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We are Ready for Negotiations

Leonid Brezhnev

On May 22, a meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia was held in Tbilisi. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting. Below is the foreign-policy section of his speech.

The foreign-policy ideas of the 26th congress of the CPSU are doing their job, paving the way for a serious political dialogue, for negotiations on the basic problems of war and peace. Without these major and bold initiatives put forward by our congress, the whole political landscape of our day would be flat and featureless, like the Caucasus without the Caucasus Range. It is now three months since the congress, and none of the topics put up by us for discussion has become less meaningful. On the contrary, their urgency has increased.

Take, for instance, the Near and Middle East, which is indeed near to Georgia and to our whole country. It is the scene of a brutal and dangerous tragedy. How can one close one's eyes to the lack of rights and the sufferings of millions of Palestinians? How can one remain indifferent to the fate of Lebanon, which is bleeding under the blows of the Israeli militarists? One rash move could plunge the whole of the Middle East into the conflagration of war. And no one can tell how far the sparks of this conflagration will fly.

The Soviet Union has come up with a proposal which offers a good opportunity for collective efforts to stabilize the situation in the Middle East: it has called for an international conference on this question. Our proposal to this effect has met with a broad and favorable response in the Arab countries and many other states.

We are in favor of vigorous talks to improve international relations. This fully applies to the situation in the Persian Gulf and around Afghanistan, which has worsened because Washington tries to put gross pressure on Iran and has organized an intervention against the Afghan revolution. The tensions were further exacerbated by the unprecedented concentration of U.S. armed forces throughout the whole region.

How can the situation be defused? We see several opportunities: to negotiate separately on ensuring peace and security in the Persian Gulf region and also separately on a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, or to discuss the international aspects of these two questions by tying them in with each other. Of course, the sovereignty of all states in that zone must be ensured, and there must be no question of any interference in their internal affairs. So, the Soviet Union is ready for negotiations, and in different variants. The trouble is, however, that the NATO circles, which are so vociferous about

"Soviet expansion" and a "Soviet threat," have still made no response to our proposals.

With respect to Afghanistan, our position is quite clear. We advocate its full independence and respect its status of a nonaligned country. The USSR, like Afghanistan itself, stands for a political settlement which will put an end to the undeclared war against Afghanistan and would give it reliable guarantees of noninterference.

An agreement on a political settlement would make it possible to establish, by accord with the Afghan side, the deadlines and procedure for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Non-resumption of the intervention against Afghanistan must be reliably guaranteed. The troops could be withdrawn as the agreements attained are put into effect. The main obstacle here is the Pakistani leaders' stubborn refusal to agree with Afghanistan and stop interfering in its affairs.

Comrades,

We have just celebrated Victory Day, and in a month's time it will be 40 years since the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. These two dates — May 9 and June 22 — make one think again and again about what is happening in Europe, which has seen the outbreak of two world wars. In the 1970s, Europe was beginning to taste the fruits of détente. But now the situation has taken a turn for the worse, primarily owing to NATO's decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. This plan of NATO's, recently reaffirmed by the NATO Council's Rome session, is to help the Pentagon satisfy its insatiable appetite. It does not serve European security interests in any way. The question of limiting or even reducing nuclear-missile weapons in Europe on the basis of a balance of forces and observance of the principle of equality can and must be solved through negotiations. We are ready for these. It is now up to Washington.

At the same time, I must say with a full sense of responsibility: we cannot leave without consequences the deployment on European soil of new U.S. nuclear missiles targeted on the USSR and our allies. In such an event, we will be obliged to think about extra defense measures. If necessary, we shall find impressive means to safeguard our vital interests. In that case, the NATO planners should not complain.

But, I repeat, this is not our choice. A peace based on mutual intimidation has no appeal for us. We

prefer a peace under which arms levels are increasingly lowered, while the scale of cooperation in all fields grows and its quality improves.

The Soviet Union stands for agreements that could blunt the edge of the military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. These aims are served, in particular, by the proposal for a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. The question of such a conference is now being considered at the Madrid meeting of representatives of 35 states. The Soviet Union's declaration of its readiness to extend the confidence-building measures to the whole European part of our country was a major step aimed to clear away the obstacles obstructing the convocation of such a conference. Naturally, this presupposes a corresponding step by the Western states. But for some reason they pretend to forget all about this. If the Western states are as yet not prepared to specify their reciprocal steps

in extending the zone of confidence-building measures, they could give an answer not in Madrid, but at the conference itself.

