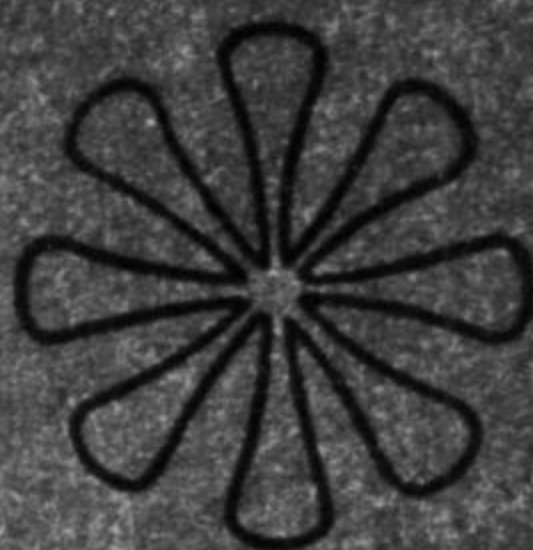


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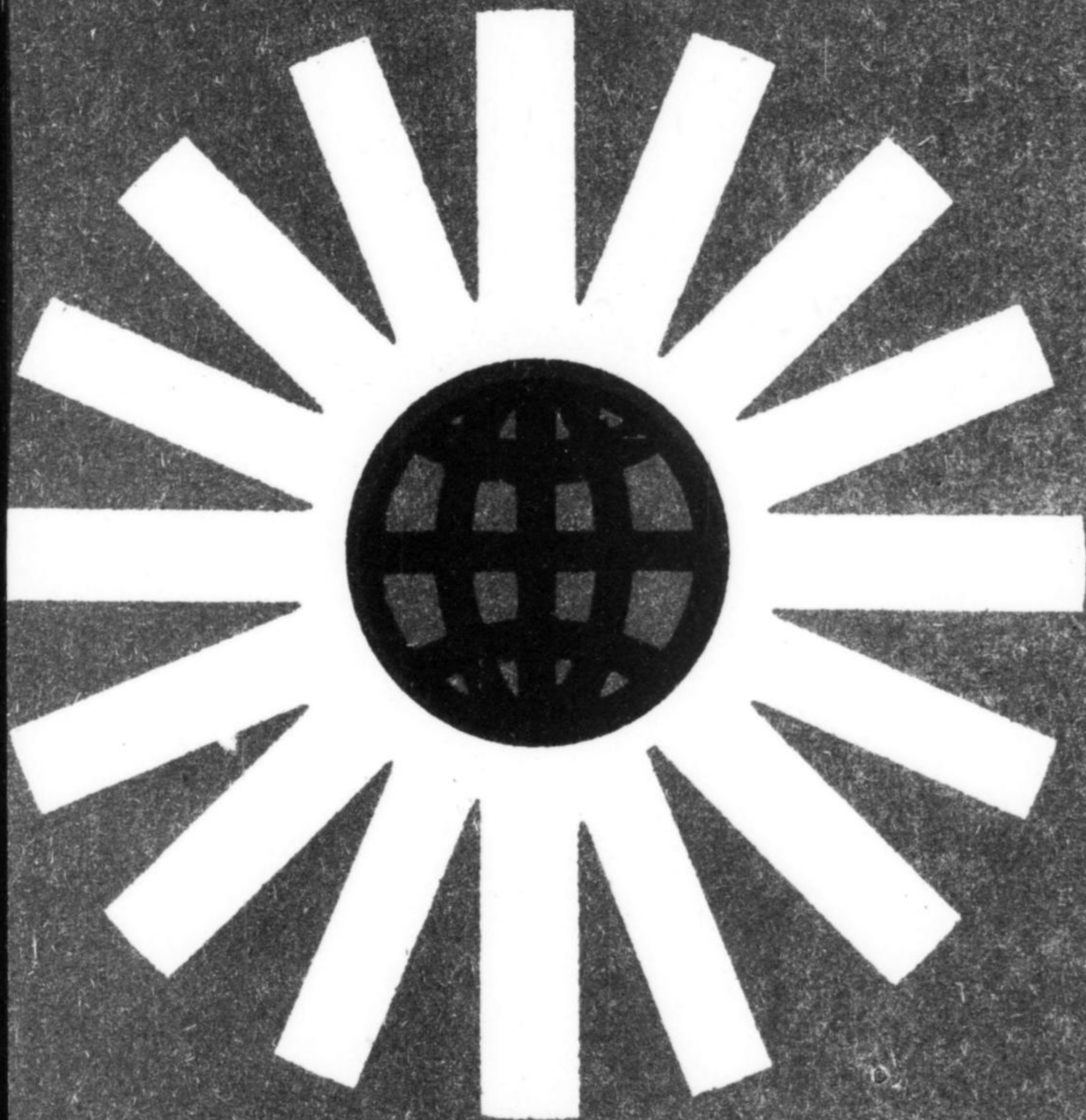


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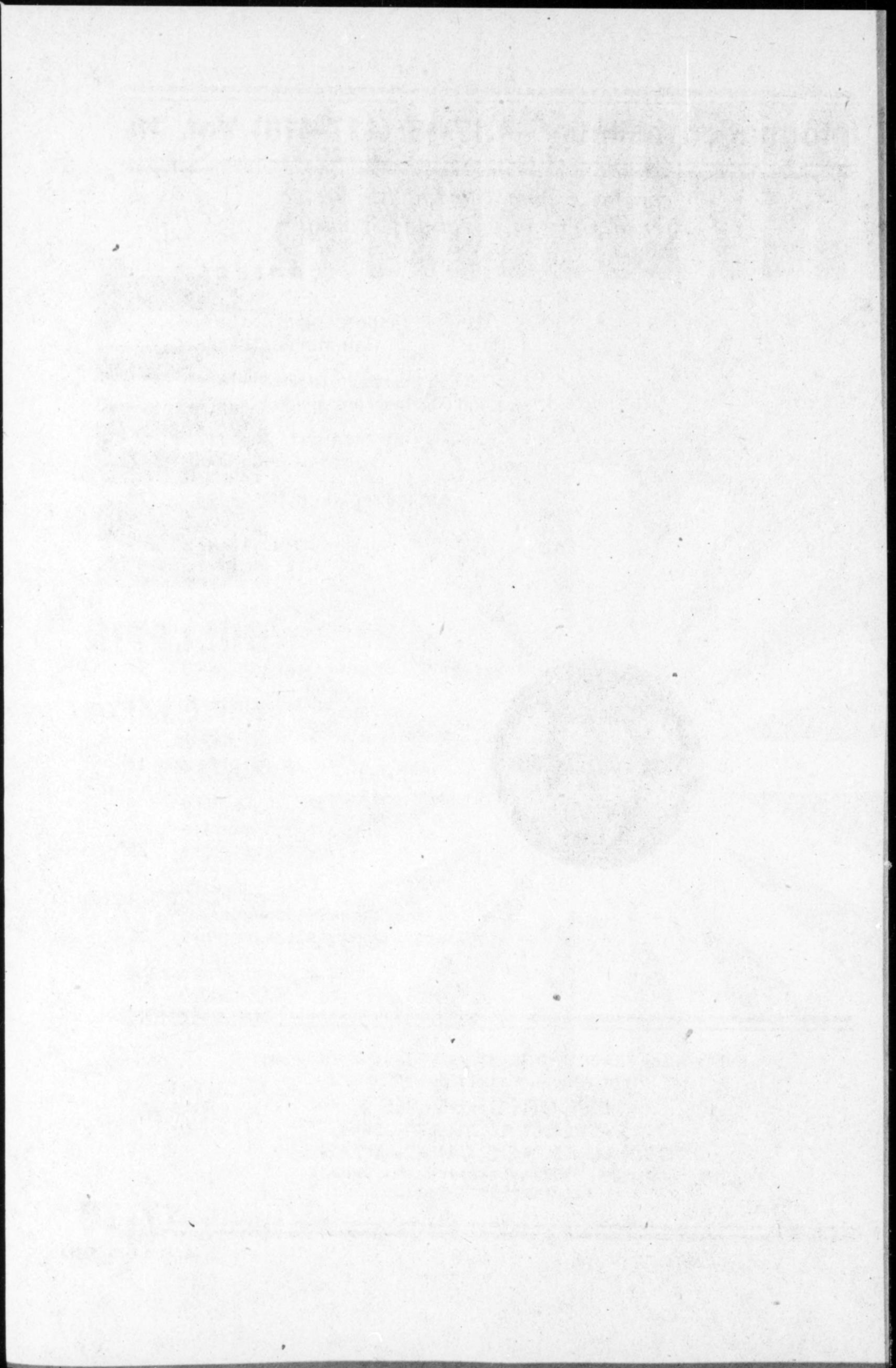
**BREZHNEV-SCHMIDT
TALKS**

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**CPUSA —
HALL REPORT**

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**KASHTAN
INTERVIEW**

17-18

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IN THE NAME OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

ON THE RESULTS OF TALKS BETWEEN LEONID BREZHNEV AND HELMUT SCHMIDT

*Statement of the Political Bureau of
The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
and the Council of Ministers of the USSR*

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having discussed the results of the talks held by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR, with the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Helmut Schmidt and Deputy Federal Chancellor, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, fully and entirely approve of the activities of the Soviet delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev. The results of the talks are a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security, to improving the international climate, to the further development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

Of special importance is the fact that despite the complicated international situation and considerable differences on a number of questions, as a result of the talks the two sides stated explicitly that they consider détente necessary, possible and useful and expressed their willingness to contribute in every way toward making détente the leading trend in international relations.

Following a tested Leninist foreign policy course and the concerted line of the fraternal socialist states, the Soviet delegation, expressing the will of the Soviet people, focussed attention on questions of strengthening peace and international security, of curbing the arms race and of disarmament.

Leonid Brezhnev put forward on behalf of the Soviet Union a number of new ideas and concrete proposals aimed at achieving accords on this range of questions, including those concerning medium-range nuclear missiles.

Having reaffirmed its earlier position in relation to the best ways of solving the question of medium-range arms in Europe, the Soviet side, being guided by the broad interests of peace and security, suggested beginning a discussion of the question of medium-range nuclear missiles simultaneously and in close connection with the question of American theater-based nuclear weapons. It indicated that possible accords on these questions can be translated into practice only after the entry into force of the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II).

The Soviet side also set forth a number of concrete considerations in connection with the Vienna talks on mutual force reductions in Central Europe in order to give a fresh impetus to the drafting of mutually acceptable decisions on the basis of these proposals.

It is expected in the Soviet Union that the governments of the Western states will display a sense of responsibility and respond in a spirit of good will to the new Soviet initiatives which meet the vital interests of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR express satisfaction with the results of the examination during the talks of questions concerning bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG. The confirmation by the two sides that their policy in the future too will be constantly and firmly based on the treaties and agreements concluded, primarily on the Treaty of August 12, 1970, serves as a good guide for the development of constructive cooperation between the two states.

The long-term program of the main directions of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the spheres of economy and industry is a good contribution toward strengthening mutual economic ties and hence toward consolidating the material basis of their political relations.

Appropriate Soviet departments and organizations are instructed to take all the necessary measures for the practical implementation of the program. Its effective fulfilment calls, of course, for a constructive approach on the part of the FRG as well.

Pravda, July 5, 1980

IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS

Talks were held between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in Moscow on June 30-July 1, this year. Taking part were General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev, members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin and USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko; from the FRG side, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have examined the results of the talks and have fully approved the activity of the Soviet delegation led by Leonid Brezhnev. The results of the talks are a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security, to improving the international climate and promoting cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

Following the tested Leninist foreign policy course and coordinated line of the fraternal socialist states, the Soviet delegation, expressing the will of the Soviet people, focused attention on questions pertaining to strengthening peace and international security, to curbing the arms race and to disarmament. The delegation put forward on behalf of the Soviet Union a number of new ideas and specific proposals aimed at achieving agreements on this range of questions, including questions concerning medium-range nuclear missiles.

The talks in Moscow have aroused much interest in the world. Their results are being broadly commented on.

This is understandable. Soviet-West German relations play no small role in determining the political climate in Europe and outside it. In the 1970s, the USSR and the FRG did much to impart a concrete content to the coexistence of states with different social systems, to create more favorable objective prerequisites for the solution of disputed issues and conflicts through a just peaceful settlement.

This time the significance of the meeting was emphasized by the complexity of the obtaining international situation, and the difficulties, which the process of improvement of the international climate has encountered through the fault of the imperialist forces. What was expected of the Moscow talks was an answer to the question of whether the existing machinery of political consultations between

states would work, and in what measure the will for cooperation and accord would be manifested in conditions of the exacerbated relations between the West and East.

It is gratifying to note that a positive answer has been given in Moscow to this principled question. The sides have reaffirmed their intention to continue in future, too, to firmly base their policy on the concluded treaties and agreements, above all on the treaty of August 12, 1970, and the joint declaration of May 6, 1978. They have reiterated their adherence to détente, which they consider necessary, possible and useful. They have also expressed their wish to contribute in every possible way to making détente the leading trend in international relations. It was stressed that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful, equitable cooperation of states.

The leaders of the USSR and the FRG called for consistent promotion of the important endeavor inaugurated by the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, implementation of all the principles and provisions of the Final Act of that Conference, and for broader confidence-building measures in Europe. The joint communiqué on the results of the meetings and talks shows that they are convinced of the need to continue and invigorate efforts aimed at achieving specific results in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

The mere listing of the above-mentioned and other issues, which were touched upon, is evidence of the political meaningfulness of the Moscow talks, of the importance of direct contacts between states at summit level, particularly in a complicated international situation, of the usefulness of a clear statement of one's stand combined with a constructive quest for mutually acceptable solutions.

One should not oversimplify the situation or close one's eyes to the fact that in some areas the viewpoints of the USSR and the FRG differ considerably. On a number of problems they adhere to positions that are not close enough to warrant speaking of an approach to practical cooperation for their settlement. In its general evaluation of the causes of the present tensions, the leadership of the Federal Republic is inclined to proceed from "Atlantic solidarity." It is trying to find excuses for the irresponsible actions of the U.S. administration, which is intent on attaining military superiority over the USSR at any price and by any methods, as well as for Washington's disregard for the interests of others.

In setting forth his attitude to the events around Afghanistan, FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt passed over in silence their prime cause

— the interference of the imperialist forces and reaction in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, their attempts at achieving through aggression a change in the system existing in that country. The West German leaders' views were apparently tied to the patterns drawn up at the recent Venice summit meeting of the leading capitalist states. These patterns have nothing in common with realities and, by presenting the consequence as the cause, only make it more difficult to reach a political settlement.

It has been clearly stated by the Soviet side that we will not desert our friends in trouble. Afghanistan will not become another Chile. Political settlement in connection with Afghanistan depends on an end to aggression and other forms of outside interference in the affairs of that country and appropriate guarantees that such interference will not be resumed in the future. It is in the context of such a settlement that the question of Soviet troop withdrawal from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will also be decided. What further steps will be taken by the Soviet Union following the partial cut in its military contingent, which was sent to Afghanistan at the request of the latter's government, will depend on the line of conduct by the circles which continue inciting armed struggle against Democratic Afghanistan.

The stand taken by the USA and some of its allies in connection with Afghanistan, a stand hostile to international cooperation, NATO's decision to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries, stepped up U.S. military preparations in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, Washington's pressure on Iran and plans for a further intensification of the arms race — all these are links of one and the same chain. They are part of the policy of blackmail and pressure, which the peoples have witnessed in the past as well. The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev told the FRG leaders, has not allowed and never will allow anyone to talk to it from "positions of strength." At the same time, the USSR is resolved not to let the present tensions reach the proportions of a major tragedy. All those in the West who want a continuation of the policy of common sense and peace can definitely count on our assistance and support.

The Soviet Union is displaying truly Leninist adherence to principle, restraint and firmness in upholding and pursuing a policy of peace, in not yielding to provocations and in rebuffing imperialist ambitions. Together with its Warsaw Treaty allies, the USSR has reiterated that it does not seek military supremacy, that it has never

had and will not have any other strategic doctrine except a defensive one. The Soviet Union comes out for the existing equilibrium, against "spheres of influence" and the establishment of political or military control over any area. This was explicitly stated at the Moscow talks. It was stressed likewise that the USSR will not allow the USA and the NATO bloc to upset the strategic balance. If the United States deploys additional American missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union and its allies will take all measures to restore the balance.

The Soviet side has subjected to well argued criticism the actions by the West German government on questions of military détente in Europe and the role which the FRG has played and continues to play in promoting NATO's decisions on "additional armament." Revealed was the far-fetched nature of the references that the balance of forces in Europe has been allegedly upset in the USSR's favor as a result of a modernization of respective Soviet medium-range weapons. Leonid Brezhnev stressed that it is not the so-called "Soviet menace," but the striving to increase the arsenal of NATO's nuclear weapons at any cost that underlies the actions of the USA and some of its allies.

The Soviet Union has again demonstrated that it has a stake in preventing a dangerous turn, which is becoming imminent because of NATO's decision to produce and deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The best thing would be to start talks on medium-range weapons on the basis suggested by the Soviet side last autumn. With this aim in view it is necessary to restore the situation which existed before the NATO decision on "additional armament."

Bearing in mind NATO's stand, the Soviet Union is also prepared for an alternative version. Without withdrawing the proposals put forward earlier, it could agree to a discussion of issues pertaining to medium-range weapons even before the ratification of the SALT II accord. In so doing, the point at issue must be not only medium-range nuclear missiles, but also the U.S. theater nuclear weapons. Both these problems must be discussed simultaneously and in close connection — literally, simultaneously and in close connection. Possible agreements could be implemented only after the SALT II accord comes into force.

