been transferred to the workers and the working people as a whole. The agricultural reform, nationalization of industry and planned economic development have opened the road to the elimination of unemployment, to social justice, to a surge in the development and cultural level of the people.

By realizing our party program, we have made substantial headway in improving living standards and in satisfying the needs of our society throughout these 35 years. Particularly in the 1970s we have done

much to accelerate the country's development and improve the people's well-being.

We take pride in these achievements. They constitute our common contribution. But we are also aware of the magnitude of what remains to be done as well as the difficulties facing us.

The experience of September, the experience of our entire difficult history leads us to the fundamental conclusion: the basic thing is national security, the stability and inviolability of our state and its sovereign existence. Our internal strength, economic level, the unity of our society, our defense capability as well as the system of alliances, above all the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, serve as the basis and earnest of our security and independence.

Our relations with the Soviet Union were forged in common battles against nazism; they have withstood an historic test during the 35-year period. Poland's friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union are essential for both our peoples. They rest on a common socialist system, on the fundamental coincidence of the interests of our nations and states. They constitute a crucial factor of stable peace in Europe.

Alliance with the Soviet Union serves as our support base in enhancing Poland's international prestige. Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union made possible the industrialization of our homeland.

Today this cooperation is expanding to ever new spheres and has become an important lever in the modernization of our economic, scientific and technological progress, satisfaction of our raw material requirements. It also plays a crucial role in the dynamics of our development, our defense capability.

We will invariably strengthen unity with all the socialist community states and expand our friendship and cooperation, and strengthen our defense alliance — the Warsaw Treaty. This is a constant and inviolable principle of our policy. It meets the vital interests and aspirations of our people.

We consider the efforts to maintain peace and international security as the most effective instrument in creating favorable external conditions for our country's development. September 1939 clearly showed that peace is indivisible, that violation of the rights of any nation leads to disastrous consequences for others.

Poland attaches special importance to a strong and stable peace in Europe. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki on our initiative, marked the start of a notable

improvement in relations between European states with different social systems. Favorable conditions appeared for promoting détente. These are the objectives that face the high-level conference on questions of military détente in Europe proposed by the Warsaw Treaty states; such are the hopes we place on the forthcoming Madrid meeting of representatives of states signatories to the Helsinki Final Act.

This August I spoke in the Crimea with Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We expressed the common viewpoint that a crucial international objective is to go over to real disarmament, as well as the complete elimination of the threat of a world war.

In this respect great importance attaches to the signing of SALT-2 by the Soviet Union and the United States in Vienna. It diminishes the risk of a global nuclear conflict and favors progress in curtailing armaments.

Today we appeal to the U.S. Congress to ratify SALT-2. This meets the vital interests of the countries which signed it as well as of all humankind.

We would like to see the declaration on educating society in the spirit of peace adopted on Poland's initiative in December 1978 become the moral orientation for all states and peoples. Peace is the loftiest and most sacred right of each individual and of all peoples. Peace signifies the right to life. That is the important conclusion which humanity must draw from the experience of the last war and from its entire history.

In drawing conclusions from the causes and results of World War II, we cannot but mention our relations with Germany. The more than thousand-year history of these relations consists of different periods — both bad and good. Throughout centuries these relations have been overshadowed by German militarism's and imperialism's "Drang nach Osten" slogan. Fascist Germany's aggression against Poland was the most nefarious and tragic manifestation of this policy. All the peoples, including the German, had to pay for it. Two states have now been built on the ruins of the imperialist Third Reich. The German Democratic Republic — a socialist workers' and peasants' state — recognized from its inception the Oder and Neisse boundaries and has taken every measure so that war would never again start on German soil. We will continue to promote friendship and cooperation with our western neighbor.

The doctrine of the other German state has stemmed from funda-

mentally different premises and aims. It was not until the end of the 1960s, when a government of social democrats and liberals assumed power in Bonn, that the Federal Republic of Germany took the road of normalizing relations with Poland and other socialist countries. The 1970 treaty served as the basis of normalizing relations with Poland, according to which the FRG recognized the inviolability of Poland's western frontiers and relinquished all territorial claims on us for all time. The attitude to the content of this treaty and the readiness to realize it is the criterion for assessing the stand of the West German political forces toward Poland.

We are sincerely interested in cooperating and promoting relations with all forces in the Federal Republic which stand on the positions of détente and consolidation of the existing peaceful order in Europe. At the same time, we consider it our duty to alert world opinion against those who refuse to recognize the existing realities in Europe and dream for a "positions of strength" policy and expansion in the cold-war spirit. We have the moral right and duty to warn our people and other peoples of this looming danger. Our memory of the past, and concern for the peace of Poland and of Europe demand that we do so.

The forces of peace are powerful. The cause of peace is based on a reliable foundation. We will do everything possible to make its victory permanent and irreversible.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, September 3, 1979

"CONCRETE DEEDS ARE NEEDED"

The Social-Democratic Party of Germany and leading members of this ruling party made statements on the eve of September 1 in connection with the 40th anniversary of the start of World War II, which was unleashed by nazi Germany. These statements duly assessed the significance of this event and its lessons, saying that "war must never again start from German territory." This demand has long been the principle of the German Communist Party. Defense Minister G. Apel declared that the FRG government considers peace the "supreme blessing," that détente and disarmament remain the "central objective of our policy."