A movement against the deployment of new U.S. missiles and for getting down as soon as possible to talks with the Soviet Union is now spreading in the West European countries. Many statesmen there are aware of the need to preserve détente. More and more people are coming to realize that the policy of refusing to negotiate and reliance on military strength is a policy of renouncing common sense.

The great Rustaveli said more than eight centuries ago: "Do not boast of your strength, people! Drop this silly game! . . . For a tiny spark is enough to burn down an oak-grove!" Today, on the threshold of the third millenium of our era, people in all countries and on all continents would do well to heed and follow this sage call!

Pravda, May 23, 1981

Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Finland

The 19th congress of the Communist Party of Finland was held on May 22-24, 1981. It was attended by more than 520 delegates and guests, including representatives from 25 fraternal parties. It debated the CC report and some other documents.

The congress was opened by Taisto Sinisalo, the party's Vice-Chairman, who noted in a reference to the international situation that the Peace Program of the 26th congress of the CPSU was a compass showing the way to lasting peace, détente and disarmament. Détente did not develop of itself. A key factor here was the growth of the strength and might of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The peoples wanted to preserve what had been achieved in the 1970s, but this required an unremitting struggle for peace. It was important to persist in exposing those behind the present deterioration of the international situation, namely, imperialism and political reaction.

With rhetoric about a "policy of neutrality" the right-wing forces in Finland were making a larger effort than ever to change the nation's foreign policy of peace based on the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. The big capitalists were seeking to bring Finland ever closer to the EEC and other Western associations and supra-national organizations. This was making the consolidation and further invigoration of the foreign policy line toward peace the most vital task today.

International practice and Finland's own experience were leaving no doubt whatever that the party had to reinforce the ideological basis of its work. A light-hearted attitude in these questions could easily lead to fatal consequences. Any departure from socialist ideology would inevitably help to bolster the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

The task before the congress, Sinisalo said, was to determine the basic guidelines of the party's policy for the next three years. These guidelines were given in the draft of the political document, which underscored the demand for a new policy aimed at protecting the interests of workers, of all the nation's working people in the struggle against big capital.

Touching on the question of the CPF's participation in the government, Sinisalo declared that, regardless of whether they participated in the government, for the communists the most important thing was that the party should implement a principled policy benefiting the masses, a policy that the masses would understand, and that it should pursue its own line steadfastly championing the interests of the working people.

To achieve a new upswing, Sinisalo said, the party had to intensify the ideological struggle, make its policy more effective, and strengthen unity in its own ranks. There were new premises today for reinforcing the party's unity and militancy. Sinisalo said that from the standpoint of achieving closer unity, one of the most important problems was possibly that of the party press.

The CPF, he said, was an internationalist party, a contingent of the international communist movement. The significance of internationalism and international solidarity was today greater than ever, Sinisalo declared, saying in conclusion that the Finnish communists would carry forward their work with an awareness of their international responsibility.

ty, and that they would go on strengthening solidarity with all revolutionary forces.

The CC report was delivered by the party Chairman Aarne Saarinen. He stressed that the Peace Program adopted by the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a program unreservedly supported by the Communist Party of Finland, had set the directions of the common struggle of the peace forces. This program was evidence that the Soviet Union was pursuing a consistent policy of peace, which was the exact opposite of the policy of the USA. When the right-wing forces spoke of "superpowers" in order to equate these two different policies, they sought to deprive humankind of historical optimism. The world had hope and a future, precisely because socialism and peace were indivisible.

Détente, Saarinen said, was today the only realistic road. It was vital to move in accordance with the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to work for the implementation of these principles. The way to this was through measures to build confidence, end the arms race, effect gradual, phased disarmament and, lastly, dissolve military blocs and achieve general and complete disarmament. At last year's Paris meeting, the communist and workers' parties of Europe adopted an appeal to the working people and all democratic forces of the European continent to cooperate for the attainment of these lofty aims. The Communist Party of Finland was now making an effort to develop such cooperation on the national level and also in the working-class movement of the northern countries and the capitalist nations of the whole of Europe.

In Finland, large bodies of opinion were urging peaceful coexistence, détente, and disarmament. Underlying Finland's policy of peace was the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, whose significance had not faded. Today this treaty has the recognition even of those forces that had at one time been opposed to it. The many agreements on cooperation in the most diverse fields signed by the USSR and Finland were creating extensive opportunities that were still not being used in full measure. The CPF stood for a further expansion of cooperation between the two countries on the sound basis of the 1948 treaty, whose immediate prolongation was regarded by the party as a matter of course.