In the course of the Moscow talks, the Soviet side set forth a number of specific considerations also in connection with the Vienna talks on mutual troop and arms cuts in Central Europe with the aim of giving a fresh impetus to draw up mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of these proposals. Given a constructive approach by the

Western countries, they would contribute to the progress of these talks, which have long been marking time.

If the NATO countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany, really want productive talks on curbing the arms race, such talks, provided they are fair and just, are possible. The Soviet Union is, as before, ready to resolve all questions on the principle of equality and equal security. It rejects, however, any attempts to secure privileged conditions for the USA or other Western countries that are damaging to the security of the socialist states.

Common sense and long-term international interests suggest that the governments of the NATO countries would be acting in a responsible manner if they returned onto the path of constructive work.

The West German leaders were told in Moscow that relations between the USSR and the FRG have begun limping in recent years and it is not the Soviet side which is to blame for this. The Soviet Union would like to see the Federal Republic of Germany as a reliable partner both in bilateral relations and in resolving major tasks pertaining to a strengthening of peace and security in Europe. There was a terrible, bloody war in the past. The peoples remember it. It is necessary to join efforts to establish a firm peace in our part of the world.

The talks between the leaders of the USSR and the FRG were constructive and useful. The mutual striving was reaffirmed at the meeting to develop economic cooperation on the basis of earlier concluded agreements and the long-term program of the main direction of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the field of the economy and industry, which was signed in the course of the visit.

The meetings and talks in Moscow have once again shown that the road to mutual understanding lies in a comparison of views, explanation of stands, exchange of information and overcoming prejudices. Such a method of conducting affairs proved effective in the past when new ideas about each other began penetrating the accumulated distrust of the past grim years, when all the European states could satisfy themselves that good relations between the USSR and the FRG are a boon for the peoples of both countries, and for Europe as a whole.

It will take time to see how things work out before it can be said to what extent the statements by the representatives of the FRG about their readiness to serve the ideals of peace, to contribute to the policy of détente, to lowering the threshold of military confrontation between states will be translated into concrete steps.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, as Leonid Brezhnev put it,

"we are ready to broaden the roads already tested and pave new roads toward accord and cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany as well as with other states, which wish so."

Pravda, July 8, 1980

FOR THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES

The recent talks between the leaders of the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany in Moscow are known to have largely revolved around the issues of military détente and arms limitation, above all, on the European continent.

Guided by the wide interests of peace and security, the Soviet side took yet another initiative in an effort to overcome the dangerous situation which has arisen from the NATO decision late last year to produce and deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe in addition to U.S. forward-based nuclear delivery vehicles already stationed there.

The Soviet Union's initiative has been welcomed and widely supported by public opinion and many governments of European and other countries. It has been rightfully interpreted as yet another manifestation of the Soviet Union's consistent and constructive line that is prompted by the determination to avert a new round of the arms race and prevent the erosion of détente in Europe.

At the same time it should be noted that some in the West have been trying to misinterpret the Soviet Union's position and distort the meaning of its latest proposal. Others have gone so far as to infer that the USSR has "resigned itself" to NATO's decision last year and is willing to negotiate on the West's terms — to limit these negotiations to a discussion of Soviet medium-range missiles, while the decision to install new U.S. missiles in Europe would remain in force.

Nothing could be farther from the truth.

It may be recalled that last autumn the Soviet Union called for negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, expressing the willingness to cut the number of such weapons at its disposal, provided no additional American medium-range devices were installed in Western Europe. The Soviet Union is still firmly convinced that this proposal best meets the interests of peace and security and the objective of curbing the arms race.

That Soviet proposal still stands. The only thing required for it to be put into effect is to restore the situation that had existed before the above-mentioned NATO decision aimed at changing the rough parity

of forces in favor of the West. All this was said to Chancellor Schmidt in Moscow, too.

Another possible solution to the issues involving medium-range armaments could be, in the Soviet Union's judgment — and that is also known to the NATO countries — for the above-mentioned armaments to be taken not as a subject of isolated negotiations but as part of the third stage of strategic arms limitation talks (SALT III) upon the entry into force of the SALT II accord.

Yet this option, too, has turned out to be blocked in actual practice, because the U.S. has postponed indefinitely the ratification of the SALT II accord while it has begun implementing its plans to manufacture new missiles that are to be installed in Western Europe.

Nobody should have any doubt that the Soviet Union's determination not to allow anybody to speak to it in the language of power politics. The Soviet Union and its allies are capable of taking appropriate measures to restore the parity and cool the ardor of those who nurture illusions of achieving military superiority.

But the Soviet Union has always proceeded from the assumption that the arms race is not the way to strengthen the security of nations, and that, on the contrary, it will increase the war danger and heighten international tensions.

That is why, being determined to slash the knot tied by those who would like to push the world back to cold-war times, the Soviet Union has made its new proposal.

While the first of the above-stated proposals refers to isolated negotiations concerning only the medium-range weapons the parties involved have at their disposal, and the second one provides for this category of armaments to be made a subject of future SALT III negotiations, the latest Soviet proposal refers to negotiations which could organically combine a discussion of the issues involving medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the existing U.S. theater-based nuclear delivery vehicles. These talks could begin without waiting for the SALT II accord to be ratified, but any accords reached through them would be translated into life after that Treaty had come into force.

The suggestion of an interrelated discussion on medium-range armaments and American theater-based nuclear delivery vehicles is perfectly justified by the actual state of affairs and by the need to observe the principle of equitable security of the parties concerned, in the light of the overall military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States.

The Soviet Union cannot ignore the fact that there is a great number of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe and near it, which are capable of reaching the territory of the Soviet Union and its allies.

These are aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and stationed at air bases in a number of West European countries. Having an extensive network of such bases in Western Europe, the United States can rapidly increase there the already great number of its aircraft carrying nuclear weapons.

These are also aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and stationed on board the U.S. aircraft-carriers from where they are also capable of reaching the territory of the Soviet Union and its allies.

These are the U.S. missile-carrying submarines under the European command of NATO. The use by these and other U.S. submarines of theater bases in Europe substantially enhances their ability to remain in combat position.

To sum up, there are hundreds upon hundreds of various U.S. nuclear weapons carriers and bases where they are deployed. The Soviet Union has always been aware of this aspect of the strategic situation in Europe, since it directly affects its own security and the security of its allies. Hence it would be naive to think that the Soviet Union may take a different position at a time when the United States is seeking to reinforce the above-mentioned nuclear means in Europe by about 600 new medium-range missiles.

All this shows that there is a fundamental difference between the new Soviet proposal and the Western position which is aimed, in effect, at ensuring the United States and NATO unilateral military advantage. It is just a waste of time and effort to try to prove that the Soviet Union is coming to accept this situation.

Speaking at a dinner given in honor of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Leonid Brezhnev said: "As ever new attempts are being made to escalate the arms race, we urgently call on the West to withdraw and put aside all sorts of 'modernization' programs and give up the development of new types and systems of weapons, missiles or neutron, chemical or any other weapons."

The new Soviet proposal is aimed at achieving these goals. Practical actions will show whether the United States and other NATO countries are prepared to deal with these problems in a constructive manner and in the interests of peace and security.

Editorial

Pravda, July 15, 1980

FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

OPENING SPEECH BY KHALED BAGDASH

Comrades, the Fifth Congress of our party is being held in a complex domestic and international situation. However, the difficulties and obstacles facing us cannot obscure the broad prospects of struggle, which will yield fruit whatever the turn of events or circumstances. Therefore we stress the hallmark of our congress, its basic social and economic content.

The Fifth Congress of the SCP can be concisely defined as a congress of struggle in all directions.

Our congress is above all a congress for the continuation of the uncompromising struggle against Camp David, for preventing implementation of the U.S. plan to establish complete colonial domination in our region with the participation of world Zionism and Israel and with the help of the reactionary and treacherous Sadat regime.

Our congress is a congress for struggle to strengthen and develop the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, for the mobilization of all Arab forces against imperialism and Zionism.

Now, at the time of our congress, Syria has an important, fundamental, key role to play in this great national battle for progress, and it is the primary task of our congress to fight to preserve, strengthen and develop this role.

The basic slogan of our congress is: "Syria will not go down on its knees! Syria will defend and strengthen its national independence." And the struggle for this great slogan will have to be waged by us, all the national progressive forces, the broad masses of workers and peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, soldiers and all sincere patriots, whatever their affiliation.

Our congress is a congress for the continuation of the great struggle for the complete liberation of Arab territories occupied in 1967, for the liberation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Jerusalem, the

Gaza Strip and the whole Sinai Peninsula, for assuring the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, to return to their lands and to establish an independent national state.

Our congress is a congress for struggle to strengthen the Progressive National Front, to enhance its role and effectiveness in our country's life, in its political, economic and social development, for action by the front's forces with the participation of the masses of workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, whether affiliated to political parties or independents, in the cities and villages, factories, residential neighborhoods, universities, schools and in trade unions throughout our native land, in order to mobilize our whole people against imperialism and its stooges, and against reaction.

Our congress is a congress for struggle for the full implementation both in letter and spirit of the decisions of the Progressive National Front adopted in September 1979, and aimed in the foreign policy sphere at continuing the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and in domestic policy — at serious, concrete work to assure our people bread, health, housing, cultural development, security, stability and democratic freedoms, to bring about a fundamental change in our homeland in conditions of material and spiritual development of our people.

Our congress is a congress for struggle to preserve and strengthen the public sector, which should not be the object of exploitation by the parasitical bourgeoisie, pillagers and grafters, and to strengthen the role of this sector in the planned and balanced development of our economy as a whole, which is aimed at realizing the national goals and meeting the vital needs of the masses of the people.

Our congress is a congress for struggle for a return to the road of social progress and, hence, for serious work to create the necessary political, social and economic prerequisites for going over to the stage of socialist construction in Arab Syria.

We state at the congress that the solution of this task requires, above all, that the role of the parasitical bourgeoisie, middlemen, agents, etc., whatever they may call themselves, must be totally and definitively eliminated in all domestic and foreign economic relations.

We have stated and reaffirm at this congress our intention to continue fighting against the parasitical bourgeoisie, for the elimination of its role signifies elimination of the roots and sources of the agents of imperialism, subversive actions, attempts to plunge the country into anarchy and chaos, and of the fierce opposition to social progress.

Our congress is a congress for struggle against reaction, wherever it may exist and whatever its form. And we declare from this rostrum that the blood of our comrades, Omar Avad, Antoine Sarraf and other Communists has not been shed in vain.

Our congress is a congress for continued struggle for democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of activity for the workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, for all national forces, including our Communist Party.

Our congress is a congress for struggle for the full implementation of the agrarian reform, for developing and carrying it deeper, for the definitive emancipation of the village from the yoke of the big capitalist landowners and exploiters, from arbitrary practices of the rural bourgeoisie, for the realization of our party's slogan: Land to the Tiller, and for setting up producer cooperatives and establishing socialist production relations in the countryside.

The struggle is being waged for these goals, for the victory of our people and realization of their social and national aspirations. It is aimed at foiling the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, defending and strengthening our national independence, and assuring our economic independence and social progress. In this sense our congress is also a congress for struggle to strengthen and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with our true friend, the great Soviet Union, in the political, economic, military, cultural and other spheres, above all in the political sphere — in relation to our immediate problems as well as global problems. This is what our people and their glorious army aspire to. That is the basic, the key condition for the success of the national and social struggle being waged by our great people.

Our congress is a congress of fidelity to the general laws of social revolution with account for the historical and national specifics of our country. It is a congress of unshakable fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the cornerstone of which is cohesion around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our congress is a congress of struggle against all manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, against all phenomena that are alien to Marxism-Leninism, such as the bankrupt Eurocommunism and other "novelties" of this kind.

Our congress is proof of the correctness of our party's policy, which rests on three basic principles, bearing witness to our advance.

The Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist Party declares that

the party will hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism in Arab Syria.

The Fifth Congress of the SCP is called upon to strengthen the ideological, political and organizational unity of our party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to reaffirm our uncompromising stand in the fight against both "left" and right deviations, consolidate discipline, finally overcome its organizational amorphousness, and strengthen Leninist principles in its entire activity.

COMMUNIQUE

The Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist Party was held in Damascus over May 29 to 31, 1980. It was attended by 177 voting delegates and 21 observer-delegates representing various party organizations in the country and abroad. The work of the congress proceeded under the direction of SCP CC General Secretary Khaled Bagdash and the unanimously elected Presidium.

Congress examined the following agenda, which was adopted unanimously:

1. Report of the Central Committee.
2. Amendments to the Party Program.
3. Draft new Rules.
4. Elections of the leading bodies — the Central Committee and Auditing Commission.

The delegates heard with close attention the report of the Central Committee on its activity in the period under review, which was presented by Khaled Bagdash. The report examined, in particular, important questions such as the events in Lebanon, attitude to imperialism's policy in the region, the domestic situation and socio-economic development in the past period, development of the Arab liberation movement, some basic features of the international scene, and the situation in the party.

After discussing the Central Committee report, Congress adopted the following resolution on the first item of the agenda.

RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE SCP ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist Party, having heard and discussed the CC report presented by General Secretary Khaled Bagdash, unanimously approved this important document, which

contains an objective and accurate scientific analysis of the political, social and economic situation in Syria and the prospects of its development, the situation in the region and factors which determine the strength of our people and the entire Arab national liberation movement in the struggle against Camp David and the conspiracies hatched by U.S. imperialism and Zionism, against the intrigues of domestic and foreign reaction.

Congress considers that the Central Committee report will have an important role to play in strengthening cooperation between the national and progressive forces of the country, in rallying the people around the party's national and international policy, in the struggle to defend and consolidate national independence, strengthen Syria's steadfastness, promote friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, uphold the interests of the workers, peasants and working people in general, and the movement toward social progress.

Congress resolves to approve the report as a program of action and suggests that all party organizations study this document, ensure its dissemination and adopt it as the basis for their further work.

Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist Party
Damascus, end of May 1980

ON OTHER DECISIONS OF THE FIFTH SCP CONGRESS

Congress then discussed the Central Committee report on amendments to the Party Program, presented by Yusef Feisal. These amendments had been the subject of broad discussion at meetings of delegates during the period following the beginning of May, which were marked by a high sense of responsibility. Congress unanimously endorsed the proposed amendments.

Congress further examined the Central Committee report on the draft Party Rules, presented by Ibrahim Bakri. Congress unanimously endorsed the report and the new Rules.

Taking part in the discussion, members of the Political Bureau dealt with economic, agricultural, ideological, political and trade union problems, as well as the work of the party in the Progressive National Front and the work of its ministers and deputies.

Altogether, more than 50 contributions were made at the Congress.

Congress elected a new Central Committee by secret ballot. At its first session held directly after the elections the Central Committee re-elected Khaled Bagdash General Secretary and Yusef Feisal deputy General Secretary of the SCP Central Committee.

Congress also heard the report of the Auditing Commission and elected a new Auditing Commission by secret ballot.

MESSAGES OF GREETINGS TO THE FIFTH SCP CONGRESS

Congress received 70 messages of greetings from communist and workers' parties, including those from the CPSU Central Committee and parties of the socialist community states. Messages of greetings were also sent by many communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries, Europe, Latin America, the Progressive National Front parties of Syria including the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, various contingents of the Arab liberation movement, the National Alliance of Kurdistan in Iraq, a number of democratic Kurdish parties in Syria and Turkey. Congress received a message of greetings from the journal *World Marxist Review* (Problems of Peace and Socialism), the Society of Palestine-Soviet Friendship and from a number of writers and artists in Syria.

Those attending the congress closely followed these messages, which express solidarity with the Syrian Communist Party and the Syrian people in the struggle against Camp David, against the conspiracies of home reaction and the crimes committed by gangs of murderers; they express support for the steadfast stance of Syria, and give information on the situation in the corresponding countries and movements.

On concluding its work, the Fifth SCP Congress decided to send a message of greetings to the CPSU, and a message expressing solidarity with the struggle of the people of Palestine on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, and with the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Congress adopted resolutions of solidarity with the revolutions in Afghanistan, Iran and Cuba. It addressed a message of greetings to the fraternal Iraqi Communist Party and the Egyptian national movement.

Congress sent a message of ardent fraternal solidarity to the families of party members who have fallen at the hands of the murderers from the gang of "Muslim Brothers" in the town of Aleppo.

Congress addressed a message to Comrade Khaled Bagdash on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his membership in the Syrian Communist Party.

At its opening, the Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist Party paid homage to the memory of the fallen party members, fighters of the international communist movement and the Arab liberation

movement by a minute of silence. Those present sang the National Anthem of Syria and the Internationale.

At the conclusion of the work of the congress, General Secretary Khaled Bagdash made a closing speech, in which he expressed the conviction that the SCP will further cement its ranks and work with resolve to implement the resolutions, recommendations and the line of the Fifth Congress, which became an important milestone in the struggle waged by the party on behalf of the people and the homeland.

Central Committee,

Syrian Communist Party

Damascus, beginning of June 1980

Nidal al-Shaab, No. 260, beginning of June 1980

FOR DÉTENTE, DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

Statement of Meeting of Representatives of North European Communist Parties

Adopted at the meeting of leaders of the Communist Parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and the Left Party—Communists of Sweden, held in Oslo over June 26 to 27.

We representatives of the communist parties of the North European countries held a two-day meeting to discuss what we can do in our region to promote détente, disarmament and peace.