These are realistic conclusions of the SD leadership. Well-meaning

words, but what about practical conclusions? What about concrete deeds?

First of all, what strikes the eye is that the SD leaders make no specific mention of those responsible for the Hitlerite war. Yet no one who wishes to draw lessons from history should remain silent about the trusts which financed Hitler and, having become even stronger and more powerful, are active to this day in the Federal Republic. The medium which gave rise to Hitler fascism is still bearing fruit.

Defense Minister Apel speaks of the immense danger posed by the "stockpiled arms" which "can destroy every living thing." Yet he is trying to convince the working people that the arms race, the dangerous alliance with the USA, the NATO bloc and the intensified arming of the Bundeswehr are an "earnest of détente." Just as well send a goat to watch over a vegetable patch.

Contrary to the facts, Apel claims that the Soviet Union is seeking "military superiority." Apel knows full well that the USSR is not seeking military superiority, that it again and again, is advancing concrete disarmament proposals while NATO is feverishly attempting to change the military balance in its favor. Why, for instance, have not the federal government and Minister Apel given a positive response to the Soviet proposal to conclude a non-aggression treaty? Moreover, the SDPG leaders support the lie about a "Soviet military threat" using it to substantiate its plans of stepping up the arming of NATO and deploying 600 new U.S. middle-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In the "White Book of the Bundeswehr, 1979-1980" Apel once again demands stepping up the arms buildup, above all of offensive weapons.

All this runs counter to the realistic conclusions of the statements made in connection with Anti-War Day. There is a credibility gap between public statements on adherence to the cause of peace and practical policy. What is needed are concrete deeds, the truth, and the truth is that it is impossible to work effectively for détente while pressing for an arms drive. Fire and water do not mix.

On the 40th anniversary of the beginning of World War II it should be recalled that for the Federal Republic the question of war and peace is literally the question of its existence. Whoever hopes to ensure peace through the arms race and the deployment of new U.S. missiles, is badly mistaken.

It is not enough that the SDPG Presidium and leading party members have made some realistic assessments on the occasion of the Anti-War Day. Concrete conclusions and practical deeds aimed

against the arms race, and in support of disarmament are needed. This is what numerous supporters and members of the SDPG are expecting.

Not the least among such concrete conclusions is the long delayed positive response to the proposal of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to conclude a non-aggression treaty.

E. Weber

Unsere Zeit, August 31, 1979

NEW STAGE AND NEW PROBLEMS OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The founders of the movement, those who gave its policies a concrete shape in its early years, repeatedly stated that while countries and national-liberation organizations which join the non-aligned camp have to keep out of military blocs, non-alignment does not mean passive neutrality, just sitting on the fence when faced with international problems.

They stated that non-alignment does not mean mechanical equidistance from world powers, much less an opportunist policy of having the best of both the worlds, the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. Non-alignment means each country taking independent and positive decisions in terms of the basic principles of the movement.

All these positions have been reiterated by innumerable and authentic representatives of the non-aligned movement and have never been questioned. And yet, in their concrete application to many current problems, serious differences have arisen with the movement. That is where the question of its new stage comes in.

Considering the history and present composition of the movement, one thing which stands out boldly and unequivocally is that it has been and is, essentially, a movement of the countries which achieved national independence from imperialist rule after the second world war. Dominantly, it is a movement of countries which have secured freedom from British, French, Dutch, Belgian or Portuguese rule or from similar forms of colonial domination.

The first requisite of these countries, as they achieved political freedom one after another, apart from the obvious moral respon-

sibility of helping national-liberation movements which had yet not achieved their goal, was to build an independent, industrialized economy, both for the purpose of raising the living standards of their poverty-stricken masses and for giving real substance to their political freedom by the achievement of economic independence. And, for this, they needed world peace and security.

The common factor in all these tasks was the weakening of the economic, political and military grip of imperialism over the erstwhile colonial world. It is this basic fact that those who are now putting all sorts of opportunist interpretations on non-alignment are attempting to whitewash.

During the two long centuries when the newly-independent countries were groaning under the yoke of colonialism, the question of non-alignment just did not exist for them. They were not only aligned with their imperialist masters. They were simply shackled slaves of imperialism.

For the newly-independent countries, therefore, non-alignment meant, first and foremost, breaking the alignment with their former imperialist masters. It meant freedom from imperialist control, economic, political and military.

This has been, and continues to be, the guiding spirit of the policies steadily elaborated by the non-aligned movement in the course of its development during a quarter of a century.

During this fairly long period, the non-aligned countries and national-liberation organizations have found, from their own experience, that they have repeatedly come up against the imperialist powers, above all, the USA, in economic, political and military matters.

And equally, they have found, again as a result of practical experience, that it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that have sympathized with them and rendered them every possible aid in the realization of their aims and objectives.