The CPF felt that Finland and the Finnish people should redouble the efforts to achieve détente and disarmament, to broaden the peace movement. In this context cooperation between the working-class movement of Finland and other northern countries for the implementation of Finnish President Urho Kekkonen's proposal for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe would be of especially great importance. There were new possibilities for such cooperation today in view of the fact that this proposal was getting growing support in the trade union movement of the northern countries and in the working-class movement as a whole.

Speaking of the inseverable link between social-

ism and democracy, Saarinen noted that this was strikingly illustrated by the broad and comprehensive development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The congresses of the ruling parties of these countries, held this year, had set an eloquent example of impressive economic, social and cultural development, an example and experience of socialist construction that were a source of strength and inspiration for the communists of Finland in their struggle for socialism.

The Finnish communists were conscious of their responsibility to the working people and the country as a whole, and this responsibility was making it incumbent upon them to strengthen their party ideologically, politically and organizationally in order to make it a stronger Marxist-Leninist party of the working class than ever before. This was also making it incumbent upon them to achieve a turn in the party's activity and begin a new phase of unity in party life.

Noting that the profits of the monopolies and the incomes of the propertied sections of society were growing at a time when the living standard of the working people was falling, Saarinen emphasized that this was leading to a further aggravation of social inequities in the country. The bourgeoisie was pursuing a policy of maintaining a constant conflict between the interests of the working class and those of other segments of the population. The communists, Saarinen said, were championing the legitimate demands of the working people for an improvement of their living standard.

By championing the interests of the working people the party was enhancing and consolidating its prestige among them. In the final analysis, a community of interests of the working class and all other working people could be achieved, as the classics of Marxism had said, only in political struggle, in the struggle for change.

In conclusion, Saarinen said that the centenary of the birth of the outstanding Finnish internationalist Otto Kuusinen should be marked, and called for a further strengthening of the national and internationalist traditions of the Communist Party of Finland. The CPF, he said, was an inalienable component of the international communist movement — the most progressive and influential force of our times. Precisely this was the source of the optimism of the CPF, of all communists.

The congress was addressed by G.V. Romanov, member of the CC Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU, who led the CPSU delegation.

He conveyed to the delegates of the 19th congress of the CPF, to all communists and working people warm fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the CPSU and best wishes from Finland's firm friend and outstanding champion of communism and peace in the world Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The communists of the Soviet Union and Finland, Romanov said, have long-standing ties of friendship

and solidarity. In the course of decades the revolutionary struggle of the Finnish working people had closely coalesced with the struggle of the proletariat of Russia. There were Finnish class brothers among those who accomplished the October Revolution and fought to safeguard its gains. Many pages of the history of the relations between our parties were linked with the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, whose comradely advice and meetings with Finnish revolutionaries contributed greatly to the formation of the Communist Party of Finland as a militant vanguard of the working people.

Today, as always, a hallmark of the CPF is its high sense of responsibility for its country's destiny, and genuine patriotism. The Soviet communists are well aware of the CPF's present difficult, selfless, and noble work in defense of the working people's vital interests, for peace, democracy and socialism. The Finnish communists are making a large effort to reinforce their party's unity, holding that this is the paramount condition for the fulfillment of the tasks confronting them.

With the urgent needs of Finland's economic and political development as its point of departure, the CPF has in recent years elaborated a number of program documents envisaging important democratic reforms in the interests of large sections of the working class, peasants and working intelligentsia, and the nation's advance along the road of peace and progress. The Soviet communists have always been in solidarity with the communists of Finland.

The 26th congress of the CPSU ended some three months ago, Romanov said. Its assessments, conclusions and resolutions are strongly influencing the course of communist construction, the development of world socialism, and the international situation. The Finnish communists know of the impressive tasks that were set in the CC report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev. It had outlined a wide-ranging and realistic program for the USSR's steady advance to new achievements, a steady rise of the people's living standard, and the all-round harmonious burgeoning of the individual. This program rests on the solid foundation of the truly historic achievements won by the peoples of the Soviet Union under the party's leadership.

It is heartening for the Soviet people that along with them, the Marxist-Leninist course was today followed by the peoples of the large family of socialist countries. This was forcefully reaffirmed at the recent congresses of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

In contrast to the historical optimism of the socialist countries is the debilitating crisis now engulfing not only the economy, but also the politics, ideology and morals of bourgeois society. Even imperialism's apologists are now more and more frequently admitting that capitalism had indeed become a society without a future.