The worsening international situation threatens also the common future of the peoples of Northern Europe.

This future is threatened by the huge stockpiles of mass destruction weaponry stationed on our continent or targeted on it, and above all, by nuclear missiles. It is also jeopardized by the attempts to subvert the results of détente achieved after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki in 1975, and to plunge the world into a new cold war.

It is threatened by the reckless escalation of the arms race following NATO's decision at its December 1979 Brussels meeting to produce and deploy U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe.

It is threatened by NATO's pressures for increased military expen-

ditures and the installation of heavy military equipment in Denmark and Norway, as well as on the ships plying Norway's waters.

This pressure is designed to draw part of Northern Europe directly into the U.S. global strategic positions-of-strength policy.

A struggle must be waged against all these designs.

The communists of Northern Europe consider that the present extremely grave international situation requires vigorous efforts by the northern nations in the struggle for peace, détente, mutual trust and international cooperation. In this struggle, the communists of the northern countries will, naturally, play a meaningful role.

We insistently call on the socialists and social democrats, representatives of other political trends, the trade union movement, Christian organizations, on all to whom the cause of peace is dear:

Let us set up in each country a people's movement for peace that would prevent the destruction of our cultural, historical and material wealth in the flames of a new war.

We face common tasks, the most important of which are:

Cooperation in the struggle for reconsideration of the NATO decision on the production and deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe; a struggle for the beginning of talks between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries on the basis of an equilibrium of forces and mutually guaranteed security;

Efforts aimed at gradual disarmament and the simultaneous dismantling of military blocs;

Struggle for the conclusion of an agreement on turning Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone with guarantees that nuclear weapons will not be used against the northern countries;

Struggle against the Northern European countries being involved in the global-strategic plans of the USA aimed against the Soviet Union;

Endeavor to ensure that Northern Europe will advocate negotiations at all international forums and oppose confrontation, call for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation and oppose a resurgence of the cold war, press for military détente and a reduction of armaments and oppose a new arms race;

Struggle to foil the reactionaries' campaign to incite a military psychosis; support for initiatives aimed at détente and disarmament based on mutually guaranteed security and the right of peoples to self-determination.

It is in the interests of Northern Europe that:

— SALT II be ratified;

— talks begin between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty states on medium-range missiles;

— that headway be made at the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments;

— that the Madrid meeting on European peace and security, which is a continuation of the endeavor initiated by the 1975 Helsinki Conference, should yield concrete results;

— that it adopt a decision to hold a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, and to combat hunger and poverty throughout the world.

We note with satisfaction that there exists between our fraternal parties broad unity on what should be done in Northern Europe to promote peace, détente and disarmament, and we insistently call on the peoples of the northern countries to display unity in struggle.

Communist Party of Denmark

Communist Party of Finland

Communist Party of Norway

Left Party — Communists of Sweden

Friheten

July 1, 1980

MILITANT SOLIDARITY

Joint Statement of the Communist Parties of France, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion

The delegations of the French, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion communist parties, led respectively by their general secretaries Georges Marchais, Guy Daninthe, Armand Nicolas and Paul Verges met in Paris on July 1 to exchange views on a wide range of problems bearing on the situation in these countries and the prospects of struggle. They also used the occasion to confirm their militant solidarity.

The four parties denounce the reactionary policy of the French government and the UDF-RPR* majority, both of which are tools of the monopolies. The government and big employers want to make the people bear the burden of the crisis in France and to perpetuate and

*Union for French Democracy and Alliance in Support of the Republic.

aggravate colonial domination in the "overseas departments," with all its disastrous consequences.

The four parties emphasize the extreme gravity of the situation on these islands.

Government policy is resulting in a sharp decline in agricultural output, curtailment or liquidation of the already weak industrial sector, and a decline in fishing and the handicrafts.

The government's diverse plans, which are designed to ensure the monopolies an opportunity to amass superprofits, are causing serious difficulties for these countries. The monopolies want to see these countries only as a consumer goods market supported by government credits, a source of marine wealth and strategic trade and military bases.

This policy has had a drastic effect on the inhabitants of the islands.

Half the population is unemployed. Among women, partial unemployment is the general rule; two-thirds of the young people are jobless.

The continuous growth of prices and taxes is systematically eroding the purchasing power of the working people and small and medium farmers, plunging ever more people into poverty.

The very existence of these peoples will be threatened in the near future due to the intensive emigration of young people, which is accompanied by a sharply declining birth rate. This danger is aggravated by the growing immigration that is designed to change the composition of the population.

In France, people from the "overseas departments" not only suffer from capitalist exploitation but are subjected to every manner of discrimination, including racism.

To preserve its system, French imperialism is reinforcing its administrative apparatus, military machine and organs of repression.

The arbitrary actions, discrimination, violation of human rights and brutal repressions are increasingly becoming the general rule in these colonies.

Despite the government's maneuvering, which is using aid as an instrument of blackmail against the people's struggle, despite the powerful propaganda machine, particularly the FR3 television company, and despite the virulent anti-communism the popular masses have not been deceived and are increasingly becoming aware of the colonial character of the European Common Market countries' integration policy.

The people of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion, like those of

Guyana, New Caledonia and Polynesia are the victims of diverse forms of colonial oppression.

The ever more flagrant denial of the national identity and native culture of these peoples is accompanied by arbitrary practices, election rigging and violation of their dignity.

Ever broader strata of society in these countries are becoming aware of their country's colonial status and are joining in the struggle. The policy of humiliation and depersonalization is being increasingly denounced. There is a mounting struggle to assure respect for national dignity along with an increasing number of demonstrations that are aimed at affirming the national identity of these peoples, their national consciousness, particularly in the Antilles, despite the fact that the Socialist Party is denying the peoples of the "overseas departments" the right to self-determination, thereby bolstering the positions of the RPR and the Giscardians.

The communists have an important role to play in developing diverse forms of struggle, which has resulted in substantial successes in recent years.

The peoples of the "overseas departments" are ever more forcefully demanding recognition of their right to run their own affairs.

The four parties reaffirm the inalienable right of these peoples to freely choose their status, to decide their destiny.

The French Communist Party upholds the inviolable right to self-determination of the peoples of the "overseas departments." It is fighting together with them for democratic conditions that will ensure the free exercise of this right.

The Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion communist parties determine their policy quite independently in accordance with the conditions obtaining in their countries.

On this basis, each of them proposes that their people press for a political status that will put an end to colonial domination and provide conditions for economic development, social progress, flowering of culture and advance to socialism in conditions of freedom.

Though every nation has its own socio-historic road, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion cannot keep aloof from the present developments in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. The upsurge of popular struggle in these regions, the gains of the anti-imperialist forces serve to strengthen their feeling of dignity and international solidarity in the face of the onslaught of French and U.S. imperialism.

The four parties emphasized the importance of coordinating the struggle of the working people of the "overseas departments" and the

French working people against the policy of repressions, austerity, unemployment and colonial plunder pursued by the major multinational companies and the Giscard government.

To this end the French Communist Party will invigorate its support for the struggle of the working people of the "overseas departments" for socio-economic rights without any discrimination, for the expansion of freedom and democracy.

The French Communist Party reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples and communist parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion for liberation from colonialism.

The communist parties of the three countries are in solidarity with the French Communist Party's struggle to eliminate the domination of big capital.

At the conclusion of the talks, which were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere, the four parties adopted a resolution on strengthening fraternal cooperation and effective solidarity.

Paris, July 1, 1980

L'Humanité, July 3, 1980

THE ROAD OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE

Statement by the CC, People's Party of Iran on the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of Iran

The founding of the Communist Party of Iran was officially announced 60 years ago, at the congress of the Workers' Social-Democratic Party, Idalat, which was held in Anzali at the end of Khordad 1299 (June 22, 1920). The Idalat party, in turn, united the social-democratic organizations which had emerged in the course of preparation for and realization of the constitutional revolution in Iran and were in disarray after the suppression of the revolution.

The CPI was founded in a complex and critical domestic and international situation:

On the one hand, the extremely backward socio-economic relations, feudalistic land ownership, growing disorder in the country as a result of the defeat of the constitutional revolution, the seizure of lands by the imperialist states during the First World War, the despotism of the shah government's local authorities, lack of rights and

unbearable living conditions of the working masses had aggravated the condition of the people to the utmost.

On the other hand, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the setting up of the world's first socialist state, the end of the imperialist war, followed by the defeat of the imperialist armed intervention against Soviet Russia, the establishment of Soviet power in the immediate proximity of Iran, in Soviet Azerbaijan (and later in Armenia, Georgia, etc.) created favorable conditions for the upsurge of an anti-imperialist national liberation movement in Iran.

The Iranian people's movement against the shackling treaty of 1919, which British imperialism sought to impose on our country through its servile agent Vosuk Adovla, assumed a vast scope. In all parts of the country, including the north, the movement took on an armed character.

In the circumstances, the Iranian communists, together with the other anti-colonial and anti-monarchic forces, set up independent organizations. This new political contingent, which relied on international solidarity and acted as a patriotic and consistently revolutionary force in the struggle, had a firm class base among the working people, especially among the workers. It became an organization of the new type and was able to play a notable role in the political struggle.

At the time Haydar Amu-ogly (Afshar) stood out among the party leaders. He was an outstanding leader of the constitutional revolution and founder of the social-democratic movement in Iran.

Immediately after its founding, the Communist Party of Iran waged a struggle against the dictatorial Reza-Khan regime (the blueprint for which was drawn up by the British military-intelligence organization). On this road the party encountered numerous difficulties, made many sacrifices and displayed genuine dedication.

From the outset Reza-Khan's police force directed its attacks against this party. The Iranian prisons, including the Kasr, were packed full with communists, who in those days were practically the only ones to take a progressive stand against the regime.

As borne out by dozens of documents, the Iranian communists, as distinct from other political groups, were the initiators in posing fundamental questions of social transformation: agrarian, national, the question of overthrowing colonialism and winning political and economic independence, the question of political and economic democracy, and struggle for the development of industry, agriculture and culture. They were the first in Iran to introduce the method of

scientific political thought and scientific analysis of social problems. Since then the entire political life of our society, whether it concerned the ruling classes or struggle against them, was strongly influenced by the method of thinking, analysis and even the terminology of the Communist Party of Iran.

The Communist Party of Iran played an important role in the arena of social struggle. Such well-known figures as Haydar Amu-ogly, Syrus Bahram, Sultan-zada, Zarra, Hesaby, Nik-bin, Erany, Kom-Bachsh, Syamak, Ali Ommyd and many others emerged from the ranks of the Communist Party.

The Iranian communists displayed exemplary staunchness in Reza-Khan's prisons. Some lost their lives in the dungeons of horror. Among them were Hejasy, Tanha and Dr. Erany.

The communists who escaped from Reza-Khan's prisons played the key role in founding the People's Party of Iran. That is why the PPI considers itself heir to the traditions of the Communist Party of Iran.

The Iranian workers and revolutionary proletarians working by hand and by brain are justly proud of the fact that their country was among the first in the world where a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization was set up.

The monarchic reaction, agents of colonialism, and in our days the specious "leftists" have sought to distort the history of the Communist Party of Iran, and continue doing so.

The present revolution of the Iranian people led by Imam Khomeini prepared a favorable political and social basis for the realization of many social ideals of our society's progressive fighters, including the communists. Hence the followers and continuers of the work of the Communist Party of Iran consider it their duty to support this revolution to the exclusion of any self-seeking aims.

These days it is appropriate to look back at the 60-year long road, each step along which is marked by the blood of communists. It is only right to honor the bright memory of the loyal fighters who traversed this road. It is appropriate to be inspired by this memory, to gain strength from it in continuing along this difficult road of truth and justice. And, together with the other revolutionary brother and sister Muslims, to lead society to genuine progress.

*Central Committee,
People's Party of Iran
Abridged from Mardom, June 22, 1980*

GIVE A MIGHTY REBUFF TO LIES AND PROVOCATIONS

Press Statement of the Communist Party of Jamaica

The democratic poor and working people of Jamaica must resist the vicious campaign of lies being waged in the country by fascist forces against the disinterested assistance given us by the government and people of the Socialist Republic of Cuba.

It is a wicked fascist lie to say that the Cuban government is interfering in the internal affairs of our country. The only so-called "interference" the Cuban government is guilty of is giving to the Jamaican people, free of cost, schools, construction training, health care, academic and technical scholarships, and a magnificent sports college for the development of our youths.

This great lie about Cuban interference is being circulated by reactionary sections of the clergy, the police, and the media who unashamedly declare their wish for the CIA presence in Jamaica and hope that Jamaica will find its own fascist Pinochet rather than a democratic Allende.

It is not the Cuban people who are interfering in our country. They own no factories, banks, land, insurance companies or mines in Jamaica. Neither is the Cuban government responsible for bad press reports about Jamaica to frighten away tourists and worsen our foreign exchange problem.

No! It is the great enemy of mankind, supporter of racist and fascist regimes, and danger to world peace, U.S. imperialism that is working through the CIA, banking interests and multinational corporations to not only interfere but to slowly strangle the life of democracy in Jamaica.

The interference of the USA in Nicaragua brought fascist Somoza to that country, in Iran the despotic Shah, and in Chile the murderer Pinochet. Their interference in Jamaica is designed to bring to power a fascist agent of blood and fire.

Cuba has no such designs on Jamaica. Cuba helps the poor. U.S. imperialism crushes them.

So let the Jamaican people give a mighty rebuff to the dirty CIA lie of Cuban interference by strengthening the bonds of friendship between the working people of Jamaica and Cuba.

Chris Lawrence
General Secretary

number 17-18, 1980 29

FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

*Statement of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria**

The third plenary meeting of the FLN Central Committee was of enormous importance. Its chief result was the adoption of a resolution on organizational questions, which sets the President of the country and FLN General Secretary Benjedid Chadli the task of taking the necessary measures to change the structure and leading bodies of the FLN.

The Socialist Vanguard Party considers it essential for all patriotic and progressive forces to support the main resolution in the interests of the revolution.

The resolution mirrors the profound hopes of the overwhelming majority of the people for a *real and more consistent implementation* of the objectives of the National Charter and the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the FLN, as well as its earnest striving for change and more rapid progress.

By setting President Chadli the task of materializing in corresponding resolutions the aspiration to democratize the FLN's relations with the masses and the country's active forces, the Central Committee reiterates its support for the General Secretary, who has proved that he is honoring his commitments to the National Charter on assuming his post.

It is on this principled basis, fortified by the experience of the past year and a half, that we reaffirm our support for President Chadli, just as we have supported him ever since he undertook, in complex conditions, the difficult task devolving on the successor to the late President Boumedienne.

The positive "consensus" reached under the leadership of President Chadli, who heads the FLN, and with the support of the National People's Army and other patriotic and revolutionary forces enabled our country during the difficult period to avoid the chaos the imperialists had hoped for.

As we noted previously, the composition of the top FLN leadership did not reflect fully the balance of forces resulting from the "consen-

*Issued on the eve of the Special Congress of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
— Ed.

sus." However, its composition provided an opportunity for "decan-tation" in the course of solving the country's real problems, while avoiding a dangerous and unprincipled struggle between personalities or institutions. This was intended to help clarify the stance of all trends and responsible politicians in the face of a concrete choice, and actually did so.

It was the difficulties involved in realizing the Charter's objectives that necessitated transforming the leading FLN bodies. The crucial problem facing the leadership and people of our country today is: *what measures should be taken to enable the leadership to safeguard and develop its ability to achieve the progressive objectives.* This involves raising the political means to the level of our proclaimed socio-economic goals, seeing that the deeds match the words, the pooling of efforts of the leadership and the grass-roots organizations, and closer relations between the authorities and the masses.

The leadership's capacity to implement the progressive objectives has been put to a serious test during the past few months in connection with the emergence of a number of problems that are vital for the country. The imperialists, notably the U.S. and French, have used diverse national and world events to destabilize the regime, and attempted to prod it onto a road of revising the revolutionary gains, as they succeeded in the case of the Sadat regime in Egypt and the Baath party in Iraq. By supporting these imperialist threats and pressures, many reactionaries exposed themselves, demonstrating — often cynically and arrogantly — their intention of nullifying the principal gains of the revolution and even the National Charter.

This dangerous situation, which plays into the hands of imperialism, has compelled the consistent patriots and progressives to wage a hard struggle for revolutionary democracy, an anti-imperialist orientation and social progress. *It became necessary to deal a resolute blow at imperialism and the reactionary circles, which bear the responsibility for the present situation.* It is in this principal direction that we can successfully develop our efforts to surmount the existing weaknesses, including those in the ranks of the patriotic and progressive forces.

In this connection the same yardstick cannot be used for the chief enemy of our people and the patriots who are the victims of error, or for those who fall short of the consistent revolutionaries in waging an anti-imperialist struggle. However, *only an increasingly united and consistently revolutionary political leadership will enable giving a vigorous rebuff to imperialism.* Only such a leadership will be able to

solve the difficult and complex tasks of construction and meet the hopes and present-day opportunities of the revolution's social forces, which have grown stronger and are fully justified in advancing more decisive demands.

A more homogeneous revolutionary leadership, enjoying the confidence and support of the popular masses — that is the chief condition for the efficacy of a broad anti-imperialist front, which includes also the vacillating patriots and those with divergent interests and views on certain points.

It is to contribute to the creation of such a revolutionary unity of the political leadership that we express our support for the main resolution of the FLN Central Committee.