The proof of this statement lies in the resolutions and statements adopted by the five non-aligned summits held since 1961. Uniformly, they criticize this or that imperialist country for committing acts of aggression against one or another newly-independent and/or developing country. With the same uniformity, they criticize the imperialist monopolies, financial institutions, the transnational corporations, and so on, for throttling the efforts of the developing countries to build an independent, national economy.

Resolutions moved in the UN by the non-aligned countries and, in

fact, by third world countries in general, on questions of colonial liberation, peace, disarmament, building a new international economic order, and so on, always get the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And invariably, they are frowned upon, sabotaged or opposed by the Western powers.

It has been said that the Cuban government has thrown a spanner in the unity of the non-aligned movement by its recent proposal that it should recognize that the socialist countries are its natural allies. As a matter of fact, all that the Cuban suggestion amounts to is an honest and unquestionable recognition of reality, of the generalized experience of the non-alignment movement itself. The opponents of the proposal have no shred of experience to contradict it.

There is not a single resolution or statement of any non-aligned conference or of any meeting of its bureau which equates the foreign policy of the USA with that of the USSR, or which says that the two countries are involved in a superpower rivalry from which non-aligned countries should keep aloof.

On the other hand, it is precisely these theories, never accepted by the movement, that are constantly trotted out by the leaders of certain non-aligned countries for justifying all sorts of surreptitious compromises with imperialism and for evading their responsibilities toward the cause of peace and anti-imperialism.

The threat to the unity of the movement does not come from those who consistently adhere to the letter and spirit of the resolutions of non-aligned conferences. It comes from those who take equivocal positions on burning problems of the movement in the name of superpower rivalry, and, even more, from those who want to protect imperialist and other reactionary interests, by raising the bogey of "Soviet threat" to the third world.

A clear illustration, in this regard, is that of Diego Garcia. All the littoral states of the Indian Ocean are agreed that the American military base on the island is a threat to their independence. And yet, a prime minister of our country has stated that Diego Garcia is a problem of superpower rivalry, to be settled between the USA and the USSR! And a former foreign minister has stated that American presence on Diego Garcia is dangerous because it might invite Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean!

Those who talk glibly of "superpower rivalry" have also to realize that in reality they are only echoing a shibboleth of imperialist propagandists. No longer able to run down the Soviet Union as the devil incarnate, and having to recognize the immense prestige acquired by

it in third world countries as their friend and helpmate, the new technique of imperialist pen-pushers is to rouse suspicion, distrust and fear in the minds of third world statesmen against the Soviet Union.

The aim, obviously, is to drive a wedge between the two, thereby weakening the third world countries in their struggle against imperialist domination. The theory of superpower rivalry precisely serves this purpose. It is a thousand pities that certain third world leaders should swallow such poisonous trash!

The problem of imperialist grip has, in fact, become far more formidable than before. The piling up of foreign debts which are impossible for the developing countries to repay, unequal trade, the drive of the transnational corporations to step up the plunder and the backwardness of the underdeveloped countries, the resultant, perpetual foreign exchange crisis — such have been the consequences of imperialist "aid" for the uplift of the newly-independent countries.

No wonder many of them have resorted to drastic measures of nationalizing foreign concerns; the oil-producing Arab countries have resorted to utilizing the supply of oil as a weapon of economic and political pressure; and, in general, the struggle of the new international economic order is developing a sharper edge against the domination of Western powers over the economies of the third world countries.

In certain countries, this struggle has developed further into an anti-capitalist struggle, to the adoption of a non-capitalist path of development, and to the implementation of radical land reforms for the complete elimination of all forms of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in the rural areas.

At the same time, developments in certain countries have been in the reverse direction. Imperialism has succeeded in suppressing the progressive national forces with the aid of internal reaction and by bringing reactionary forces to power. In such a situation, at any rate for a short period, democratic advance is halted, the independent development of the economy is halted, power passes into the hands of neo-colonialist tools of imperialism.

Quite often, in recent years, it is through such governments that imperialism resorts to provocative actions and aggression against adjacent countries which have progressive regimes dedicated to independent economic development and social progress, and pursuing a foreign policy of peace.

In such instances, the country subjected to foreign interference,

direct or indirect, overt or covert, has got to take effective measures for self-defense. The resultant conflict is by no means a bilateral one, toward which the non-aligned movement can take an indifferent attitude or in which equal blame can be placed on both sides by resort to juridical quibbling.

What the aggrieved party actually does in such circumstances is to defend its freedom and sovereignty from imperialist intervention barely camouflaged as a conflict between two third world countries.

In such cases, the non-alignment movement would be guilty of betraying a freedom-loving country which is a victim of vicarious imperialist aggression if it closed its eyes to its predicament.

That is why, in such cases, the non-aligned movement has to clearly recognize which is the guilty party and which the aggrieved one, and on that basis try to end the conflict through peaceful negotiations or by any other commonly acceptable methods.