The aggravation of the internal and inter-imperialist contradictions in the capitalist countries is also influencing the foreign policy pursued by

imperialism. A serious growth of international tension is to be observed. Its inspirers are the most aggressive ruling circles of the West, of the USA in the first place.

That is why in the struggle of the peoples for peace, against the threat of war there is today no more important aim than to continue and deepen détente, which is the most valuable achievement of the 1970s, curb the arms race, and implement effective disarmament measures. This is no simple task, but it is the most urgent and the most humane. To carry it out means safeguarding humankind's very existence, everything it has created in the course of thousands of years.

The 26th congress of the CPSU proposed a series of constructive steps to remove military tension, deepen détente and reinforce international security. These had become known as the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980s. They were seen by broad public opinion as sincere and just, as opening the way out of the impasse of war hysteria.

Widening sections of the population of capitalist countries are joining in the struggle against the threat of war, against the nuclear-missile race. It is of the utmost importance that the will for peace should evolve into a mass movement, larger than ever before, of workers, peasants, office employees, scientists and cultural workers, of people of diverse persuasions and views.

It is gratifying for the Soviet communists that the assessments of the CPSU and the CPF in questions related to the international situation coincide. The Soviet communists know that the Communist Party of Finland is active in advocating peace, the strengthening of European security, and supporting President Kekkonen's proposals for proclaiming Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone, deepening détente and achieving disarmament.

Throughout the history of Soviet-Finnish relations, the CPF has consistently championed friendship and cooperation between our two countries. The CPSU values the high level of these relations, achieved on the basis of the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, all the provisions of which, as has been noted in many joint inter-governmental documents, continue to be topical to this day.

The course toward the further development of friendship with Finland is fundamental and consistent, and as the Finnish communists know, it was reiterated at the 26th congress of the CPSU. The Soviet Union neither had nor could have any other policy toward Finland other than that of all-sidedly strengthening friendship and cooperation.

The signing of a long-term program of development and deepening commercial, economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation and its prolongation for a longer period has created new favorable conditions and possibilities in this area.

Of course, one cannot close one's eyes to some negative phenomena. One of these is the persevering efforts of some Finnish circles to belittle the significance of the 1948 Treaty and undermine friendship between our countries and peoples to suit

Western reactionary forces. For that reason, as always, it is important to do everything to safeguard this friendship against all attacks and show constant concern for reinforcing mutual confidence.

The struggle for peace is linked closely to other fundamental tasks of the communists — the defense of the interests, of the democratic rights and freedoms of the working class and all other working people — to the struggle against the power of the monopolies, and the struggle for a socialist perspective. The Soviet communists are gratified to note that there is unanimity between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Finland on all basic questions of the development of the world communist movement, which is increasingly asserting itself as the most influential political factor of our times.

Fraternal relations are constantly developing between the CPSU and the CPF. These are based on fidelity to the common cause, militant solidarity, and the profound belief that it is necessary to reinforce the friendship between the two countries and peoples, and the unity of all the forces of peace, freedom and progress. The Soviet communists are confident that this cooperation would continue to develop all-sidedly and grow stronger.

The 19th congress of the CPF approved the political document submitted to it. This document contained an analysis of the present international situation and of the economic and political situation in Finland, which was being affected by the general crisis of capitalism's economy.

In this situation, more than ever before, the working people were faced with the urgent question of united action in defense of their rights and interests. The CPF's general line was toward setting up a democratic front in the struggle against monopoly and political reaction, for an extension of democracy, the strengthening of peace, and the creation of the prerequisites of socialism.

In that document the CPF put forward some concrete proposals for resolving social and economic problems. The party suggested unity with other democratic forces in order to chart and implement a policy aimed at giving shape to an economic policy in keeping with the interests of the people, extending democracy, and eroding the power of big capital.

Attainment of the aims of the immediate future and the important reforms for the 1980s would spell out a marked improvement in the life of the people and the country. This would mean defending and extending democracy. However, the interests of the country and its working population demanded a further advance, deep-going changes in society's life, in other words, a turn toward democracy.