To ensure that the duties devolving on President Chadli will lead to positive results at the Special Congress of the FLN and that the measures adopted by it will be successfully realized, the following conditions are essential:

1. *The patriotic and revolutionary forces, wherever they may be, must understand more clearly the basic objectives and concrete opportunities for the solution of the problems facing the country. This would also enhance the efficacy of the resolutions adopted at previous sessions of the FLN Central Committee, and the draft documents that will be submitted to the congress.*

All the progressive forces should contribute to the elaboration of these concrete tasks, particularly in relation to the orientation of the future national development plan. In this connection we can note with satisfaction the expansion of the discussion initiated by the Ministry of Planning in accordance with the Fourth Congress' recommendations. Hence the broad problem: *how in the light of the existing experience to put an end to the underestimation of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic and socio-progressive tasks?* How to avoid other forms of underestimation of these tasks, which seriously affected the drawing up and realization of the previous four-year plan, whereas these goals were explicitly set forth in the guidelines of this plan?

This question is closely linked with the class (socio-political) content of the mechanism of their realization, with the extent to which this mechanism conforms to the basic objectives of the National Charter. That is why the content of the five-year plan is inseparable from the problem posed by the third plenary meeting of the FLN Central Committee in the resolution on organizational matters: what alliances will make the revolution irreversible and ensure its going

over from national-democratic to socialist transformations? How, bearing in mind the nature of the present stage, to establish more just relations between the broad anti-imperialist front and its revolutionary leadership in order to avoid both narrow-mindedness and adventurism, as well as a delay and obstruction of the revolution, which could prejudice our advance and solution of the tasks of construction.

2. Stronger cohesion and united action of the patriots and revolutionaries based on their common interests and anti-imperialist goals.

A vigorous and conscious struggle must be waged in this field to surmount minor contradictions, personality problems, disputes within the apparatus that are not linked with the interests of national independence and the revolution or run counter to them. An unprincipled rivalry can only benefit the opportunists and careerists; it engenders a wait-and-see attitude and defeatism, which we have witnessed only too often at various levels in many FLN organizations and in the mass organizations.

A most dangerous manifestation of narrow-mindedness is the tendency toward a systematic and unjustified ignoring of the National People's Army, distrust toward it and its representatives, or attempts to counterpose it to other state institutions, political bodies and public organizations. These tendencies deny or distort the important progressive role the NPA has played in the country, particularly in ensuring favorable conditions for the creation of political instruments of the revolution to ensure its development along the road indicated by the Charter.

Other manifestations of narrow-mindedness: a total or partial exclusion of patriots as a result of either minor differences or temporary vacillation. It is in the interests of the revolution to endeavor to create the best forms and conditions in which all anti-imperialist reserves, however small, could join in the common cause of construction with account for the new, higher demands of the present situation and the changes that have taken place.

Anti-communism is a dangerous form of sectarianism and narrow-mindedness. Manifestations of anti-communism, naturally, play into the hands of the opponents of a socialist orientation, who use them to camouflage their incursions against the national interests and their refusal to implement progressive tasks. It must be admitted, however, that even some sincere patriots have fallen into this trap. That is often the case in complex situations, when mutual misun-

derstanding is intensified and some take at its face value the allegation that the communists are primarily out to profit from every situation.

The communists have no such intentions. Should they act in this way, theirs would be a short-sighted policy that is not in keeping with the interests of the revolution which they are defending. The communists believe that ideological differences and even contradictions between patriots and revolutionaries are not and should not be an obstacle to their joint political actions in a corresponding framework. Certain ideological differences could be ironed out in the joint struggle for common goals. The National Charter's merit as a common denominator lies in that it represents a basis for uniting and mobilizing all the anti-imperialist forces and proponents of socialism.

Algiers, May 22, 1980

Socialist Vanguard Party

Abridged

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FROM THE PRESS

IN DEFENSE OF THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION

*Interview by Babrak Karmal to L'Humanité correspondent
Jacques Coubard*

Q. The Western press is attacking the revolution in Afghanistan. There are accusations of massacres, genocide, and even repeated references to your committing suicide. What do you think about this campaign?

A. You have been able to see for yourself what is actually happening in Afghanistan during your prolonged stay here. Look, I am standing in front of you alive and well. I am working for the success of the revolution in my country. Do I look like a person who has attempted to commit suicide?

These "defenders of freedom" did not conduct such a campaign when the bloody regime linked with the CIA and imperialism, the Amin regime, reigned in Afghanistan, a regime of terror which put to death thousands of people without trial — intellectuals, religious functionaries, teachers, workers, peasants, party members, totally innocent people — during the massacres, when the prisons were packed full, during this Pol Pot style regime, when ministers, prominent political leaders, representatives of the intelligentsia and the army were being done to death.

During the very first hours of the second phase of the revolution (December 27, 1979) we released more than 15,000 political prisoners. And now our revolution is under attack. Why? Because imperialism is hatching plots that are designed to turn Afghanistan into a zone of tension and war against the Soviet Union, the national liberation movement, the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran.

The imperialist states are out to retrieve their lost positions. They had long sought a pretext for renewing the arms race in order to implement their plan of deploying the Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe. To this end they provoked unrest in Cuba, utilized the Middle East crisis together with the Camp David deal, the situation in

the Horn of Africa, and China's aggression against Vietnam. And, finally, Afghanistan became the object of imperialist plotting. But all these imperialist plots have failed.

Q. Your government assumed its functions six months ago. Its legacy was a heavy one. What are the results of your activity for the first half year?

A. We have accomplished more in these six months than had been accomplished in the past six years.

We have restored party unity; we have resolved the country's deep-going crisis; we have formed a democratic government, which has no precedent in the history of our country.

The April revolution, which had been diverted from the correct course, has now been returned to the principles of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

The general amnesty proclaimed by us enabled 15,000 persons to avoid the execution that awaited them. We put a stop to terror and despotism.

On December 27 we were confronted with an undeclared war. Large counter-revolutionary groups made incursions from 57 training centers in Pakistan, which are run by U.S., British, Egyptian and Chinese specialists, from five centers in Sinkiang (China) and eight centers in Iran. We were confronted with the need to combat the export of counter-revolution.

We were able to destroy many of those who were sent from these bases. Today they have been reduced to small groups of terrorists that are no longer capable of direct resistance. We are continuing the fight to put an end to their operations.

Thanks to the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, our government has been able to meet the basic requirements of most regions of our country, which were in a sad state as a consequence of Amin's policy. In particular, we were able to distribute grain, fertilizer and tractors to the peasants and to raise the purchasing price of cotton and beetroot. For the first time in Afghanistan's history we have managed to keep the balance of payments in the black, thereby encouraging production and raising the living standards of the peasants. We have started raising the living standards of the working people. Our armed forces, weakened by seven purges under Amin, have been reconstituted. We have carried out a reform of the state apparatus. The process of turning the party into a party of a new type, a party of the working class, has been renewed. The youth, women's, workers' and peasants' mass organizations have been restored and strengthened.

On the other hand, the formation of the national patriotic front has enabled us to create a broad objective basis for an alliance of the workers, peasants, traders, members of the small and middle bourgeoisie, intellectuals, of all strata of our working people.

Under Amin religion was suppressed and religious leaders humiliated. Two Islamic trends — the Sunnites and Shiites — were artificially set against each other in our country. Now the doors of the mosques and Takhia Khona (Shiite mosques) have again been opened. Religious freedom is respected and traditions are recognized by the government.

The rights and democratic freedoms of the tribes and ethnic groups who were discriminated against have now been restored.

For the first time ever, a progressive system of education has been adopted. The Central Committee has endorsed the fundamental principles of the republic (which will be submitted to the constituent assembly) and new Party Rules. The theses on a democratic and national revolution have become the party program.

Q. The counter-revolutionary organizations continue to receive material and political aid from Pakistan, Iran and China. Is it possible in the circumstances, as you have proposed to the neighboring countries, to negotiate a solution for the restoration of peace in the region?

A. Our government's statements on the subject, which you have published in *L'Humanité*, represent the basic principles for a peaceful settlement in the region. In any case, we stand for a peaceful political solution to all problems that have appeared in connection with Afghanistan.

As long as the provocations and interference in our internal affairs continue and there is a threat of encroachment upon our independence and sovereignty, the Soviet Army will remain in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan advocates a policy of peace. We stand for the continuation and development of détente. Afghanistan is a member of the non-aligned movement, whatever the imperialists may say on the subject.

Q. The stabilization of the situation has made possible the withdrawal of some Soviet troops. Will there be a further withdrawal with the weakening of the counter-revolution in Afghanistan?

A. The presence of these troops was no longer necessary in Afghanistan. I can assure you that thanks to the assistance of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, the national liberation movements, the international working-class movement, and also

such countries, for instance, as India, Syria, Algeria, Congo-Brazzaville, Mozambique, we are moving toward the isolation of our internal and foreign enemies. In this sense we have achieved important successes.

At the same time we are moving toward fresh successes of our policy aimed at developing our economy and raising living standards with a view to building a society that is free from the exploitation of man by man. That is the present phase of our national and democratic revolution. Hence we will be able to eliminate the counter-revolution. We are certain of our victory. Consequently, the Soviet troops will leave our country.

L'Humanité, July 11, 1980

KEY TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

A political settlement to the situation around Afghanistan has become a topical problem. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have demonstrated their determination to find a constructive solution to this problem. Appeals for a political settlement have been made by the leaders of socialist and many non-aligned nations. The West, on the other hand, has confined itself to demagogic discourse on the subject.

However, the approach to the problem of a political settlement and the very interpretation of this idea are quite different. Moreover, they reveal a watershed between the true friends and the false well-wishers of the Afghan people; between those who sincerely want to stabilize the situation in Southwest Asia and those seeking to capitalize on rising tensions around the Persian Gulf in pursuance of their self-seeking aims.

A political settlement is quite possible. The key to it is a full and guaranteed cessation of armed aggression and in general all forms of hostile activity from outside against the government and people of Afghanistan. To open the door to a political settlement it is necessary, first, to put an end to aggression, that is, to armed incursions into Afghanistan by the hirelings of imperialist, reactionary forces from the territory of neighboring states; and, second, to provide reliable safeguards against the resumption of any form of subversive action from without. Verbal declarations to this effect are, of course, insufficient. What is required is effective action to rule out the smug-

gling of hired gangs across the border; stop arms supplies to these gangs and close down the camps where they are trained.

All those who are now raising the question of a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan should be told: it is essential, first, to remove the causes which made it necessary for these troops to be moved in. What determines the time-limits for the presence of Soviet forces as well as their strength is the need to support people's Afghanistan in combating outside military intervention in that country's affairs.

Life is gradually returning to normal in Afghanistan. Major gangs of counter-revolutionaries have been routed; the invaders have suffered a heavy defeat. It is in this context that the decision was made to withdraw from Afghanistan some Soviet military units whose presence there is no longer necessary.

By this decision, taken in agreement with the Afghan government, the Soviet Union demonstrated, by deed, not by word, its determination to reach a political settlement.

This decision has attracted close attention everywhere. Yet responses to it have not been uniform. Differences of approach showed themselves, in particular, at the Venice summit of seven leading capitalist countries. Speaking at a press conference there, President Giscard d'Estaing of France said that he had learned about a reduction of Soviet forces in Afghanistan from Leonid Brezhnev's personal message the day before. When the conferees were informed of the decision, they interpreted it as a "step in the right direction."

On the other hand, representatives of the United States at the Big Seven meeting clearly sought to pare down the significance of the Soviet initiative and even to call it into question. Brzezinski, for example, alleged that it implied no more than "a tactical redeployment."

The Soviet initiative has been highly appreciated by public opinion and the press in India. Official circles in Delhi expressed the conviction that this turn of events would help to reduce tensions in the region and facilitate the efforts for a settlement, now being made in consultation with the leaders of many nations.

The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was welcomed by Indonesia's Foreign Minister Kusumaatmadja. Speaking at Jakarta before leaving for a conference of ASEAN's Foreign Ministers, he said the main thing at the moment was for that process to be properly understood abroad.

But there are other responses to the Soviet initiative. NATO's

Secretary-General Luns, for instance, once again expressed his pessimism, while the Chinese newspaper *Renmin ribao* ran a slanderous article, urging that Afghanistan and Kampuchea be turned into seats of armed confrontation.

The decision of the Soviet Union to withdraw some of its troops from Afghanistan has the same purpose and proceeds from the same fundamental principles as the constructive program formulated by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on May 14. The Afghan government suggested bilateral Afghan-Pakistani and Afghan-Iranian talks to normalize relations and to draft bilateral agreements on the principles of good-neighborliness and cooperation, which would include specific commitments on refraining from armed or any other hostile activities against each other.

Apart from these bilateral agreements, proper international guarantees should also become a component of a political settlement. The United States, in particular, is requested to give a firm obligation not to pursue any subversive activity against Afghanistan, including activity from the territory of third countries.

The termination of all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and guarantees to the effect that such interference will not be resumed could provide favorable conditions for settling the question of further steps toward the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It should be reiterated that the entire complex of measures on political settlement can only be put into effect when intervention has been terminated. But the attempts to make the beginning of talks on the question dependent on Soviet troop withdrawals are unacceptable because they turn the problem upside down. To deprive the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of support at a time when external aggression is going on would be to encourage the extension of intervention and to turn the clock back to the situation in which not only the gains of the April revolution, but the very existence of Afghanistan as a sovereign state were in jeopardy. During Carter's tour of South European countries, official spokesmen for the White House frankly explained the meaning of the widely publicized American proposals on the so-called intermediary settlement: their overall purpose is to achieve by peaceful means what the armed intervention has failed to achieve, namely, to overthrow the legitimate government of Afghanistan and to put puppets at the helm of power in the country, thus flouting the will of the overwhelming majority of the Afghan people.

When Carter was asked at a press conference devoted to the partial

Soviet troop withdrawal whether the United States was supplying the Afghan rebels with weapons and money, he preferred not to reply to that question. The actions of the incumbent U.S. President are far more eloquent than his words in this case. It is common knowledge that it is the U.S. advisers and instructors who form, train and supply with weaponry gangs of mercenaries, who are sent in their thousands into Afghanistan to maraud and stage bloody reprisals against the civilian population.

Washington, conspiring with Peking, has made Pakistan the main base of its undeclared war against Afghanistan. There are several dozens centers for training bandit formations, subversive groups and terrorists on Pakistani territory. Their combat operations are coordinated by a CIA official, installed in the Pakistani city of Peshawar under the guise of a U.S. Consul.

The headquarters in Peshawar also sends instructions to a center of provocative armed operations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which has been set up in the Iranian town of Meshed. In this way the CIA is again stretching its tentacles into Iran under the cover of anti-Afghan activities.

Obviously, it is the forces which stake on continued military interference and on maintaining tension in South-west Asia that are belittling and distorting the importance of the Soviet initiative.

The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops yet again confirms the defense and, therefore, limited, character of the Soviet Union's assistance to Afghanistan and proves the utter absurdity of the propaganda allegation that Afghanistan is just the first stage of Soviet military expansion in the direction of the Persian Gulf, that the USSR is bent on reaching the warm seas and that the main blow of the Soviet Army is spearheaded against the oil fields of the Middle East in order to paralyze the economy of capitalist countries, above all, Western Europe and Japan.

The real threat to an uninterrupted flow of oil from the Middle East does not come from the Soviet Union. Discernibly, in an attempt to make up for the loss of its positions in Iran, U.S. imperialism is exerting efforts in two directions: to expand the undeclared war against Afghanistan so as to strangle the April revolution and create an imperialist springboard of armed aggression in the vicinity of the USSR's southern borders; to build up a powerful military fist in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea area in order to blackmail both the oil producers and oil consumers in the Middle East.

Indeed, is it Soviet actions that have led to the reduction of Iranian

oil deliveries to Western Europe and Japan? Is it not the United States that threatens to blockade the Strait of Hormuz from the sea, and to mine ports and bomb oil fields? As a matter of course, the Pentagon began preparations for such operations back in 1974, i.e., long before the revolutionary events in Afghanistan.

U.S. imperialism is attempting to establish its individual control over the capitalist world's energy resources by armed force. What is more, this course is aimed not only against the Gulf states — the suppliers of Middle East oil. While increasingly losing ground to its allies in Western Europe and Japan in the economic field, the United States still greatly surpasses them in the military sphere. Hence the U.S. ruling circles' temptation to "assert its leading role" through military pressure. The clamor about a mythical "Soviet military expansion" in the Persian Gulf is designed to help the Pentagon seize the hose that feeds oil to Western Europe and Japan.

Summing up what has been said, one arrives at the following conclusion. The withdrawal of some Soviet military units from Afghanistan and the constructive program spelled out by the DRA government on May 14 are convincing manifestations of goodwill which represent a realistic step toward a political settlement. These positive initiatives call for a positive response, above all, on the part of the United States as well as Pakistan and Iran.

Pravda, July 2, 1980

A REALISTIC APPROACH

*Speech by Edward Gierek at a meeting of the PUWP
Central Committee*

I agree with you, comrades, that the country's economic situation is difficult. However, we have considerable potentialities for overcoming the difficulties. What is required of all of us is well-considered and consistent actions. We possess a good program of measures set forth in the decisions of the Eighth PUWP Congress, which are systematically being translated into life by the government. The program of the Eighth Congress, like our entire post-December 1970 policy, harmoniously combined the social and economic objectives. As before, priority goes to the social objectives. That is why we are

concentrating on the economy to provide the means for ensuring the social requirements of the working people. That is the line we intend to follow both this and next year, despite the limited economic possibilities. In the obtaining situation we must concentrate on solving vital social problems, on improving or alleviating the lot of those groups of working people who are having the hardest time, whose needs are most pronounced.