No dispassionate and independent observer can deny that the conflicts between Angola and South Africa — Zaire, Ethiopia and Somalia, South Yemen and North Yemen — Saudi Arabia, Tanzania and Uganda (Idi Amin), Afghanistan and Pakistan as also certain reactionary forces in Iran, fall in the foregoing category.

Each of them has distinctive features of its own but common to all of them is the imperialist strategem of using a third world country as a cat's paw for pulling the chestnuts out of the fire. It is the same old theme of making Asians fight Asians now applied on a global plane.

Non-intervention in a conflict between an aggressor and his victim is in reality a passive sanction of aggression. It feeds the appetite of the aggressor and makes him increasingly brazen. This is the side from which the unity of the non-aligned movement is threatened, not from the side of those who consistently fight for national independence and against foreign domination.

It is only one step ahead from his evasive position to accuse the Soviet Union or Cuba or other socialist countries of "expansionism" or "Soviet imperialism" when they offer support to an aggrieved country against the guilty one. Thus we get the fantastic charge that the Soviet Union is pursuing aggressive policies in Africa through its protégé, viz., Cuba. In Iran and Afghanistan, it is supposed to be making a drive for the warm waters of the Arabian Sea. And so on, and so forth.

That again opens the door for bringing in the theory of superpower rivalry, with the suggestion that all foreign troops, meaning Cuban, French, Belgian, etc., should withdraw from the conflict between

Angola and South Africa — Zaire, etc. Thus, all distinction between aiding an aggressor and supporting the victim of his aggression is totally wiped out, and the victim is left to fend for himself as best as he can.

Can the non-alignment movement which has achieved respect and prestige in the newly-independent countries precisely because of upholding the cause of liberation from colonialism, national independence and peace come down to such an ignominious level of evasiveness?

Can the unity of the movement be preserved in the face of such a grave betrayal of its principles and ideals? And what is to happen to the solidarity and mutual cooperation of the movement if it succumbs to the "principle" of each for himself and the devil take the hindmost?

These, precisely, are the questions that the movement has now to answer. What is involved here is nothing less than the question of its survival, since survival demands mutual sympathy and support, and opportunist self-centeredness spells disruption and demise.

S.G. Sardesai

Abridged from *New Age*, August 26, 1979

"LATTER-DAY CRUSADERS"

A premeditated campaign or a chance coincidence? In any case, the initiatives now being taken in all Western capitals have one thing in common: they all stress in principle the absolute necessity of stepping up the arms race.

Yesterday the government issued a document reaffirming its intention to increase the share of military expenditures in the state budget. The reason behind this, it says, is that the balance of strength between the alliance systems of the West and East "is continuously deteriorating" to the detriment of the Western countries in the sphere of both nuclear and conventional armaments.

True, the document notes that the construction of Europe "as before does not involve the question of defense," but one might take it rather as an expression of regret in view of Bourges' statement that European defense is a crucial mission of the French armed forces.

The session of the Bureau of the European Assembly at which Mme Veil presided, decided the other day to include the question of European defense on its agenda. This clearly shows how correct we

were in condemning those who are out to extend the prerogatives of the Assembly.

If we recall General Buis' and Alexandre Sanguinetti's repeated statements in favor of Franco-German cooperation in the sphere of nuclear armaments, it becomes clear that a whole number of official and semi-official statements are aimed toward this end.

The broad press campaign underlines this fact, as evidenced, in particular, by *Le Monde's* regrettable publication on the "unleashing of a third world war by the Russians" and the *L'Express* editorial over the signature of J.F. Revel, which cites the Pentagon's latest contentions about a Soviet "threat."

This campaign is not restricted to our country, as witnessed by the strident campaign unleashed by official U.S. circles and their worthy correspondents almost simultaneously throughout the world regarding the discovery, after 17 years, of the presence of Soviet military experts in Cuba.

In the United States, President Carter has decided to create a system of multiple-headed nuclear missiles, while in Bonn the government has published a "White Book," which speaks of a substantial strengthening, within the next 10 years, of the armaments of the Bundeswehr which is already considered the most powerful conventional army in Europe.

Naturally, those who are promoting this new crusade explain their actions by an alleged threat emanating from the USSR, owing, in their words, to its military superiority in the sphere of nuclear and conventional weapons.

Since they are hard put to cite even a single instance of aggression or aggressiveness on the part of the Soviet Union, they unhesitatingly invent it; hence the statements in *Le Monde*. They are hoping, of course, to create a climate favorable for justifying the arms race.

As far as France is concerned, the impression is that the present campaign is aimed primarily at advancing the idea of a diminishing credibility of the French deterrent, and that the concept of national defense has become outdated and it is necessary to create an integrated all-European system of nuclear armaments.

In short, this is a program whose merit, some believe, consists in combining renunciation of the defense of national interests with a crusade against the USSR. This is a perilous policy. The salvation of France and the whole world lies not in the arms race and consolidation of military blocs, but in a patient quest for détente and peace.

L'Humanité, September 12, 1979

PROGRAM FOR THE NATIONAL REVIVAL OF NICARAGUA

The Nicaraguan government has announced a program of political, economic and social transformations, the construction of a new state and creation of a society of democracy, justice and social progress.