Much of the document dealt with international issues. It noted that détente had opened up new prospects for promoting cooperation among the peoples of the world. However, today, détente was seriously threatened. The USA was mounting a deliberate and organized attack on détente. In collusion with China's leaders it had begun an adventurist

game, become more active in the Middle East and South Asia, railroaded a decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, was arrogantly interfering in the internal affairs of Latin American nations, and had increased its pressure on the national liberation movements. The CPF called for a resolute rebuff to the intrigues of the imperialists. In North Europe it supported, in particular, the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone advanced by the Finnish President Urho Kekkonen.

Noting that the communist movement was the reliable guarantor of peace, the CPF mentioned the steps that the communists of the world were taking to reduce the threat of war, continue the détente process, and achieve disarmament, which was the condition for humankind's progress. The CPF, the document declared, unconditionally supported the Peace Program put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU. It was reinforcing its efforts in the common front of the international communist movement.

Further, the congress adopted a document under the heading "Reinforcing the CPF's Organizational Work, Unity and Militancy." It noted that the CPF was a revolutionary party of the working class guided by the scientific socialism evolved by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The CPF's aim was to shore up the democratic front in the struggle against big capital and political reaction, for an extension of the people's democratic rights, the strengthening of peace, and the creation of the conditions for building socialism. The CPF was part of the international communist movement and its work was based on the principle of working-class internationalism.

The international and internal political situation was making it imperative to reinforce the Communist Party's unity and fighting capacity. It had to win growing confidence among the people at all levels of public life, and extend and deepen democracy; this was the key to a new upswing of the CPF.

The congress noted, the document said, that the attainment of unity in the party was a process in which there was a close intertwining of strict observance of organizational principles, the development of the various forms and methods of work, the consolidation of the party's political line, and the enhancement of its ideological level, of the level of its theoretical knowledge. The strengthening of the party's unity and fighting capacity was an important factor consolidating the position of the working class in the country and turning it into the leading force of the nation.

An address was adopted to the Finnish people under the heading "For Peace, Détente and Disarmament." Finland, the address said, was part of Europe over which a serious threat was hanging: Western Europe had become a U.S. advanced theater equipped with new nuclear weapons. In no other part of the world was there such a stockpile of the most diverse lethal weapons as in Europe. This was, in fact, imperilling Finland as well. The communists held that nothing save a reduction of armaments and

an easing of tension would meet the interests of their country and the other nations of Northern Europe.

In the address the Finnish communists hailed and wholeheartedly supported the peace initiatives of the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Further, the congress passed resolutions on the struggle to preserve peace and on the struggle

against unemployment, as well as other documents.

Pravda, May 25, 1981

A plenary meeting of the CPF Central Committee, held on May 25, elected Aarne Saarinen Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, Taisto Sinisalo and Maija-Liisa Halonen Vice-Chairmen, and Arvo Aalto General Secretary.

Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

**From the Report by Horst Schmitt,
Chairman of the SUPWB**

"Our sixth congress is to sum up the results of the past work and formulate the main tasks for the next stage in the activity of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin in the interests of the working class, peace and social progress. In this context, the congress is to hold a final discussion of the 'Principles and Goals of the SUPWB,' and also of the political platform, 'The SUPWB and the Imperatives of the 1980s', and to adopt the appropriate decisions."

In these documents, Horst Schmitt emphasized, the SUPWB has set out its political stand and world view as a Marxist-Leninist party, and also the main lines of its work at the next stage of the struggle. . . .

"Since the fifth congress of our party, the vices of the capitalist economic and social system in our city have become even more manifest. In spite of a temporary revival of the economic outlook, the army of unemployed has not been reduced, and now totals roughly 45,000 men and women. The Senate, its loudly proclaimed promises notwithstanding, has done nothing to put through social reforms. Moreover, the shortcomings in education, the health service and social security have been further exacerbated. The fact that more and more of our fellow-citizens cannot enjoy such an elementary human right as the right to housing at a reasonable rent stands out in sharp contrast with the government's lip-service to human rights. As for the attitude of the ruling circles to democracy, it is well demonstrated by the surveillance of beliefs, the disregard for the citizens' will, the discrimination against foreign workers, and especially the recent scandals connected with bribery and corruption."

These facts, Horst Schmitt pointed out, make up the social background to the deep political crisis that erupted in West Berlin in late 1980 and entailed the resignation of the Senate led by the social democrats and early elections to the Chamber of Deputies on May 10.