In accordance with our party's directives the government is taking measures to lessen the gap in incomes and wages and salaries. Social justice makes this imperative.

The policy of social consumption, distribution of allowances and material assistance should take account above all of the needs of families with many children and those with low incomes. This is only part of the problem, however. There is an imperative need to increase the incomes of certain groups of working people, and we have already drawn up such a program for the first half of 1981. We want to solve four problems during this period.

First, to increase family allowances so as to raise the living standards of large families above the average level;

second, it is essential above all to increase aid to single mothers in bringing up their children;

third, we consider it important to increase the pensions of those persons, for whom they have not been raised;

fourth, despite the fact that the economic situation does not permit a large-scale wage and salary increase, it is necessary to raise the minimum wage in view of the present situation.

We realize that the growing cost of living is a complex problem. It is our view that the government should restrict and stringently control this growth, taking account of the situation first of all of families in the lower income brackets. It is impossible, however, to eliminate it totally. In this connection we should at least partially compensate for the growing cost of living, especially with respect to those who experience the greatest difficulty at present. I believe that such an approach, like the fundamental provisions of our program in this sphere for the coming year, will meet with the support of the public.

We are aware that the realization of these intentions will be costly. But it is not right to issue money without it being covered by corresponding commodities. This would disorganize the market, depreciate the currency and, generally speaking, would lengthen the queues in front of the shops. Far from helping anyone, it would only worsen the situation for all. The funds for increasing the incomes of families with

many children, the lower income brackets and pensioners must be accumulated through higher productivity, efficiency and consistent fulfilment of a program for economy, as Edward Babiuch put it in Parliament. We believe it essential to use all the revenues accumulated by the government this year from the commercial sale of meat and meat products to meet these social requirements.

We will be able to gradually realize the program of improving the situation of families; single mothers, pensioners, and those in the lower income brackets as we accumulate the means for this. These are vital requirements, and we want to speed up their satisfaction. This will depend on all of us: from the leading cadre to work collectives to rural workers, and therefore we appeal to all the citizens of our country.

I want to touch on two more questions. The first is housing construction. In this sphere there is a substantial lag, while the requirements are well known to everyone. We know that everyone wants to see as many finished flats as possible. The government's amendments of plans, I wish to emphasize here, did not pursue the aim of decreasing the actual number of flats under construction. They envisaged an end to a situation when the plans for wage funds and use of materials were fulfilled and even overfulfilled, but the flats were not finished, or were finished only in the middle of the following year.

The Ministry of Building, housing cooperatives, all our institutions and local administrative bodies, above all the building organizations, must do everything to make full use of existing reserves. From the social viewpoint this is an extremely important, vital question.

Enormous importance is also attached to the harvesting campaign, the creation of fodder reserves and their optimal use. The level of food consumption decisively affects the people's standard of living, their health and normal development. Fulfilment of the program adopted at the 15th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee is being fulfilled with big delays and difficulties stemming from the need to purchase a growing amount of fodder and grain from abroad, primarily from the capitalist countries. Owing to unfavorable weather conditions last year, there was yet another year of low harvests, which negatively affected food supplies.

This year as a result of the cold and dry spring, which has been partially compensated for by the ample June rains (though the present heavy rainfall is causing some damage), we can look forward to a higher harvest. Regrettably, the condition of the cultivated crops is not very promising. I have no doubt that the peasants themselves, and

the agricultural services, all institutions who bear the responsibility for agriculture all want to see the best possible harvest.

The harvesting campaign must be carried out in a way that will ensure that no losses are incurred as a result of ineptitude or mismanagement. Many of our farmers, especially small farmers, work in industry as well. Some of them neglect their farms and the result is a low harvest, which is prejudicial to both society and themselves. We hope that they will finish their work in the fields in good time this year.

We should realize that in the face of the complex economic tasks and the difficult and tense international situation, the vital interests of our people require that we all display high discipline, discretion and a sense of responsibility for the country. I would say more: it should be our common patriotic duty. Today's meeting has brought to the fore a large number of tasks. Upon their consideration it is necessary to launch vigorous activity in order to achieve better results in the latter half of the year than in the first.

Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*
July 10, 1980

BLOCKING THE WAR MOVERS

*Interview with William Kashtan, General Secretary
of the Communist Party of Canada*

Q. What is the significance of the Paris meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held last April?

A. As I see it, its aim was to unite communist and workers' parties in all of Europe against the new threats of imperialism, particularly American imperialism, directed to undermine détente, revert to a new cold war and policies of confrontation. The conference noted imperialism's plan to place "first-strike" nuclear missiles on West European soil directed against socialism. In fact, they would be directed against world peace.

This conference had a special significance as part of the growing counter-offensive of the world's peace forces against the dangerous drift to war.

We welcome the conference and its results which are embodied in the statement which the *Tribune* published recently. It shows that

communist and workers' parties in Europe are able to unite around common aims. The Western media has tried to say that because some parties were not at this meeting, it did not achieve its aims. They are whistling in the dark. Of course, it would have been better for the parties that were absent to have been there. But these parties, too, are committed to policies of strengthening détente and combating imperialism's arms drive.

Q. How does the conference affect Canada?

A. For Canada, NATO and U.S. imperialism have a specific meaning. We know that Canada was involved in both world wars in Europe. A third world war starting in Europe would equally suck Canada in with disastrous consequences.

Peace and disarmament, the main theme of the Paris conference, has as much meaning for Canadians as for Europeans. It is in Canada's vital interests to ensure that peace and disarmament prevail rather than cold war and confrontation.

From this standpoint, it is unfortunate the Canadian government has aligned itself with U.S. policy and has agreed to step up arms expenditures by 3 per cent annually, agreed to military aircraft purchases (from the United States. — *Ed.*), concurred in U.S. policy on Iran, agreed to the Olympic boycott, etc.

This indicates that, despite the wish of the voters, the Trudeau government is pursuing the same policies as the late, unlamented Tory government. It is this that Canadian public opinion needs to change.

The Paris meeting was in sharp contrast to the Brussels meeting of NATO. The Brussels meeting was dedicated to increasing arms expenditures. The Paris meeting dedicated itself to fight for peace and security.

The Communist Party of Canada sees the Paris conference as one of great significance. The fact that our party was not there does not mean we are indifferent to it having met and the results it produced. We see these results as of major concern for our party and for all concerned with the cause of peace and social progress.

Q. The Paris meeting emphasized the importance of the widest unity of peace forces and especially mentioned the role of social democratic parties and the Socialist International. The NDP is part of the Socialist International. What can this mean for unity and cooperation in Canada?

A. We believe the conditions are ripe for such cooperation. The Communist Party, the NDP, the trade union movement, the farm

movement — indeed, all Canadians who are concerned with the drift toward confrontation and cold war should now unite for peace.

We criticized NDP leader Ed Broadbent's remarks during the last election which seemed to put him into the cold war camp with U.S. imperialism. We welcomed the criticism by NDP members throughout the country who demanded that he, as should all NDP members, stand by the positions adopted at NDP conventions. These included severance of Canada from NATO and NORAD* and support of policies toward disarmament based on equality of security for all states.

These policies coincide in many respects with the policies of our party. There is, therefore, a basis for cooperation, for dialogue and for joint action between our two parties.

We call for it. We will support anyone inside the NDP who wants it and who, like us, sees the necessity for strengthening the peace fight with which social progress is so inextricably tied. In fact, in today's conditions there can be no social progress without peace.

We argue there is no future for working people in the cold war. We can see evidence of this in the way the effects of the recession are being felt by growing sections of working people.

The illusion that a return to cold war would bring good times to Canada is, indeed, just that. We can now see the effects of the cold war on farmers and on workers in the agricultural implement industry who are paying heavily for the U.S. grain boycott (on sales to the USSR. — *Ed.*).

Canadians are also victims of increased arms expenditures because of membership in NATO and NORAD. This means less security, more inflation and lower living standards. In short, Canadians are victims of U.S. imperialism's cold war policies which, unfortunately, Ottawa has not separated itself from. Canadians are paying a heavy price for Ottawa's abject surrender of Canada's real national interests to U.S. imperialist allies.

There are no profits to be made out of cold war, except for the cold warriors. The people are the victims.

That is why it is important the widest cooperation of peace forces is cemented in action to prevent a return to cold war, to maintain détente, to reinforce it with military détente which would open up new prospects for peace on a world scale.

We welcome particularly the position taken by the president of the

*North American Air Defence Command. — *Ed.*

Canadian Labor Congress in which he cautioned against the Canadian trade union movement being sucked into this cold war as it was sucked into the first one. We hope this will be accompanied by concrete measures and united action with others to compel the government to pursue an independent foreign policy.

Q. The present cold war drive is based on the argument that the USSR is responsible for the deterioration in international relations. What would you say to people who argue that?

A. It's important that working people understand who is responsible for the present situation. There is an effort by imperialism and the monopoly-controlled media to misrepresent the facts. They say that the Soviet Union's assistance to Afghanistan is the reason for the renewed cold war.

This is completely false. The cold war started, in fact, when U.S. imperialism undertook measures to step up the arms drive, to place "first-strike" missiles in Europe, to attempt to build military superiority over the USSR and replace equality of security with adventurism.

The source of the crisis is imperialism, not socialism.

It's important that people who are concerned with events understand that, face up to it and draw conclusions. It is not socialism that is the source of war, it is imperialism.

Imperialism was the source of the first world war, the second world war and with its drive for world domination it could be the source of a third world war if the world's people don't prevent it.

From this it is important to talk about the actions required to strengthen peace. Today it is not enough to simply recognize that peace is threatened. We must equally understand how to fight for peace in today's complicated conditions.

This should include the Canadian government insisting there be a cancellation or suspension of NATO's decision to place new missile systems in Western Europe and its replacement by effective negotiations.

It means the ratification of SALT II as quickly as possible; that measures be taken to reduce arms and armed forces in Europe on the basis of equality of security of all sides.

These and other measures are needed to create conditions for a lasting peace in Europe with whose future Canadian peace and security is tied.

Peace is everybody's business today. No one can escape responsibility. Everyone must be involved in the fight to make it effective.

Canadian Tribune, June 16, 1980

PLAN, MOBILIZE, ORGANIZE

*Excerpts from the Main Political Report by Gus Hall
at the meeting of the Central Committee and National Council,
Communist Party USA**

DÉTENTE

"We have always stressed that through struggle imperialism can be forced to retreat and change its tactics, that its basic character never changes and it never gives up. We have never viewed détente outside the context of struggles, of difficulties, obstacles and yes — some setbacks. Therefore, the negative developments of the recent period in no way argues for a change in our basic strategic concepts in relation to the struggle for détente."

"... the new acts of U.S. military aggression, the adventurism, the cold war moves toward military confrontation, the acts of provocation, the new arms buildup, the NATO decision to deploy new missiles in West Germany, Italy and Great Britain, the amassing of a huge naval armada in the Indian Ocean area, the search for new military bases, the creation of the 'rapid deployment force,' the military agreements with China, including the recent agreement to give military equipment to China's madmen, the shelving of SALT II and the huge increases in the military budgets.

"... All these developments have opened up a new stage in the U.S. drive for military superiority as the basis for its policy of world domination. The 1980 presidential election adds to the dangers of miscalculated adventurism.

"The Pentagon and sections of monopoly capital have never accepted the concept of a military balance with the Soviet Union. Even while negotiating for SALT II, which is based on this very concept, the Pentagon, with Carter's blessing, continued to work to create the basis for both a nuclear superiority and a first-strike nuclear capability.

"For this period of history the hard fact is that in order to maintain world peace, to further develop policies of détente, it is absolutely necessary to establish and maintain a military, a nuclear weapons balance, a parity between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"A very recent positive development was the June 5 speech by

*The meeting of the Central Committee and National Council, CPUSA, was held early in June, 1980. — Ed.

former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, which clearly reflected a growing sentiment against the Carter-Brzezinski policies not only among the people but increasingly in the ranks of monopoly capital.

"In the international arena, the April 26-29 meeting in Paris of European communist parties was another significant development.

"In this regard, the meeting of European communist parties in Paris was most timely and made a very important contribution in the struggle to turn back the rising tide of war.

"The conference issued a call to all forces of good will and peace. It expressed the collective position of the European communist parties against the U.S. policy of preparing for war.

"However, unfortunately a few of the communist parties did not send delegates. From afar, it is difficult to understand the thinking and the logic of such a decision.

"It is even more difficult to understand why the communist parties of two countries where the missiles will be placed — the Communist Parties of Italy and Great Britain — did not see the need for this united action for peace ... it is difficult to understand why the leadership of the Communist Party of Italy not only did not send a delegate, but was active in getting other parties not to send delegates.

"The meeting between comrade Leonid Brezhnev and the President of France ... marked a return to dialogue diplomacy. It was a rejection of relations based on cold war hostilities.

"There are also a growing number in the circles of U.S. monopoly capital and their spokesmen who are expressing second thoughts about the direction of Carter's policies. They see the dangers and many are concluding that they are counterproductive.

"The most important counterforce to the war policies is the growing resistance by broad sectors of our people. There is deep concern about the dangers of a renewed cold war. While some still buy the illusion that the huge military budgets assure peace and security, the great majority of Americans are for peace, and they can be won to take an active role in the struggle against policies leading to war.

"While it is important to see new war dangers of military confrontation, it is just as important to see the rise of the positive counterforces. This should convince everyone that it is possible, it is realistic to think in terms of clipping the wings of the warhawks and returning our country to the rails of détente, SALT II, disarmament and world peace.

"The policies of military confrontation move against the currents of history. Therefore, while fully understanding the dangers we must

reject the conclusion some draw that a world war or a war between the U.S. and USSR is either imminent or inevitable. We must fight against attitudes of complacency as well as pessimism and panic.

THE DOMESTIC SCENE

"U.S. capitalism has produced yet another of its cyclical economic crises. In its basic essence the crisis is a logjam resulting from the contradiction between declining real wages and overall purchasing power in a period of increasing production. This economic logjam is an inevitable feature of capitalism. It is built into the system.

"When the spokesmen for monopoly capital can no longer deny the existence of a crisis, they point the accusing finger in every direction except the capitalist system itself. The finger points at workers, the government, OPEC, etc. Of course, state-monopoly does influence the depth and extent of the crisis, but it does not cause it.

"The epidemic of plant closings and runaway shops strips naked the capitalist system and exposes its anti-human nature.

"Workers who thought they had the security of economic cushions — pensions, insurance, etc. — are now waking up to economic deadends. Also, the plants being shut down are those with the greatest numbers of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers, although the plague of plant closures is every worker's lot.

"The shutdowns and runaways have also provided the corporations with a new anti-labor weapon — the constant threat of shut-down.

"The plant closures are having a dramatic effect on how workers see the role of corporations. The idea of taking over a plant is not seen as something way out. It is now considered a viable alternative by millions . . .

"Once the concept is accepted it logically leads to an important question: How to take over the plant? How to raise the cash? Who should run the plant?

"Invariably the experiences have moved in the direction of the necessity for the federal government to become the instrument of takeover. And this has raised questions about nationalization.

"Some trade union leaders have projected the idea of establishing a department of the federal government that would take any steps necessary, including takeover, to keep the plants open and producing. This is clearly a development we should be deeply involved in. It is an issue all workers and industrial cities are deeply concerned about.

THE ELECTIONS

"In the primary campaigning the only issues being seriously debated are — whether Carter should come out of his Rose Garden and what he really did when he was in it, whether there should be a national debate, the Chappaquiddick affair, whose appearance is more presidential and how the campaign committees get their money and the votes.

"The candidates are perfect representatives of a class in decay, a class whose primary interests are contrary to the needs and interests of the people and the nation, a class that cannot sustain its rule without war or preparation for war, a class of racism — a ruling class of a system riddled with corruption, conspiracies, payoffs and violence. Such a class can only produce a Reagan or a Carter.

"It is a commentary on the tricky nature and big business control of the two-party system that out of the diminishing electorate who did vote in the primaries a great majority say that they do not support either party and that neither of the candidates is any good.

CP ELECTION CAMPAIGN

"From everything we have said about the crisis-related problems and the electoral arena . . . the Party's election campaign takes on new historic urgency. It presents us with an unprecedented challenge and an explosive, history-making potential.

"In order to successfully complete the petition campaigns and go into high gear for the election campaign it is elementary — but most important — that we plan, mobilize and organize, that we convince and politically prepare the membership of our party.

"Political mobilization and organization means meetings — city-wide meetings, club meetings, special meetings, checkup meetings, how-to meetings. Mobilization of the membership means political agitation and explanations. It means convincing our membership to give up their free time, to make sacrifices of all kinds — literally to work day and night. That is the number one responsibility of our party.

"If we have not already done so we must now set up election campaign committees on every level. Each district, each club must now have an election campaign plan, which includes the variety of ways to reach people with our program. The cities must now have all the details for holding mass rallies. The fact that we can now reach millions with our message is an exciting, motivating factor.

"Reaching millions with our program and ideas is really what our party is all about . . .

"We have no desire to influence which of the Dodo birds will be elected, but through our communist campaign we can influence the course of events after the election.

"The iron logic of everything we have said so far forces us to the conclusion that we must take a hard, sober look at the question of the absolute necessity of building the Party.

"If we do not draw this conclusion we are not very logical or dialectical because in one situation after another the crying need is for a high level of solutions. And it is obvious, at least to me, that only our party can give the leads to such solutions.