Below we publish some of this program's provisions.

THE POLITICAL SPHERE

1.1 Establishment of a regime of democracy, justice and social progress.

Promulgation of relevant legislation for setting up a regime of effective democracy, justice and social progress that will guarantee the right of all Nicaraguans to take part in political life, universal suffrage, as well as the right to form political parties without ideological discrimination. The only exception are parties and organizations advocating the return of Somozaism.

1.2 Creation of the basis of a state structure.

Executive power. Executive and administrative power will be exercised by the Government of National Reconstruction, which will carry out its functions during the period required to set up the basis for Nicaragua's independent democratic development. The government will rely on broad participation by the people and will be guided by the provisions and goals set forth in paragraph 1.1 of this program.

Legislative power. A State Council will be formed and will share legislative functions with the government. The Council will ensure broad representation of the political, economic and social forces which helped to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship.

Judicial power. The Supreme Court will be the supreme organ of judicial power. Its size, internal structure and specific functions will be established in due time.

1.3 Guaranteed respect for human rights. Full respect for human rights as inscribed in the United Nations Universal Declaration and the American declaration of human rights and responsibilities of the Organization of American States.

1.4. Fundamental liberties. Considering the country's specific situation, first of all the following fundamental liberties will be guaranteed:

— freedom of speech, the press and convictions. All laws infringing on these freedoms are to be annulled;

— freedom of religion. Full freedom will be guaranteed to the performance of religious rites;

— freedom to set up trade unions, professional and popular organizations. Special legislation will be adopted and measures taken to guarantee and facilitate the free formation and activity of trade union, professional and popular organizations in urban and rural localities.

1.5. *Repeal of repressive laws.* All repressive laws, particularly those infringing upon the dignity and immunity of citizens are to be repealed. An end will be put to physical abuse, "disappearances," torture, illegal arrests and searches.

1.6. *Abolition of repressive institutions.* All repressive institutions, particularly the state security service (SID) and the military intelligence service which carried out political repressions against the people and their organizations, are to be abolished.

1.7. *Eradication of the consequences of the dictatorship.* An end will be put to the corruption that flourished under the Somoza dictatorship: real estate swindles, contraband, tax evasion and illegal exemption, fraudulent auctions, misappropriation of land, plunder of state property, illegally acquired loans, the activity of loan commissions and other illegal deals. Administrative incorruptibility and honesty will become the fundamental norms of state administration.

1.8. *Observance of law and order.* Members of the military and civilians who have compromised themselves by crimes against the people and are guilty of plundering state property and other illegal actions, will be brought to trial.

1.9. *Abolition of the former courts and illegal sentences passed by them.* All court procedures initiated by the military tribunals and the sentences passed by them will be annulled. All political prisoners are to be released. Political emigrants may freely return to the country.

1.10 *Liquidation of the Somozaist power structure.* The power structure of the Somoza regime will be fully liquidated and replaced by a new democratic structure in accordance with relevant legislation.

1.11 *Formation of a new national army.* A new national army is to be formed on the principles of defense of the democratic process, sovereignty, national independence and integrity of the country's territory. This army will be formed of the combatants of the Sandinista Liberation Front, men and officers who have demonstrated their honesty and patriotism in the face of corruption, repression and the policy of dependence pursued by the dictatorship, of those who

took part in the struggle to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship, people from all strata of the population who fought for freedom and who express the wish to serve in the new army, and those fit for military service from among the present recruits. There will be no place in the new national army for the corrupt military guilty of crimes against the people.

National Army men will not be permitted to carry out illegal actions during elections. At the same time they will be granted the opportunity to exercise their political rights.

1.12. *The national police.* The national police, in view of its specific civilian functions and task of safeguarding the citizenry, will be subject to special regulations.

1.13. *An independent foreign policy.* An independent foreign policy line and a policy of non-alignment is to be pursued, relations will be established with all countries which respect the right to self-determination and just and mutually beneficial relations. In accordance with these principles, diplomatic and trade relations will be upheld with those countries which respect the Nicaraguan revolutionary process. Simultaneously efforts will be made to create new markets and to manifest solidarity with the democratic countries of Latin America and the whole world.

THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

2.1. *Objectives.* In the economic sphere, besides fulfilling the vital requirements of restoration, the following goals will be realized:

(a) *Internal transformations.* Launching the process of transformations in key economic spheres; agriculture, the financial system, foreign trade; living conditions in the rural communities and cities.

(b) *Restoration and stabilization of the economy.* Rapid restoration and stabilization of the economy. For this it is essential to put an end to instability in trade relations with other countries of the world, and to resolve the problems connected with the colossal foreign debt, reconstruct the monetary policy in order to more effectively fight inflation and unemployment, unite and coordinate the economic and social forces of the country around common aims.

(c) *Creation of a mixed economy.* Gradual creation of a mixed economy envisaging a state and public property sector with clearly defined characteristics and boundaries, and with a subsequent definition of their main elements; a private sector and tertiary sector of joint, coordinated investments of the public and private sectors.