"The outcome of the elections clearly shows that although the CDU has not attained its major goal in the elections — an absolute majority — it has nevertheless managed to win considerably more votes than before. The responsibility for the CDU's gain

and the sizable losses suffered by the SDPG lies with the SDPG leadership, which has plunged our city into a quagmire of corruption, back-stage intrigues and nepotism. At the same time, its attempts to undermine the four-power agreement on West Berlin harmed détente and added grist to the mill of the CDU. The Free Democratic Party supported and connived at that line, also losing a sizable section of its electors as a result. With the entry of 'alternative list' candidates into the Chamber of Deputies, the extra-parliamentary movement will be represented in it for the first time.

"It is still too early to say how and whether it will be possible to form a Senate with an adequate parliamentary majority. It is already clear, however, that the formation of a CDU-led government will mean that we West Berliners will be out of the frying-pan into the fire. Such an outcome of the elections more than ever before calls for solidarity, for a militant alliance of the workers, of all the democratic and left forces which cherish their social and political interests, the cause of peace and progress in West Berlin. . . ."

Horst Schmitt said that the SUPWB's electoral results were not satisfactory, and pointed out that many forces close to the party apparently voted for the "alternative list" in the hope of quicker success. Moreover, the SUPWB's electoral struggle was obstructed by the anti-communist campaigns and the fact that the party was virtually barred from the mass media. "There is no doubt, however, that our participation in the elections was necessary and that our electoral struggle will eventually yield political results. Our work in the course of the electoral campaign helped us to acquaint public opinion with the SUPWB's policy, proposals and demands. Our activity politicized the electoral campaign. All of us — the party's board, the regional boards and the party groups — have gained much new experience. At the same time, the results of the elections have brought out our weaknesses, showing the line along which we have to concentrate our efforts: stabilizing our ties with the masses, and forming a stable contingent of electors among the workers and

employees, especially among the young. We must be much more attentive to the young and their problems, even if they happen to express their protest in new and unusual forms. We communists must be active wherever people are trying to defend their own interests, must find a common language with them, and must do our utmost to promote cooperation in the alliances, to strengthen these alliances, and take a more vigorous part in them.

"This paves the way for carrying out a new policy in West Berlin, and it is by following this way that our party can improve its electoral performance. . . .

"It is perfectly clear that the U.S.-led aggressive imperialist circles have considerably intensified, especially in the recent period, their offensive against international détente. Take NATO's pernicious decision on the manufacture of the new U.S. nuclear missiles and their deployment in Western Europe, the Reagan administration's threat to start producing the neutron bomb, or the vast arms programs being adopted by the leading NATO states. The aims of the capitalist magnates, who are waxing fat on the arms race, and their political spokesmen are quite obvious. Alarmed by the crisis of their system and irritated by the successes of social progress, they have taken the line of confrontation. In this, they also have the support of the Peking leaders with their hegemonistic aspirations. All these forces refuse to reconcile themselves with the existing military-strategic equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which is crucial to peace. They seek to tilt the balance in their favor, and go back to the ill-famed adventurist 'policy from positions of strength.'

"Considering the might of the socialist-community states, these attempts are totally futile, but nevertheless highly dangerous. In effect, this is playing with fire, an attack on all the successes scored in the 1970s owing to international détente for the benefit of the peoples, especially for the benefit of our city and its citizens. That is why the struggle against the imperialist line of confrontation, against the arms race, in defense of political détente and for supplementing it with effective measures toward arms limitation and disarmament is a paramount task of the 1980s.

"Life itself urges us, the communists of West Berlin, to launch new and broader initiatives in defense of peace and take even more vigorous action to consolidate, strengthen and expand the peace movement in our city, and further to develop our policy of alliances.

"We are perfectly well aware that the imperialist wolves will never turn into innocent lambs. Nevertheless, we are carrying on our struggle for peace with great confidence and justified optimism. Our optimism is primarily due to the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries present a powerful state and social force which strives toward peace, which needs peace, and which is doing everything, in word and in deed, to avert a new war.

"The imperialist strategists of confrontation, and also some political leaders in our own city who keep

taking a cue from Washington and have lost touch with the realities and vital interests of West Berlin, have been plugging the old lie about a 'threat from the East' in order to justify NATO's policy. But there is no threat proceeding from the East. More and more West Berliners are coming to realize that the real threat proceeds from the West, from the Pentagon, from NATO's power centers, while the call that rings out from the East, from Moscow and other socialist capitals, against the background of NATO saber-rattling is a firm, clear and confident call for peace.