"What is so new and important is the fact that increasingly workers, trade union leaders, leaders of Afro-American movements, of Chicano and Puerto Rican movements, leaders of women, youth and senior movements, expect — in a sense demand — such leadership from our party . . .

"If this party of ours is going to fulfil its historic role for this period we must now put political muscle, planning and great effort into recruiting.

"We have a great party. But it is not big enough. We have a great organization. But it is not itself organized in a way to meet the great potential, the great challenge that is present in today's developments. The historic objective developments dictate that we can — and must — do better.

Abridged from *Daily World*
June 12, 1980

AN ASSET OF SOCIALISM

Maxime Gremetz

*Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary
of the FCP Central Committee*

The campaigns launched by the mass media — if they still merit that name — against the socialist countries are no novelty. To avoid talking of what is happening in their own backyard, the capitalist countries systematically divert attention to “events in the East.” Their commentaries, or “analyses,” have never been noted for their objectivity. But latterly, that is ever since the world’s peoples took to the road of progress, gross lies and slander have become the favorite weapon of both the reactionary forces and the Socialist Party. One can find any number of articles devoted to the so-called “crisis” of the “communist countries” in *Figaro*, *Matin*, *Le Monde*, *Unité* and other weeklies. Using the question on which the socialist countries are focusing attention — higher productivity and efficiency, better use of raw materials, etc. — as a pretext, the authors of these “analyses” are out to portray socialism to the French public in a way that can be summed up in the phrase: “Theirs is also a total failure.”

Let us re-establish the facts by citing a few examples:

Take the right to work. More than 1,500,000 men and women are learning the hard truth about unemployment in France today. This is non-existent in the socialist countries. Since facts are irrefutable, recourse is had to allegations: in the Soviet Union there are “hidden” unemployed who are paid to do nothing. Dismissals “are expected” soon in Hungary.

To assure full employment in countries which guarantee equal pay for equal work, where women are encouraged to work, is not a simple matter. However, this is an asset of existing socialism. No lie can obscure this reality, and I know many jobless French men and women who would be only too happy to deal with the question of labor productivity and efficiency, whereas theirs is a question of whether they will have anything to eat tomorrow.

In order to develop further, the economy of the socialist countries today needs to raise the quality of work on the basis of existing achievements. This is something no owner could “impose”: the ways and means of improving the quality of work will be discussed by the workers who have a direct stake in the results of their labor. And this is to be accomplished without lowering the living standard of anyone

(contrary to what we are witnessing in our country). Undoubtedly it is this example, a dangerous one for capitalism, that is inspiring the mass media's slander campaigns.

Or the question of living standards. Here also instead of facts, recourse is usually had to falsification. Someone invented the formulation: "an austerity policy in the East in 1980," which was immediately taken up by the entire press. And since this assertion is accompanied by more "moderate" arguments, it has to be admitted that it is merely a slowing down of the growth rate. So they simply "forget" to differentiate between the national product and living standards. Not in a single socialist country has there been a lowering of living standards in 1979 nor will there be in 1980.

But in France, according to official data, real wages went down in 1979 by 1.4 per cent, and salaries by 0.8 per cent. Of those receiving the inter-trade union guaranteed minimum wage, by 1.3 per cent. Admittedly, there has been a "price rise" in many socialist countries. But one would expect the "observer" to have the decency to give some explanations.

The first, which is only mentioned in passing if at all, is that many of these prices had remained unchanged for almost a decade. This certainly cannot be said about the "orange card" for transport, which in France will go up by 21.4 per cent from July 1, and, since its introduction, has taken place at least once a year.

The second explanation, which the mass media carefully avoid, is that wherever prices have gone up they have been accompanied by a pay rise, particularly in the lowest brackets, and an increase in social expenditures to compensate for the price rise. In reality, living standards are continually growing in the socialist countries. Inflation is unknown, for private capital does not exist and the economy is realistically planned. In Cuba — a developing country — nobody goes hungry. Can this be said of a worker in France who earns the guaranteed minimum wage, which today (after the deduction of social insurance payments) amounts to 2,072.60 francs?

In France, everything is being done to dismantle the social security system, while "in the East," as they put it, medical service is free of charge for everybody. In France, it is planned to once again raise rents both in moderate-rent and in other apartment buildings, as well as service charges and taxes. In the USSR and the GDR a worker spends no more than 3 to 5 per cent of his wages for rent. In France, the "price tags are continually waltzing" in the shops. And who will

mention the fact, for instance, that in the USSR the price is stamped directly on shoes because prices remain unchanged?

In relation to democracy also a few facts ought to be cited. In France, the security forces are dispatched to destroy the free radio stations in the North and in Picardie, or a young high school student is held in prison together with common criminals, a student whose only crime was that he left his music lesson and walked along the Paris street where a couple of hours earlier provocateurs had committed outrages while the police calmly looked on. But the working class in the socialist countries takes part at all levels of discussion and solution of questions dealing with education, upbringing, sports, the life of their home town, priority economic tasks, foreign policy. Sometimes there are sharp debates, occasionally manifestations of red tape, discrepancies, which however, far from always come from above, for it is not a simple matter for everyone to be a "revolutionary" always and in everything. We Marxists do not deny the existence of contradictions, we see them as the motive force of history, which in the socialist countries is developing in the right direction, in the direction of mankind's emancipation.

As far as the sphere of culture and the intelligentsia are concerned, in France less than 1 per cent of the state budget is allocated for cultural purposes. But in the USSR, the GDR and other socialist nations an increasing number of French authors' works are being published. In these countries people often go to the opera and drama theaters, and tickets are incredibly cheap, while in France the overwhelming majority of workers never go to a theater. In France, not more than 10 per cent of workers' children get into higher educational institutions. Speaking about the USSR, an American professor had to admit that 10-year education was accessible to everyone there, and noted the outstanding results in the sphere of mathematics — the consequence of "concrete measures to assure mass education that is unequalled anywhere."

The socialist countries are today producing a wide variety of high quality films, which makes nonsense of the allegation that culture is being stifled in the USSR. Then take the attention given to the development of national culture and language in each region of the colossal multinational Soviet Union. For instance, the Soviet Armenians could cite not a few facts in their favor compared with their "brothers" in the capitalist countries.

And yet another subject of attack — international relations. We are "told" about Soviet imperialism; true, in this sense the weekly *Unité*

is an exception — after all, there is the “left” image to consider; it puts it in the form of a question: “USSR: sub-imperialism? . . .” But you can’t get away from facts. Who is imposing restrictions on trade? The United States, the capitalist countries. Why doesn’t the “well-informed” press write more about the fact that in 1949 a Coordinating Committee was set up which meets in Paris and includes the USA, the West European NATO countries and Japan, and that this committee drew up a list of more than 400 kinds of goods which its member-states have agreed not to export to the communist countries? And after this they unabashedly refer to a “trade deficit between the East and West,” the blame for which, naturally, is put on the socialist countries. Is it not the USA and its allies who are constantly repeating words such as boycott, restrictions, repressive measures? Who but the USA has the temerity to use food as an instrument against the Vietnamese people, whom it failed to conquer with bombs, napalm and defoliants. It is not the Soviet Union that has a military base in Cuba, but the United States. It maintains a base at Guantanamo against the will of the Cuban people.

It is the USA that has stationed half a million effectives beyond its borders. If, despite the present tense situation, peaceful coexistence and détente nevertheless predominate in international relations, neither the United States nor the other capitalist countries, which in this sphere have always lagged behind, can claim the credit. We owe this to the constant policy of peace and disarmament pursued by the socialist nations. As for the developing countries, the object of Carter’s “compassion,” it is the crisis of capitalism that is obstructing their development, and is the source of their difficulties and increasing poverty. The policy of the socialist countries is totally different.

The socialist countries maintain a new type of relations with the developing countries, relations that are based on mutual benefit, economic equality, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the sovereignty of the peoples. These relations are aimed at facilitating development and not at pillaging natural wealth. The USSR is buying Cuban sugar at a price far above the world price, and it is selling Cuba oil at a price far below that set by the big oil companies. What has this in common with imperialism?

No, neither gross lies, virulent articles or statements — which are all of a hue, whether coming from the reactionary right or the Socialist Party — can conceal the real state of affairs: despite the great diversity, there is taking place in all the socialist countries a real change in the opportunities of individuals and whole peoples to take their place

in national life, to translate into life their aspirations, to intervene in everything that concerns their own affairs. This, too, is an asset of socialism.

L'Humanité
June 26, 1980

ADVOCATES OF GREAT HAN CHAUVINISM

In pursuing their hegemonistic aims, the Maoists attach major importance to the expansion of their territory through the seizure of foreign lands, particularly that of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and other neighboring states.

The Peking military expansionist ambitions are mirrored in an article by Chu Shushen "Some Questions in the Assessment of Genghis Khan," which appeared in the newspaper *Kuangming jihpao* in 1979 and in another article entitled "Aggressive policy of Tsarist Russia Toward China During the Period of the Hsinhai Revolution" by Wu Chiandui, printed in the newspaper *Wenhui pao* in 1980. The former argues that the tribes which inhabited the present territory of the Mongolian People's Republic had belonged to China prior to the formation of a single Mongolian state in the early 13th century and that the conquests of Genghis Khan and his descendants united China and the neighboring peoples in a single Chinese state. Genghis Khan and his successors, the newspaper claims, played a progressive role in Chinese history and consequently should be considered as folk heroes. These statements have a familiar ring: the ideologues of Great Han chauvinism have always advocated such ideas.

Developing these myths, Mao Zedong and his followers also reiterated that historically the Mongols and other peoples are related to China, that the Genghisites were progressives who united the peoples to form a greater China and that the lands they conquered have a relevance to China, and so on and so forth.

These myths serve a double purpose: by fanning nationalistic sentiments around the cult of Genghis and the mythical conception of "kinship" between the Chinese, Mongolian and other peoples to subdue the Mongolian inhabitants of the PRC who are discontented with the Maoist regime on the one hand, and on the other, to substan-

tiate their annexationist claims on the MPR and other countries seized by the Genghisites back in the 13th century.

As borne out by events, the Maoists believed that the best way of suppressing the struggle of the Mongolian inhabitants of China against great Han chauvinism was lauding the role of Genghis Khan and advocating kinship of the Mongols and the Chinese. In 1956 the PRC government built a temple dedicated to the cult of Genghis Khan and officially marked his 800th birth anniversary in 1962. According to Chinese press reports, a solemn meeting "honoring the memory of Genghis Khan, an outstanding military and political figure who played a progressive role in the development of society," was held early this year in Inner Mongolia.

Such measures, as well as the Chinese authors' statements not only run counter to a class approach to historical reality, but also grossly distort it.

The Marxist historians of Mongolia, like those of other countries, take a class approach to any form of conquest, particularly to the conquests of Genghis Khan and his successors. While positively assessing the role played by Genghis Khan in uniting the Mongolian tribes in a single state, our historians condemn his wars of conquest.

The inconsistency of the Maoists' policy and ideology, which is the result of their manipulations and which as often as not totally contradict their previous assertions, will hardly come as a surprise to anyone today. The Maoists who not so long ago proclaimed their fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are now lauding "hero-emperors and conquerors who sprang from the yellow race." This myth of the Peking ideologues is refuted by the facts of history.

Sometime before the third century BC, that is, before the formation of the Chin empire, the first united Chinese empire, the territory of China proper was much smaller than what is now the People's Republic of China. At the time, large non-Chinese nomad tribes of Central Asia — Hunns, Zhuans, Turks, Sianbis, Tobas, Kidanis, Mongols and others — lived beyond its borders, existing quite independently of the "celestial empire." Relations between Chin China and these tribes varied from peaceful to sharply hostile, and were even darkened by occasional large-scale wars which often ended in the victory of the nomad tribes and the establishment of their domination over China. It is no chance occurrence that the Great Wall of China was built in the Chin period, more than 2000 years ago, as a safeguard against attacks by the big neighboring nomad tribes, which created their own history.

According to the author's logic, all lands to the north of the Great Wall may be regarded as the territory of Mongolia, or the Uighurs, or the Manchu.

But no historian, let alone a leader of the MPR, any more than the Marxist historians of other countries take such an unscientific approach to a problem of ancient history referring to a period millenniums before our time.

World history and the history of the peoples of Asia, Europe, America and Africa cite instances of a people being subjugated by foreign conquerors or conversely, themselves coming under the yoke of their former vassals. Though such examples are fairly numerous, only the "original" conclusions of the above-mentioned Chinese authors maintain that some countries' annexationist claims to the territory of others have a historical basis.

The history of China itself and of the peoples of Central Asia show that the Han empire, having subjugated the southern Hunns, greatly expanded its borders by seizing the lands of the non-Chinese peoples inhabiting the Ordos region in what is now known as Inner Mongolia. At the same time instances could be cited to show that the Han dynasty was compelled officially to recognize the sovereign state of the Hunns.

Approximately toward the end of the seventh century, that is, during the period of the Tang dynasty, China's northern border only came near to the southern part of Mongolian Gobi, and at the end of 316 the whole of northern China came under the rule of nomad tribes, the forebears of the Mongols.

At the beginning of the 11th century large Mongolian tribes began to form state associations, including the state of Hamag Mongol Ulus along the Onon and Kerulen rivers. A united Mongolian state was formed in the Onon River area in 1206, when Temujin was acclaimed as Genghis Khan. Early in the 13th century the Chinese state of Hsi Hsia acknowledged its vassalage to Genghis Khan.

The Mongolian conquerors subjugated the whole of China in 1272, establishing the Yuan dynasty, which ruled the country for almost a century, until it was overthrown by the Chinese people as a hated alien yoke. Subsequently, the Manchu conquerors dominated China for 267 years and Mongolia for 220 years.

These examples bear out which Central Asian state established its domination over other countries, and when, according to Chu Shushen's line of reasoning it could be said that China had belonged to states bordering on it.

In the ancient times we are dealing with here, no state borders in the strict sense of the word existed either in China or in other countries. The need for them arose in connection with the bourgeoisie's wish to safeguard its domestic market. Stressing the class content of the establishment of borders in the epoch of capitalism, Lenin noted that the chief question which the imperialist bourgeoisie would never permit anyone to touch is the question of the borders of a state that is based on the subjugation of nations. Hence, illegal territorial claims are an expression of a drive for class oppression.

In an article printed in the May 1980 issue of *Wenhi pao*, Wu Chiandui writes that in 1911 tsarist Russia used its troops and diplomats to sever Outer Mongolia from China.

The historical roots and socio-economic causes which led to the restoration of Mongolia's state sovereignty in 1911 are to be found in the onerous consequences of centuries of oppression and merciless exploitation of the Mongolian people by the Manchu feudal beys and Chinese usurers, rather than in the aggression of tsarist Russia.

For more than two centuries the Mongolian people were subjected to political oppression. Moreover, the onerous tributes exacted by the feudal beys and the machinations of the Chinese usurers led to widespread destitution. Numerous examples can be cited which bear out the Mongolian people's heroic struggle, including armed resistance and uprisings against the two-century long despotic yoke of the Manchu and Chinese feudal chiefs, brutal exploitation by the Chinese usurers, and for their national liberation and social emancipation.

The Mongolian people's national liberation movement during 1905, 1910 and 1911 led to the overthrow of the Manchu domination in Outer Mongolia. On the occasion marking the restoration of the Mongolian state, representatives from all aimaks of Outer Mongolia addressed an appeal to the population: "We, Mongols, have constituted a separate nation since ancient times. Now, in accordance with age-old tradition, we should establish an independent national state."

China and Mongolia liberated themselves simultaneously from the centuries'-long yoke of the Manchu feudal lords thanks to the impact of the world revolutionary movement, the Hsinhai revolution in China and the powerful national liberation struggle of the Mongolian people.

Continuing their national liberation and revolutionary movement in 1911-1920 against the foreign oppressors and domestic feudal chiefs and under the impact of the Great October Revolution, the Mongol-

ian people carried out a people's revolution in 1921, which marked the beginning of the country's sovereignty and socialist development.

In 1981 our people will mark the glorious 60th anniversary of the People's Revolution with momentous successes in all spheres of the life of their sovereign socialist homeland. The MPR is a member of the United Nations, a member of the great united family of the socialist community countries. It is constantly growing stronger on the firm basis of socialist internationalism, and has won international prestige as a state that consistently follows a policy of peace and good-neighborliness.

As an independent and peaceful state, the Mongolian People's Republic was officially recognized by the Kuomintang government of China in 1946 and by the PRC in 1949.

Our country's eternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the homeland of Lenin — the Soviet Union — and the other fraternal socialist states is an assurance of the free development, sovereign existence and bright communist future of the MPR.

Prof. B. Shirendyb

Abridged from *Unen*, June 6, 1980

A DIRTY AND DANGEROUS CONSPIRACY

The recent visit of China's Vice-Premier Geng Biao to the United States and the agreement made in the course of it signify that the Washington-Peking tie-up has now entered a new stage of military coordination of aggressive plans directed particularly against the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements. Both Washington and Peking, in the course of the visit, pointedly emphasized two aspects of their growing tie-up: firstly its anti-Soviet direction and secondly its spreading to the military field.

Geng Biao had extensive discussions with Carter, his defense secretary and his secretary of state. During these discussions, he openly gave vent to vicious pathological anti-Sovietism and called for a joint U.S.-Chinese anti-Soviet alliance and a worldwide anti-Soviet front based on such an alliance.

The USA attaches so much importance to this visit that top Penta-

gon officials have said that "a new military relationship is indeed developing" between the two countries. The U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown, has himself stated that "the United States looks forward to the continued step by step strengthening of ties between our two defense establishments."