In accordance with the above aims, the following measures will be adopted:

2.2. *Immediate action plans.* The following action plans will be drawn up and realized without delay:

1. An emergency plan for the satisfaction of the principal requirements of the population, including: (a) acquisition and distribution of food products; (b) improvement of the material conditions of families directly affected by the military actions; (c) rehabilitation of the cities, settlements and residential neighborhoods of the poor; (d) improvement of nutrition and medical service; (e) effective reorganization and functioning of state services: transport, energy and water supply, communications.

2. A plan for the urgent rejuvenation of the economy with the aim of restoring and stabilizing it. This plan should include specific measures or programs dealing primarily with employment, agricultural and industrial production, the monetary policy, foreign trade, taxation and state expenditure, solution of the foreign debt problem, orientation on new credit sources, a development-oriented financial policy, the service sphere.

2.3. *A plan for reconstruction, transformation and socio-economic development.* Reasonable terms will be set for drawing up and realizing a plan of reconstruction, transformation and socio-economic development that is aimed at substantially improving the people's living standards on the basis of increased national production and just distribution of wealth.

2.4 *A national revival fund.* A fund for national revival to develop production and implement social measures and ensure the functioning of the state will be set up on the basis of the property illegally appropriated by the Somoza family and their flunkies. This fund is designed primarily to surmount the backwardness, poverty and unemployment plaguing the overwhelming majority of the population.

2.5. *Production and commerce.*

- (a) Natural resources. The state will control the exploitation and development of natural resources: mines, forests, fisheries, energy, etc. To this end, guidance in developing these resources will be effected exclusively and directly by the state ...

- (b) Main policy directions in the production sphere. State resources will be directed primarily to spheres of activity where the work force and land are used most intensively. Measures will be taken to raise production efficiency and to promote the services.

(c) Priority is to be given to agricultural production for internal consumption. Top priority goes to agricultural production for home consumption. Required machinery will be provided to raise productivity providing it will not negatively affect employment. At the same time, realization of the agrarian reform will bring under the plough most of the arable land that is now lying idle.

(d) Development of agricultural production. Agricultural production will be promoted on the basis of local processing of agricultural raw materials.

(e) Trade mechanisms. (1) Foreign trade. All organizations engaged in the export of traditional agricultural products and the import of the basic agricultural machinery and materials will be put under state control. This envisages a quest for better markets, fair prices, adequate remuneration of agricultural labor, reduction of production costs, and transfer to the public sector of a part of the revenue accruing from traditional exports.

2.6. Foreign debt.

(a) Renegotiation of the foreign debt. Renegotiation of the colossal foreign debt inherited from the Somoza dictatorship, which amounts to the sum of 13,000 million cordobas (US \$1,300 million). The renegotiation of the foreign debt is designed to work out more favorable conditions, terms and deadlines and is closely linked with the country's economic revival and gradual restoration of its solvency. Special importance attaches to the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) on this question.

(b) Principles with relation to aid. The government will follow a policy of accepting foreign aid that is extended without any conditions or restrictions that infringe on national dignity and sovereignty. Measures aimed at raising the people's welfare and special measures for the country's revival and development will be given priority in the distribution of these resources. The government will periodically inform the public on the purpose and use of these funds.

2.7 Taxation policy and state expenditures.

(a) Reform of the tax system. The tax system is to be reformed to ensure adequate revenues and fair taxes, and to put an end to arbitrariness and tax evasion.

Other measures include reduction or abolition of taxes on prime necessities and consumer goods, and taxation of luxury items.

2.8. Foreign investments.

(a) Orientation and basic provisions. Foreign investments will play

only a complementary role. At the same time they should contribute to the country's development and revival in line with relevant state legislation, without infringing on national sovereignty. Special attention will be paid to investments that are vitally important for the country's development, including research and development of natural resources, in the spheres of industry, finances and transport.

2.9. *Agrarian reform.*

(a) General orientation. A law on agrarian reform will be drawn up and enacted in order to begin the process of transforming private ownership and to extend technical, financial and other essential aid to the rural population, in accordance with clearly defined provisions.

Agrarian reform shall begin with state expropriation of the following properties:

(1) land and agrarian properties confiscated from the Somoza family and their flunkies, which will become a part of the National Reconstruction Government's fund.

(2) property acquired on credit extended by state financial organizations as illegal remuneration for ties with the Somoza regime;

(3) property of tax evaders;

(4) state lands which the regime had transferred to private persons on political considerations;

(5) agricultural property abandoned by their owners;

(6) lands abandoned both by the latifundists and the state.

Abridged from *Bohemia* (Cuba), August 3, 1979

FIGHT THE DANGER FROM THE RIGHT

*Interview with Herbert Mies,
Chairman, German Communist Party*

Q. Franz Josef Strauss's first appearance in the election campaign as the CDU/CSU nominee for the office of Chancellor and the protest it aroused have made headlines. What does the GCP think of that?