"One indication of this is the broad program of action in defense of peace adopted by the 26th congress of the CPSU, which contains concrete and realistic proposals on arms limitation and disarmament, on the elaboration of confidence-building measures, and steps to limit and eliminate the hotbeds of conflicts throughout the world. From the rostrum of our congress, we express our heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Union, its Leninist party and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev for this new peace initiative. It encourages the peace forces in our city as well."

Horst Schmitt spoke highly of the GDR's role as a solid bastion of peace and socialism situated on the border between the two opposite systems on our continent.

"While the FRG and West Berlin have been staggering along from one crisis to another, the 10th congress of the SUPG summed up the results of the GDR's stable and consistent economic development. While the capitalist countries are faced with 'zero economic growth' and unemployment, the GDR has adopted a clear-cut and well-grounded program for further balanced economic growth over the next five years, a program of stability and full employment. While the advocates of capitalism in the West want to make the workers tighten their belts, the 10th congress of the SUPG has made it plain that . . . the GDR would continue to do everything for the people's well-being and happiness in accordance with the meaning of socialism. . . .

"The example set by existing socialism gives us strength and courage . . . Our enemies may rest assured that the SUPWB compass will never point to a so-called dissociation from existing socialism. It has always pointed to an alliance with those countries where the workers and peasants hold economic and political power."

West Berlin can hope for a better future only in the conditions of secure peace. That is why the most important task of all peace-loving, democratic and left forces in our city is to invigorate their joint and parallel efforts in support of the demand for deeper international détente. "Our city's peaceful population expects the Chamber of Deputies finally to raise its voice in protest against NATO's missile decision and against the U.S. threat to start producing the neutron bomb. There must be unconditional observance of the four-power agreement and its central provision that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG and is not subject to its administration, and all

the attempts to subordinate our city to NATO's policy must be brought to an end. . . .

"Our party and broad sections of West Berliners are waiting for the Senate to take a positive attitude to the GDR's proposals and initiatives. We urge a development and extension of the policy of agreements with the GDR, for it meets the interests of our citizens, promotes peace, and is of crucial importance for the viability of our city.

"Our party will continue its resolute struggle against the anti-communist campaigns directed against the GDR, and will do its utmost to develop and strengthen among the working people of our city the spirit of solidarity and friendship with the first German worker-peasant state."

In the economic and socio-political section of the report, the SUPWB Chairman reaffirmed the party's orientation toward a further struggle against the attempts to shift the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the working people, in defense of the social and democratic rights of the workers, and the whole population of West Berlin. The correctness of this orientation, he noted, has been borne out by the whole course of development since the 1974-1975 cyclical economic crisis. "That crisis . . . ushered in the phase of economic instability, when the whole economic and political strategy of the financial circles is increasingly directed against the working people's social gains, against their social and democratic rights. This is evidenced by the mass unemployment, the toughening positions of employers' unions in wage bargaining, the spiralling prices, the aggravation of the housing problem, the

policy of cuts in budget appropriations for education, health care and social purposes, and also by the overt and covert moves to limit and emasculate the democratic rights of the working people and all citizens. . . .

"In spite of the offensive by big capital and, not least important of all, owing to our party's activity, workers' solidarity at the time of the crisis has markedly increased. Large-scale action has been taken against the mass layoffs and the closure of enterprises . . . This shows the growing readiness for struggle among the workers and employees. . . .

"The headlong profit-seeking of the concerns and banks and the Senate's policy, which meets their interests, hit out hardest of all at the younger generation. Today, even according to official statistics, one in ten West Berliners under 20 years has no job, tens of thousands of young people have to wait for apprentice or job opportunities in industry, and outlays on education and occupational training are being ruthlessly curtailed, and this is one of the most vivid manifestations of the anti-humane nature of the capitalist system. It is only natural that many young people give way to despair in these unbearable conditions. But most of the young in West Berlin are looking for a reasonable place in life, for reasonable perspectives. That is why our party's duty is to devote even more attention to the young, to help them find a new way to improve and change the existing situation. . . .

"We are resolved to do our utmost to achieve mutual understanding among the peace-loving, democratic and left forces of our city, to set up a broad democratic alliance, whose participants would cooperate with each other in a spirit of equality and solidarity. This would lead to a steady improvement in the internal political balance of forces. Democratic action could then pave the way for a new policy and bring about a turn toward social and democratic progress in West Berlin. . . ."