USA-CHINA TIE-UP

As a result of the visit, the USA has taken the decision to permit the sale of supportive military equipment and technology to China on a massive scale. Geng Biao has also publicly stated that the sale of U.S. weaponry systems to China would be possible in the future.

U.S. firms would be permitted to set up defense plants in China that will turn out advanced equipment that are beyond present Chinese capacity.

U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown has also emphasized that the USA and China "see the geostrategic situation in very similar terms in a number of parts of the world, in fact in most parts of the world."

Richard Holbrook, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, has subsequently declared that the United States has formally abandoned its "even-handed" policy toward China and the Soviet Union and that U.S. policy toward China now stands on an entirely new footing.

The foundations of Sino-U.S. military cooperation were laid during Harold Brown's visit to Peking in January this year. For the first time during the 30 year long existence of the People's Republic of China, the chief of the U.S. Defense Department spoke, during that visit, of the possibility of a military alliance between the USA and China. That alliance has now been formalized with pomp and ceremony.

Pentagon officials have declared that in future Washington and Peking might go over from "mutually supplementary actions" to "coordinated military operations" particularly in Asia, which will, according to Harold Brown, "constitute a new stage in the development of relations between the armed forces of the two countries."

It is not hard to see the serious threat that the "coordinated military operations" of the Pentagon and Peking constitute for peace and security in Asia and in our subcontinent itself. During the recent discussion in Parliament, MPs from different parties drew pointed attention to this.

Coinciding with Geng Biao's trip to the USA came the visit to Tokyo of China's Premier Hua Guo-feng. Hua used the Tokyo visit for the filthiest attacks against the Soviet Union and called openly for a Washington-Tokyo-Peking military front against the Soviet Union. He exhorted the Japanese militarists to double their military budget and emphasized Sino-Japanese "unanimity" on world issues like Iran, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea. He invited the Japanese monopolies into China and expressed China's readiness to grant complete freedom of action to foreign private capital.

Fortified by Peking's all-out support, the Carter administration has ignored every realistic peace initiative put forward by the Soviet Union and by the Warsaw pact powers and is stepping up the arms race and aggressive military operations in all parts of the world.

MILITARIZATION OF INDIAN OCEAN

During the first week of June, U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown held confidential talks with British Premier Margaret Thatcher regarding finalizing the use of Diego Garcia as a place d'arms of the U.S. "rapid deployment corps." He also urged Britain to step up its military presence in the Indian Ocean. The FRG has already started doing this.

The question of possible deployment of nuclear warheads at Diego Garcia was also discussed during the meeting between Harold Brown and Margaret Thatcher, according to press reports. Silos for nuclear warheads for Polaris and Poseidon missiles have already been built at Diego Garcia. Atomic submarines with missiles that have a range of 2,500-4,500 kilometers and are based at Diego Garcia are trained on the Middle East, East and South Africa, and south of the Asian continent. Huge strategic B-52 bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons and making flights over different areas of the Indian Ocean, can also be based at Diego Garcia.

The situation has become so alarming that Mauritius has asked Great Britain to return Diego Garcia to her.

In the declaration recently made by the Warsaw Treaty member-states, the Soviet Union and other socialist states have once again assured states of the Indian Ocean region that they are ready to cooperate with them in turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

At the recent meeting of the United Nations Committee on the Indian Ocean, Peking supported the USA in rejecting the proposal for a UN meeting on demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

WAR HYSTERIA

Whipped up by the Pentagon's war hysteria, the U.S. House of Representatives has just voted for a record war budget — 12 million dollars more than last year, while 17 billion dollars have been cut on national social programs benefitting the common people. The Senate Armed Forces Committee has come out in favor of a massive addition to America's missile stockpile that would surpass the limits set by the SALT II agreement.

Hurling the threat of military force against the Soviet Union in the Gulf area, Carter has ordered joint "military maneuvers" of the USA and the Egyptian air force in the Gulf region next month — an open threat to Iran, Afghanistan and all other independent states of the region.

The Washington-Peking military tie-up has led to deeper and more active involvement of the Zia military dictatorship of Pakistan as the forward base of the Sino-U.S. regional strategy directed against India, Afghanistan and against the peace and security of this subcontinent.

The spreading of the turmoil in the northeastern region of India has directed sharp attention to the destabilizing activities of the USA and China against the national integrity and sovereignty of our country.

The latest issue of Far Eastern Economic Review (May 30-June 5), a journal that is openly pro-China and anti-Soviet, has this to say:

"New Delhi is puzzled by recent Peking Radio reporting of the agitation in Assam and other regions of the troubled North-East. The tone of the broadcasts implied support for secession and separatist movements and criticism of the Indian government's measures to quell the agitation."

Here is the real essence of China's policy toward India in deeds — as opposed to sweet smiles and nice words showered plentifully all round.

After the Islamic conference held recently in Islamabad, the Zia military regime of Pakistan, under the tutelage of USA, China and some reactionary Arab regimes, has come out even more openly than before, as the tool of armed intervention into Afghanistan from outside. Its duplicity deserves the sharpest condemnation.

The U.S. *Newsweek* has printed a chart pointing to places of concentration, on Pakistani territory, of gangs of Afghan rebels and ways of their penetration into Afghanistan. The testimony of Pakistanis themselves has been cited that Karachi is the main transshipping point for secret supplies to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Arms

were also taken by helicopters in special containers from U.S. combat ships anchored at sea. Several transport planes land at the Mauripur base every night.

Gilgit, Skardu and the Kogan Valley in the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir have been turned into a Sino-Pak base for launching secret raids into Afghanistan. Chinese arms and ammunition are regularly pouring in through the Karakoram Highway.

Highly-placed officials in Washington now openly admit that the USA supplies the Afghan rebels with arms.

Acting under the umbrella of Washington and Peking, Pakistan's military dictator Zia has rejected the peace initiatives put forward by the Babrak Karmal regime and refused even to enter into direct talks with it.

The Indian government which in the beginning had taken a sober and realistic stand on the Afghan issue could have played an important role in helping to defuse the Afghan crisis and bring about a political settlement, if it had lent its firm support to the reasonable proposals put forward by the Kabul government on May 14.

KEY QUESTIONS

The questions of Kampuchea and of Afghanistan have indeed become key questions of international relations at present. The forces of imperialism and Maoism have ganged up all over the world and are concentrating upon reversing the trend of social transformation inside Kampuchea and inside Afghanistan.

They are doing this precisely because they regarded these as turning points in their international struggle to reverse the trend of advance of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism that has swept the world during the 70s. They must not be allowed to draw India into the web of their dirty and dangerous conspiracy.

How serious this danger has become at present can be gauged from the statement made by External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao in parliament on June 17. The minister's statement is a clear indication of the backsliding in the Indian government's position on the issue of Afghanistan.

The Kabul government's May 14 proposals for a political settlement combined with Leonid Brezhnev's declaration that a dateline for the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan could be decided on as part of such a political settlement offered a clearcut solution for the "Afghanistan crisis."

U.S. imperialism, its allies and its tool, the Zia regime in Pakistan,

rejected all these proposals out of hand, scuttled all attempts for a political settlement and intensified their armed support to the Afghan counter-revolutionary forces. It is this which is responsible for the continued presence of Soviet troops.

The minister's statement evades the essence of the matter and tries to put it upside down, thereby giving an alibi to the real criminals. Such a stand is a clear slideback from the government's declared earlier position and will not help defuse the danger of our borders.

N.K. Krishnan

Abridged from New Age

June 22, 1980

MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS OF EL SALVADOR

Below is the text of the Manifesto issued by the United Revolutionary Leadership of the Military-Political Organizations of El Salvador.

The Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces (PLF), the Communist Party of El Salvador (CPS), the National Resistance Armed Forces (NR), the Revolutionary Party of El Salvador-Revolutionary People's Army (RPS-RPA) address their call to the Salvadoran people, to the peoples of Central America and of the whole world. We wish to inform them that with the formation of a united leadership on May 22 we have raised the unity of our revolutionary organizations to a new, higher level. This leadership will elaborate and translate into reality a single military-political line and will lead our heroic people's revolutionary war to its victorious conclusion, it will lead this revolutionary war to the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government and implementation of the deep-going political, economic and social changes envisaged in its program that is already known both in the country and abroad.

The historic December 1979 agreement between the PLF, CPS and the NR, which served as the basis for the military-political coordination center, created favorable conditions for the unification of all democratic and revolutionary forces of our people. The Coordinating

Committee of the revolutionary mass organizations and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, which express the interests and unite the overwhelming majority of the Salvadoran people, appeared in response to the people's aspirations.

This is a powerful stream with a colossal potential for renewal. It is being joined by the broadest political, ideological and social trends which base their relations on mutual respect and genuine democracy, and are becoming ever more closely united in the decisive and tireless struggle for the common, supreme goal, the definitive liberation of the Salvadoran people from the man-hating criminal regime. Today this regime is oppressing the people, condemning them to social injustice and ignorance, strangling their independence as a nation, flouting their dignity, even their right to life.

The powerful upsurge of the struggle and stronger unity engendered by the December 1979 agreement made it possible and necessary to take this new step from simple coordination to the formation of a united leadership. It will undoubtedly strengthen the militant spirit of the masses and their resolve to fight to a victorious end, raising them to a new, decisive level.

From now on there will exist a single leadership, a single military plan, a single command and single political line, both in the domestic and foreign policy sphere.

Imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm and an unshakable belief in the revolutionary spirit and heroism of our people, their resolve to launch a great, final battle for their emancipation, we are convinced that the creation of a united leadership will hasten and facilitate the victory of the revolution. We maintain that the incredible suffering, which the Salvadoran people are bearing with such fortitude and heroism, will not be in vain. Victory is at hand!

The military tyranny, which is armed, trained, supported and directed by U.S. imperialism, and the rampant home reaction have launched brutal actions against the rural population. The intensified police and military operations are taking a toll of some 50 lives a day. The tyranny is destroying the homes of hundreds of peasants, gunning down patriots on the city streets. It has made a deal with the armies of Honduras and Guatemala in order to suppress the embattled Salvadoran people by joint efforts, a deal that is designed to pave the way for an invasion of our country and once again plunge our people into decades of humiliation and oppression.

The most reactionary sectors of the Honduran army have, accordingly, begun to exterminate the Salvadoran peasants in the border

regions. The fraternal Salvadoran and Honduran peoples are paying a heavy toll in human lives to learn that the armies of their countries are servile instruments of U.S. imperialism and the oligarchy and that the 1969 war had nothing in common with the interests of the two peoples but served the interests of these masters.

There is much in history to show that the Central American peoples must help each other, that they must pool their efforts in combating their common enemies, and bear aloft the banner of revolutionary emancipation from the oligarchies — tools of imperialism — until victory is won.

The genocidal operations organized by the military over the past weeks were firmly resisted by our organizations. In various parts of the country our battle-steelled militia, guerrillas and regular troops have dealt blows at the enemy and will continue doing so with increasing strength.

Taking advantage of the state of siege and its control over the mass media, the military-Demochristian junta is maintaining silence about the setbacks suffered by the criminal security forces and the so-called counter-insurgency units trained by the Americans. Its aim is to create the impression that the mass extermination of our people carried out by the criminal gangs constitutes a defeat for the revolutionary forces, and so demoralize our people and confuse world opinion. But it is becoming ever more difficult to hide the truth. We shall foil their military offensive, expose the spurious propaganda and launch a general offensive that will end in our triumph.

The U.S. imperialists and their stooges in the High Command are increasingly drawing the army into the genocidal campaign. But we know that there are sober-minded and progressive patriots among the military who condemn the genocide, disapprove of U.S. interference and are prepared to assist the Salvadoran people in their liberation struggle.

To them we say: we are not seeking revenge, we are capable of distinguishing between what is good and what is bad and leave the door open for you to join the rest of the democratic forces. We consider you democrats. Our approach to you is the same as toward all the democratic forces, and this approach we are demonstrating in practice. We favor unity of these forces, mutual understanding among them and their alliance with the revolutionary forces for the sake of achieving the common goal of liberating our people on the basis of respect for diverse ideologies and beliefs.

We are firmly convinced that the patriotic, progressive democratic

military — whether in active service, retired or in reserve, and irrespective of rank — reject the ideological aims of the counter-revolutionary propaganda they are daily being subjected to. We are convinced of their ability to isolate the reactionary commanders and all the others who are responsible for the massacre of the population.

Like Oscar Arnulfo Romero, our unforgettable Archbishop, history calls on them to disobey the criminal orders, to oppose them, and together with the people, assume a proper place in the broad, irresistible process of unity and revolution.

The Salvadoran people are proud of the new church, which supports their cause in the tradition of the martyred priests and our Archbishop. We are convinced that this church and all Christians who are true to the fundamental principles of their religion will continue to fight perseveringly, together with the people, till the end.

The criminal, demagogic political formula of assassination and reform imposed by U.S. imperialism and applied with extreme brutality by the military-Demochristian junta has suffered a resounding defeat. It has failed to deceive the people, break their will or to confuse world opinion. The Christian Democratic Party has been reduced to a limited group of reactionary leaders. Like the primary organizations, the sound, progressive circles in its leadership have rejected Duarte's treacherous and criminal policy and joined the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Far from constituting a political support for the regime, the so-called Christian Democratic Party is even incapable of filling all the posts in the Cabinet of Ministers, or of the alcaldes and councilors in most municipalities. The disarray of the remaining leadership group is continuing.

The Cabinet of Ministers is comprised of representatives of the reactionary associations of the private sector. In each case it is the National Guard which indicates who should be appointed as alcalde or judge. The notorious National Democratic Organization (ORDEN) is increasingly becoming enmeshed in the administrative and political apparatus of the state.

It has been announced officially that the reforms are at an end. The land taken over by the government for the purpose of implementing the so-called agrarian reform is being returned to the former owners in various parts of the country. By announcing future elections, an attempt is made to gloss over and formalize the annulment of the reforms and the alignment with the most reactionary associations of the private owners which have long supported the extermination of

the population. Incredible though this may seem, that is the situation in our country, with its long history of odious election farces.

The release of the pro-fascist putschists led by Major D'Aubuisson has strengthened the hegemony of the most reactionary circles and assassins in the armed forces who are supported by the United States. These circles' interests are expressed by Colonels Abdul Gutierrez, Jose Guillermo Garcia and Nicolas Carranza, all CIA agents of long standing.

The continuing stay of Duarte and other Christian Democrats in the government is clear evidence of their intention to preserve the cover that is essential to assure support by some governments for the U.S. imperialists' plan to impede the Salvadoran people's liberation.

While we were discussing the formation of a united leadership, Brzezinski and certain Pentagon generals held a secret meeting in Washington with representatives of the Christian Democratic leaders of Latin America and other officials, at which the participants expressed their intention to facilitate a military intervention against our country.

Prior to this, we had defined our attitude to a possible U.S. military intervention, whether single-handed or together with other countries. We had resolved to put up resistance, to fight as long as was necessary to expel the aggressor and to eliminate his stooges in the country. No intervention can stop the Salvadoran revolution.

The peoples of Central America and their revolutionary organizations are fully aware that a foreign military intervention in El Salvador would seriously threaten their vital interests. There is no doubt that they will join us in the struggle.

We are convinced that the Venezuelan people will not be misled by the most reactionary Christian Democratic circles of their country who have sold out to the Pentagon. We are convinced that they will refuse to support an aggression against our people. We are equally convinced that all Latin American peoples and governments, who want independence, freedom and peace on our continent and in the whole world, will condemn this imperialist crime.

U.S. imperialism will not be able to trample our country with impunity. Never before in our America had it run the risk of its aggression being vigorously rebuffed by our peoples and of its turning into a humiliating defeat, like in Vietnam.

We appeal to the peoples of the world to condemn the genocide perpetrated by the reactionary armed forces, which have been trained by the most reactionary circles of the U.S. government and the

aggressive Israeli government. We appeal to all organizations, all public personalities, all democratic and progressive forces and governments of the world for active solidarity with our people's struggle. We address a special call to the governments of the Latin American and Caribbean countries which only recently opposed the evil designs of the U.S. government, urging them to once again foil the aggressive plans of that empire and thereby to uphold the dignity of our peoples — the legacy of Latin American independence fighters.

The Salvadoran people and their revolutionary and democratic organizations admire the exemplary firmness and sovereign dignity of Cuba, seeing it as the vanguard of the Latin American peoples in the struggle for social justice, freedom, progress and genuine national independence. The Salvadoran people are in solidarity with and express their deep admiration for the Nicaraguan people for their exemplary revolutionary feat, for the liberated, genuinely democratic and independent Nicaragua, which is vigorously following the road of development, prosperity and social justice.

The Salvadoran people express deep fraternal solidarity with the prolonged and difficult struggle of the Guatemalan people, a struggle which is now irresistibly on the upsurge. The Salvadoran people's fraternal feelings toward the Honduran people are growing ever deeper and they will never again permit themselves to be drawn into an aggression against them, which would play into the hands of our common oppressors and enemies.

The Salvadoran people admire the Costa Rican people's aspiration to democracy and solidarity, and the Panamanian people's striving for independence in the struggle to restore their sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The Salvadoran people support the Belize people's inalienable right to self-determination. The Salvadoran people enthusiastically hail the revolutionary victory and rapid successes of the people of Grenada, the struggle of all other fraternal peoples of our continent, the liberation struggle of the Asian peoples, Arab peoples and particularly the people of Palestine, who are fighting against the barbarity of the Zionists. The Salvadoran people are in solidarity with the African peoples, particularly the peoples of South Africa and Western Sahara, headed by the POLISARIO Front.