A. Strauss's appearances in Essen and Cologne confirmed the fact that his nomination is an open challenge to all democrats. However, they also revealed that it's possible and necessary to form a democratic counter-force. Not least in importance, many of the political

slogans put forward in Essen and Cologne indicated what the basic objective of the struggle against Strauss as well as, in general, against the danger of a further shift to the right should be. It is defense of democratic rights, rejection of the burdens of the capitalist crisis and continuing détente against NATO's arms race policy.

Strauss describes the protest against his public appearance as "Red terror" which must be "ended." He smears trade unionists, students, young socialists, young democrats and members of the Socialist German Working Youth, that is, all young people engaged in united action, by calling them "nazi types" and the "political underworld" while elevating himself to the rank of "freedom soldier." He shrugs off legitimate democratic protest actions as a "violation of the Constitution" and demands police measures against the democrats. Thereby he again betrays his only too well-known reactionary anti-democratic thinking. At the same time, this emphasizes the urgent need for an active struggle against Strauss and the extreme right-wing forces of monopoly capital behind him.

Q. Isn't it disturbing that SPD and FDP leaders distance themselves from democratic actions?

A. The top leaderships of the coalition parties dismiss the democratic protest actions provoked by Strauss as "riots." On the SPD board, social democrats' participation in actions against Strauss is described as "behavior injuring the party." At the same time, the leaderships of the CDU/CSU falsely present protest against Strauss as a "threat to democracy" and use it as a pretext for a massive brainwashing campaign against all democrats. They have used Cologne and Essen in their own way — to justify their anti-social and anti-democratic policy, back up the appeal for "peace and order," to try to push the SPD leadership still further to the right and launch new attacks on joint action by the communists and social democrats. It is perfectly obvious that anti-communism is used as a truncheon against every democratic and progressive aspiration. In these circumstances we say: the danger to our country's democratic and peaceful development comes from the right and not from the left.

Q. Strauss has said that the point at issue today is "whether the game will be won by the Reds or by freedom." The Springer press says as much. What is your opinion?

A. Strauss and Springer have always seen "Reds" in all political forces rejecting their ultra-reactionary concepts. And what they mean by "freedom" is their own "freedom" to gag political dissenters.

Right now Strauss and Springer are virtually reviving their spurious

electoral slogan, "freedom or socialism." What they are after is to create a climate of tension and fear and step up anti-communism. The same purpose is served by deliberate falsification of the causes of the Weimar Republic's fall and demagogical reference to an alleged communist menace.

However, the real problem in the Federal Republic is whether the democratic and social rights won in the past and the results of the policy of détente will be safeguarded and consolidated, or whether the extreme right will be able to impose a policy against the workingman's vital interests.

Q. What is the alternative as the GCP sees it?

A. At our Mannheim Congress, we served emphatic warning against the serious dangers of a further shift to the right, nor did we rule out the likelihood of abrupt political changes. At the same time however, we put it on record that our people have a strong democratic potential.

The GCP Program states in explicit terms what must be done to prevent a further drift to the right. The decisive thing is to resolutely defend the working people's social and democratic interests and the interests of peace. This is the pivot and starting point of our policy of achieving a turn toward democratic and social progress in the Federal Republic. It is the GCP's fundamental political alternative.

We stand for a Federal Republic of peace, democracy and social progress. This is why we cannot be indifferent to who governs the state. For the same reason, we are fighting in common with all other democratic forces against Strauss. Our party's program says that the GCP is willing "to give every support to all efforts directed against extreme reaction." We take this statement very seriously. And this applies not only to the struggle against neo-nazism but also to the struggle against Strauss.

However, anyone who focuses his attention on Strauss alone could easily overlook the fact that CDU/CSU policy isn't the only source of the danger of a sharp swing to the right. We must remember that there are many very disturbing developments for which the present federal government is politically responsible.

We won't allow a few election speeches by Herr Strauss to mislead us in regard to the totality of class conflicts with monopoly capital in our country. Factory and office workers, young workers and students want job security, guaranteed educational opportunities and compensation for the rising cost of living. They want higher wages. The task is also to defend the trade unions against attacks by employers'

associations and other anti-union forces. The struggle against *Berufsverbote* and against spying on factory councils is continuing. Actions against Bonn's nuclear program have received added impetus. A strong anti-fascist movement is under way in our country. Last but not least, a very active peace movement is tackling a highly important task right now by resisting the deployment of neutron bombs and medium-range nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic.

Those who want to counter the danger of a further shift to the right by fighting against Strauss must also and above all else help these movements grow stronger. They must offer a democratic alternative. They must resist all attempts to turn back the wheel of political and social development in the Federal Republic.

Q. How does current SPD policy meet the need to fight Strauss and the extreme right-wing forces behind him?

A. Undoubtedly there are forces in the SPD favoring an offensive against Strauss and seeking an alternative policy to counter him. On the whole however, the coalition parties lack a really fundamental alternative to Strauss.