Their struggle and their victories — in Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran and Zimbabwe — inspire and teach us, help our people to understand that all our peoples have common enemies — above all the U.S. imperialists. Their struggle and their victories help our people to understand that

all combatant peoples help each other, that mankind, all peoples, both great and small, are rising and advancing irresistibly to one and the same goal — freedom and justice.

The indomitable militant spirit of our fighting people, their firm resolve to win freedom, the blood shed by their martyrs and heroes who are daily giving their lives rather than surrender, their profound aspirations, and their hope for the unity of their vanguard — that is the crucial force which helps us to surmount our differences and to achieve ever more solid and deep-going unity. Only thus will we become worthy sons of our insurgent people.

We are convinced that the formation of a united leadership will be met by the people with unanimous approval and great enthusiasm. The united leadership will speedily mobilize the colossal energies of the Salvadoran people, all the moral, political, organizational and military potentialities of our four revolutionary organizations.

We have no doubt that the Salvadoran people will ever more energetically take part in this process of expanding uprisings and revolutionary battles. We have no doubt that our people will take part in the great decisive battles and in the victories that are already in the offing.

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May 1980

Granma, June 29, 1980

IN BRIEF

ANGOLA

The current stage of the organizational establishment of the MPLA — Party of Labor has been concluded in the People's Republic of Angola. It was conducted in accordance with the resolutions of its First Congress. At present 1,340 primary party organizations have been set up, which unite some 17,000 candidate and full members of the MPLA — Party of Labor. The party's youth organization has a membership of 5,000.

The party will hold a special congress this December.

ARGENTINA

Member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee Atos Fava has been appointed General Secretary of the CPA, the press department of the Communist Party of Argentina reports.

Fava, born on November 30, 1925, succeeded Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, who died on June 12.

Since joining the CPA, the new General Secretary has held various posts in the Party. First as secretary of a primary organization, then of a party organization in La Paternal, a densely populated district of the capital; later he was appointed to the leadership of a trade union of that district; then he was a member of the secretariat of the CP organization in Buenos Aires.

BRITAIN

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party held a meeting in London in mid-July to discuss the struggle against the catastrophic economic policy of the Conservative government. The meeting stressed, the *Morning Star* reports, that attention should focus on invigorating the actions of the trade unions in defense of the working people's rights.

It was noted that women and members of the national minorities from the Asian and African countries are the hardest hit by unemployment.

GUYANA

The People's Progressive Party issued a statement on June 28 in relation to the imperialists' attempts to destabilize the political situa-

tion in Grenada and Jamaica. The statement notes in particular, that the PPP is following with deep concern recent developments in the Caribbean, which the USA considers its own "lake."

First, in Guyana, Dr. Walter Rodney, a militant leader of the Union of Working People, was killed.

Second, an attempt has been made on the lives of Prime Minister M. Bishop of Grenada and other leaders of the People's Revolutionary Government.

Third, an attempted coup that was designed to overthrow the Manley government has been exposed in Jamaica.

All these events have occurred in the past two weeks. They show that imperialism is trying to make a deal with the local reactionaries to strangle the growing liberation struggle.

In the 1960s and early 1970s U.S. imperialism succeeded in destabilizing the revolutionary democratic governments of Guyana, Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Chile. Now it is infuriated by the events in Grenada, Nicaragua and other Caribbean countries. Using its notorious, tested methods, it is intent on eroding the positions of the governments of Grenada and Jamaica. The People's Progressive Party emphatically condemns these attempts.

ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in plenary session on July 12. It adopted a decision to hold the next, 19th Party Congress on February 11-14, 1981.

The CC proposed the following agenda for the congress: report of the CPI Central Committee, report of the Central Control Commission, amendments to the Party Rules, elections of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The political resolution adopted by the plenary meeting accuses the Begin government of expanding and intensifying the process of fascistization of public life in Israel. It emphatically condemns the anti-democratic and anti-labor laws adopted recently by the Knesset on the government's initiative, and notes the fascist character of the amendment to the law on "struggle against terrorism" proposed on July 13, 1980 by the government.

The CC expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Arab inhabitants of Israel against the expropriation of their lands, oppression and for equality in all spheres, and demanded that the authorities put a stop to the repressions and attacks against the freedom of speech and political struggle. The CC also demanded the immediate release of all

military personnel who refused to serve in the occupied territories.

The Central Committee warns against the production of nuclear weapons in Israel.

The CPI Central Committee stresses the need for a policy that would contribute to a settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied in 1967, recognition of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to set up their own independent state. The CC resolution notes the important concrete proposals made recently by the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty states aimed at eliminating the military flashpoint in the Middle East and establishing an overall, just and stable peace.

REUNION

Strengthening the anti-imperialist solidarity of all forces of peace, progress and freedom, and the struggle to improve the condition of the masses of working people of Reunion — such are the fundamental objectives of the Reunion communists. This is stated in the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Reunion Communist Party, held in mid-July in Le Port.

The delegates (about 1,000) approved the Central Committee report made by RCP General Secretary Paul Verges. The report and the congress resolutions note the crisis of Reunion's economy, its being turned into a raw materials appendage of the metropolis. In these conditions the RCP believes that the decolonization of the country and the social emancipation of the working people can only be achieved by granting the island "people's democratic autonomy, in accordance with the Reunion people's right to self-determination."

Solidarity with the socialist-community states, the democratic and working-class movement of the capitalist countries in the struggle for peace, national liberation and social progress was a central subject of the congress participants' speeches.

The congress condemned the attempts of the USA to establish domination in the Indian Ocean and control over the straits and maritime regions. This is the aim pursued by the USA, the resolution notes, in setting up a colossal military base on Diego Garcia. The elimination of imperialist military bases while preserving the freedom of shipping in the Indian Ocean should be the first step in turning it into a zone of peace, the main content of the solidarity of the progressive forces of our region, the foreign policy resolution of the congress emphasizes. Seeing its task in strengthening this solidarity,

the RCP believes that it should also be aimed at foiling imperialism's attempts to destabilize progressive governments.

Imperialism's military preparations, it is further noted, its attempts at economic shackling of the peoples, stepped up anti-communist propaganda, subversive maneuvers against progressive governments attest to the West's intention to take the offensive in the face of the growing worldwide strength of socialism, the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries and the forces of national liberation. Regrettably, the congress resolution goes on to say, the Chinese leaders have lined up with imperialism against the national liberation movements and revolutionary forces, notably in Kampuchea, Laos and Afghanistan.

The threat of a world war stemming from imperialism's attempts to maintain its domination over a sizable part of our planet, the document states, can only be removed by continuing the policy of détente. Only by promoting détente can the peaceful development of mankind and its release from the burden of the arms race be ensured. In the struggle to safeguard peace and to promote détente and disarmament, the resolution notes, an important role is played by the socialist countries.

Congress urged strengthening the ranks of the world communist movement for the triumph of socialism and the freedom of the peoples.

Paul Verges was unanimously re-elected General Secretary of the RCP. A new Central Committee of the RCP was also elected.

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IMMEDIATE AIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

From the Draft Program of the CPL

The ultimate aim of the Communist Party is the establishment of the power of the working class and the building of a socialist society. Since, however, the present phase of the Lesotho revolution is a democratic and not a socialist one, the party has set itself the main task of replacing the state of neo-colonialism with a state of revolutionary democracy of workers and peasants. *The state of revolutionary democracy* being fought for at this stage of the revolution is already not an ordinary form of bourgeois democracy and not as yet socialist democracy. It is a transitional form of state power with a wide social and political base of national democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the people, including the workers, peasants, patriotically-minded sections of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. In this connection, the party advances the following immediate aims for the establishment of a state of national democracy in Lesotho:

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

(a) In order to restore constitutional rule and political stability in the country, the party proposes the policy of general democratization of the political life of the country, that is, the reinstatement of *democratic liberties* including the freedom of speech, thought, religion, movement, organization, publication and the rights to work and elect a government of the country. These rights and freedoms should have the protection of the democratic state, and fear and limitations to use them must be eliminated.

(b) The party proposes the formation of a *government of national unity*, composed of freely elected representatives of all anti-imperialist and patriotic parties and organizations ready and willing to work for the consolidation of national independence, the normalization of the internal political situation and the defense of state sovereignty against South Africa's racist intervention.

(c) The government should draft a *democratic constitution* which shall be presented for approval by the people at a national referendum. Such a democratic constitution should not only entrench democratic liberties but must also guarantee its inviolability as the basic law of the country.

(d) The government of National unity shall hold *free and democra-*

tic elections to a National Assembly with the participation of all adult citizens without discrimination on the grounds of political and ideological affiliation, sex, religion, property ownership or other qualifications whatsoever.

(e) The *democratic government* formed by the democratically elected National Assembly shall hold office in accordance with the constitution and to the extent that it shall enjoy the mandate and confidence of the National Assembly to which it shall be responsible and accountable in the administration of the affairs of the country.

(f) *Democratic rule* will be safeguarded by a popular state apparatus of armed forces, the judiciary and all other institutions and bodies created for service to the people, defense of the constitution, national independence, territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Lesotho.

AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY

(a) In order to overcome socio-economic underdevelopment, reduce economic dependence on South Africa and ultimately build an independent national economy in Lesotho, the party proposes the establishment of *national sovereignty* over all the natural resources of the country, the nationalization of foreign capital assets or the control of the activities of the multinational corporations where it is not immediately possible to nationalize their interests.

(b) The democratic government will carry out a *land reform* vesting ownership of land in the nation and transferring the powers of allocation of land to freely elected peasant committees. The democratic state will develop agricultural productivity through the creation of production cooperatives with state assistance.

(c) There will be built and developed a *state sector* under democratic management and control in all the key branches of the national economy, mining industry, finance and credit system, foreign trade, construction, transport, communications and energy supply.

(d) The state will encourage the establishment of *mixed companies* with the participation of the interests of national capital under democratic management and control. All property illegally acquired through the abuse of public office will be nationalized and transferred to the public sector of the national economy. Private property of national capital which does not conflict with national interests will be protected by law.

(e) The mechanism of *economic planning* will be extensively used to speed up economic development, especially through industrializa-

tion and the development of agricultural cooperatives. The system of *labor migration* will be abolished and internal job opportunities will be speedily created in the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy.

(f) The people's state will strive for the reduction and ultimate elimination of the lop-sided dependence on the world capitalist economy in general and the South African economy in particular and for the *diversification of external economic relations of Lesotho*, economic cooperation with independent African states in southern Africa, and participate actively in the struggle for the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic basis.

SOCIAL WELL-BEING

The democratic government will ensure fair produce prices for the peasants, living wages for the workers, free and universal education for youth and students, equitable terms of service for intellectuals, teachers and civil servants, paid maternity leave and child care for working mothers, work for the unemployed.

In short, the social well-being of all sections of the population shall be improved, the widening gap between wealth and want shall be bridged, equitable distribution of income shall be introduced and the social service shall be accessible to the broad masses of the people.

(a) There shall be introduced a *minimum wage* for all sectors and the pension scheme will be extended to include all categories of workers. Disabled and old-age benefits shall be introduced. Price control will be instituted and the standards of living of the people raised.

(b) The democratic state will introduce *free and compulsory education* for all youth of school-going age. The quality of education and the qualifications of teachers shall be improved. More equitable terms of service for the teaching staff will be introduced.

(c) *Health services* will be extended and made more accessible to the ordinary people, the training of medical personnel will be improved, drugs will be better distributed and measures will be introduced to control the commercialization of medical services with the ultimate aim of providing free medical services for all.

(d) The regressive and punitive taxation system shall be abolished and a *progressive tax system* introduced with the ultimate aim of removing the tax burden from the shoulders of the population. The state shall assume responsibility for the provision of decent housing to the people.

INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

(a) The democratic state will pursue an independent foreign policy of *non-alignment* to military blocs, peaceful coexistence and the establishment of diplomatic relations with all states regardless of their socio-political system on the basis of equality, independence, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, mutual aid and benefit.

(b) Democratic Lesotho will support the *liberation movements* of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all vestiges of racism, apartheid and bantustanization.

(c) The people's government will work for the defense of *world peace*, for détente, disarmament, prevention of world war, for the solution of all international disputes through negotiations and not the use of force.

(d) The democratic state of Lesotho will demand the return of *Basotho* territory illegally occupied by the racist Republic of South Africa. It will further insist that the apartheid Republic of South Africa respect the independence of Lesotho and renounce interference in its internal affairs as well as any aggressive intentions and hegemonistic designs in the relationship among states in southern Africa.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

1. The foundation of the Communist Party of Lesotho on May 5, 1962, as an independent political organization of Lesotho's workers and peasants was the result of the objective process of socio-economic development inside the country and marked the merger in an organizational form of the liberation and working-class movement of the country with the theory of scientific socialism by the beginning of the 1960s.

2. The Communist Party of Lesotho has since its foundation consistently marched in the vanguard of the struggle of the Basotho people against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national liberation, democracy and social progress. Even under the difficult conditions of persecution and illegality, the CPL has held high the banner of national unity, national democracy and constitutional rule and firmly opposed all forms of national betrayal, whatever pretext was used to cover it. It was not accidental that in 1970, despite the heavy blow of a banning order, the CPL was the only political organization in the country to oppose the joint agreement of the four bourgeois political parties, the Basotho National Party, the Basutoland Con-

gress Party, the Marematlou Party and the United Democratic Party, purporting to legalize the "invalidation" of the election results behind the backs of the Basotho people.

The experience of Lesotho and other developing countries shows that after the achievement of political independence, and as the national democratic revolution deepens and assumes an anti-capitalist orientation, the bourgeoisie and its political parties tend to compromise with imperialism and betray national interests; hence the growing need for a Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, strong enough to lead the people's revolution against neo-colonialism to final victory.

3. The building of a strong communist party with branches throughout the country and with strong links with the masses, is the main organizational task of Lesotho communists at the present time. Such a vanguard party must be built on the tested Leninist principles of a party of a new type. Membership of such a revolutionary party should be drawn primarily from among the ranks of *workers* and *peasants* to ensure the parity of the class basis of the proletarian party.

Members of the party will be required to master the basic and general principles of scientific *socialism*, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and learn to apply them creatively to the specific national conditions of Lesotho. In the ideological sphere, the Communist Party of Lesotho sets itself the task of struggle on two fronts, against both "right" and "left" opportunism, against revisionist and dogmatic deviations from creative Marxism-Leninism, against Trotskyism, Maoism and all other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends alien and hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

The main organizational principle of the communist party, *democratic centralism*, shall be strictly adhered to in inner-party life. The principles of election to all party organs, accountability of members for the fulfillment of assignments, inner-party democracy and the impermissibility of its suppression, criticism and self-criticism, strict subordination of minority views to those of the majority, as well as obligatory fulfillment by lower party organs of decisions of higher party organs shall be scrupulously adhered to and implemented. Strict discipline and exemplary conduct will be demanded of all members; ideological and organizational unity of the party will be defended against all forms of factionalism, and collective leadership will be cultivated at all levels of party organization.

Internationalism remains the fundamental principle of the com-

munists' outlook and is not and cannot be incompatible with revolutionary patriotism, that is love for and readiness to defend one's country and the fundamental interests of its working people.

4. Members of the Communist Party will always be educated in the spirit of international solidarity of the three main revolutionary forces of our times — the socialist community of states, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement. Close ties and relations of friendship and solidarity have always been maintained and will continue to be maintained by the Communist Party of Lesotho with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties and democratic organizations throughout the world. The Communist Party of Lesotho will continue as before to fight for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

5. The Communist Party of Lesotho will continue to work for the cooperation and alliance with other political parties and democratic organizations in Lesotho within the framework of a National Democratic Front and on the basis of a general anti-imperialist and democratic common platform which may include, for example: the restoration and defense of political democracy and constitutional rule, the building of an independent national economy, the improvement of the social well-being of the Basotho people, the pursuance of an independent foreign policy and the defense of the national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lesotho regardless of subsisting ideological differences.

Of course, even within such an alliance and common program of the democratic revolution, the Communist Party will retain its ideological and organizational independence as the political representative of the working class. The party will also work for the establishment and strengthening of mass and democratic organizations, the trade unions, peasant associations, youth, students', women's, professional, peace and solidarity organizations.

The program of the Communist Party of Lesotho is the noblest document of the working class, a genuine national manifesto for the building of an independent, democratic, peaceful, prosperous and non-aligned Lesotho, taking an independent road of development toward socialism!

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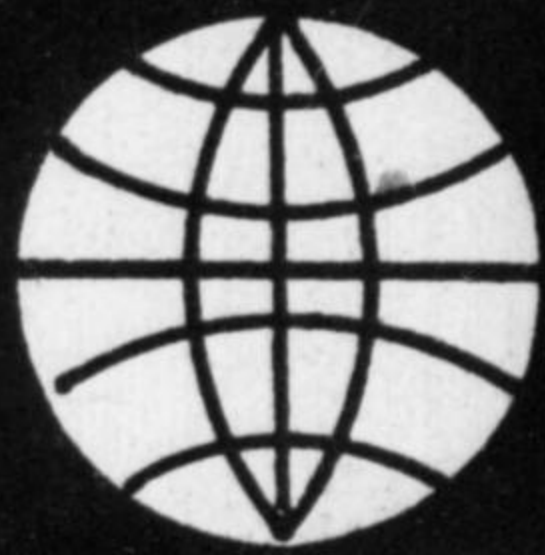
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