For example, there is much talk about an economic policy "favoring the working people." But when it comes to concrete matters, as in the case of oil and gas prices now, the burdens of the crisis are put solely on the working man. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of World War II unleashed by German imperialism, many correct things were said about the need of the policy of détente. But the federal government's only concrete "contribution" to anti-war acts in this connection consisted in publishing a *White Book on Defense*, which is but a plea for a new round of the arms race.

On September 7, 1979, the bourgeois weekly *Die Zeit* wrote that "the CSU not only sees essential parts of the actual government policy ... as correct in principle but presents them as a product of Strauss's influence." Surely this comment wasn't accidental. The weekly stressed that in regard to *Ostpolitik* "the objections of the candidate for the Chancellery can hardly be distinguished from those of the Chancellor" when they concern "specific matters."

Q. Indeed, quite a few SPD members and voters find it hard to understand that.

A. A major aspect of the problem is that the SPD leadership identifies itself with the capitalist system. In an interview by *Welt der Arbeit* on August 30, 1979, Finance Minister Matthöfer, a social democrat, made the following statement: "Many imagine that the

CDU can manage the capitalist state better. But that is wrong. *We* can do it better and we not only say so but prove it."

Now let the bourgeoisie decide among themselves who can best take care of their affairs in this or that situation. What I am concerned with at this point is something different. Those who see their task in managing the capitalist state as best they can will certainly find it hard to evolve a fundamental alternative to Strauss.

Q. "Unity of action will stop Strauss" was the slogan with which the GCP reacted immediately to Strauss's nomination, wasn't it?

A. Yes, but we also said: "Unity of action to defend social rights, unity of action to maintain democratic freedoms, unity of action to continue the policy of détente." The danger of a further shift to the right can be successfully countered through struggles based on unity of action and broad democratic alliances. I recall that in 1972 it was active extraparlimentary commitment by millions that in the long run headed off the formation of a CDU/CSU government. It would be most short-sighted of the SDP leadership to ignore this experience and resort to, say, stronger anti-communism.

In any case, we will not renounce our policy for unity of action and democratic alliance. When the task is to oppose Strauss and defend the working people's democratic and social interests and the interests of peace, cooperation between the social democrats and communists and joint action by all democratic forces are not only necessary but possible. This is one instance in which the GCP's activity and democratic alternative are irreplaceable.

Our whole experience suggests that a very great deal depends on communist militancy and influence in fighting against the extreme right. And so today too, the further strengthening of the German Communist Party is in the interest of all democratic and left-wing forces.

Unsere Zeit, September 21, 1979

IN BRIEF

MALICIOUS INCITEMENT

The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party has qualified the current U.S. campaign over the alleged presence of Soviet troops in Cuba as yet another imperialist maneuver designed to provoke a conflict with Cuba. The PCP Central Committee considers

this hostile activity toward the Island of Freedom as an "open manifestation of imperialism's fury over the enormous success of socialist Cuba in preparing and holding the sixth conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries in Havana."

A CC PCP document issued here also notes that along with the imperialists the Maoists also have a hand in fomenting this malicious campaign. This was particularly noticeable in the last few days before the convening of the conference and while it was in session. By allying themselves with the sworn enemies of socialist Cuba, they openly brought grist to the mill of anti-Sovietism, seeking to undermine Cuba's prestige in every possible way.

AN ENORMOUS CONTRIBUTION

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Venezuela, issued a statement in Caracas noting the enormous contribution of the sixth conference of heads of state and government held in the Cuban capital to the peoples' struggle for independence, peace and progress throughout the world. The decisions of the Havana forum, the document goes on to say, are a powerful inspiration for the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The attempts of the enemies of the non-aligned countries to split their growing unity were foiled. The non-aligned movement reaffirmed its fidelity to the cause of joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, apartheid and Zionism. The conference participants, the Political Bureau statement emphasizes, expressed deep gratitude to the democratic forces of the world, above all the socialist community countries with the Soviet Union at its head, for the manifestation of solidarity with the aspirations of the peoples who come out against imperialist plunder and for their national liberation and social emancipation.

CENTER FOR THE CREATION OF A WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY

The establishment shortly in Ethiopia of a chief center for the creation of a party of the working people will mark the genuine communists' victory over opportunists of all hues, who had earlier infiltrated their ranks. The commission which is entrusted with the historic task of founding a Marxist-Leninist party will select the most conscious members of the working class, the most devoted commu-

nists who have proved their fidelity to the cause of the popular revolution.

The genuine communists, who have put an end to the attempts of the pseudo-Marxists to lull the masses and to weaken the class struggle and are now working to develop the Ethiopian revolution, have been able to overcome all obstacles in the way to setting up an organization that will be guided by the principles of democratic centralism. The creation of the center will provide conditions for the genuine revolutionaries to direct the conscious actions of the masses along a revolutionary path.

The communists as well as the broad popular masses will continue their effort to set up a genuine Marxist-Leninist party that will ensure implementation of the organizational principles of socialism.

Abridged from *Ethiopian Herald*, September 14, 1979

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James Lawler

International Publishers, New York

Paperback, 190 pp., notes and index.

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