At present, the adversaries are plying the party with "advice and recommendations" in a roundabout attempt to divert it from its clear-cut political line. "We say to these gentlemen: do not trouble yourselves in vain and give up all your hopes. In principle, we are always ready to hear out good advice. But we naturally want to know where it comes from. We learn from those who can teach us revolutionary struggle: from our fraternal parties in the socialist and capitalist countries taking a Marxist-Leninist stand, primarily from the most experienced contingent of the communist movement — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — and from the SUPG. . . .

"At our sixth congress, we are setting ourselves major tasks for the 1980s. We are doing this conscious of our responsibility with respect to the vital interests of the population of our city and its striving for peace. We are doing this with a view to the grave danger to security and détente posed at present by imperialist policy. We are doing this conscious of our responsibility before the international working-class movement."

Neues Deutschland, May 16/17, 1981

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Sixty Years of Struggle for the People's Happiness

Gustav Husak, General Secretary CPCz CC,
President of Czechoslovakia

At present, soon after the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the communists and all the other working people of our country are marking the 60th anniversary of the formation of their Marxist-Leninist party. These two notable events reflect the greatness of the revolutionary transformations in the life of our people over the past six decades. The 16th congress showed very well that the CPCz, successfully implementing the program for building a developed socialist society, fulfils with honor the historical mission which it took upon itself at its origination.

The way travelled by the party is a history of selfless service to the cause of the working class, and dedicated and heroic struggle for realizing the great socialist ideals, the age-old urge of the masses for freedom, social equality and justice, as embodied in the program of scientific communism.

The formation of the CPCz was an important milestone in the development of the Czechoslovak working-class movement, in the life of our peoples. With the passage of time, the greatness of the feat performed by the most advanced section of the working class which founded the party stands out ever more clearly.

Under the leadership of the CPCz the peoples of our country scored a historic victory. Having put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie, they took the way of socialist construction. The vital question of ensuring the freedom, independence and security of Czechoslovakia was settled for good. Our party's achievements rest on sound foundations: loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its close cohesion with the working class, with the working people, and the internationalist ties with the international communist and working-class movement. In its activity, the CPCz relied on the experience of other fraternal parties, notably the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are happy that our own experience has also enriched the international communist and working-class movement.

The emergence and development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the whole process of its formation as a Leninist-type party, and its conversion into the leader of the revolution and the leading force of the society are indissolubly bound up with the historical destinies of our peoples, and their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

The formation of the CPCz was a natural sequel to earlier development and reflected the best revolutionary traditions of the Czechoslovak working-class movement, of the whole people. In an atmosphere of acute class struggle for the choice of way by the Czechoslovak Republic, which was proclaimed in 1918, the most class-conscious section of the pro-

letariat in our country, too, was convinced, under the influence of the experience of the working class of other countries, that victory can be attained only along the revolutionary road indicated to the world by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The bitter lessons of the subsidence of the revolutionary wave after the First World War, in particular the defeat of the December 1920 general strike, developed into a resolve to bring about a complete, consistently ideological, political and organizational dissociation from social-democratic opportunism.

The formation of the party, which was initiated by the left within the social-democratic movement, culminated in May 1921 with the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, whose program was based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. From the outset, the CPCz was a major revolutionary organization connected with the broadest masses of the working class, an international party uniting the proletariat of all the nations and ethnic minorities inhabiting Czechoslovakia. An invaluable role in its formation was played by the activity of the Communist International, and above all Lenin's personal and direct assistance. Throughout the whole of its activity, the CPCz has tirelessly drawn for valuable knowledge on the rich experience of the CPSU, the first and most mature Marxist-Leninist party.

The establishment of the CPCz put an end to the period of domination by reformism in the Czechoslovak working-class movement. But its conversion into a genuine revolutionary vanguard was a protracted and intricate process. The communists learned to apply the Leninist principles in party construction, in the whole of their activity, to organize the struggle of the working class and all the other working people, and to direct it. In so doing, the party has repeatedly had to rebuff diverse manifestations of revisionism, right-wing opportunism and sectarianism.

The fifth congress of the CPCz in 1929 was an important milestone in the party's Bolshevization, for it adopted a consistent line of revolutionary struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie. The congress elected a new leadership headed by Klement Gottwald, who led the party for nearly 25 years into the crucial battles and made a great contribution to the triumph of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

In the sharp clashes with the bourgeoisie, against the exploitation of the working people and poverty, for a way out of the deep crisis which also spread to Czechoslovakia in the early 1930s, a way that would meet the interests of the proletariat, the party won ever broader support within the working class and

the rest of the working people. Its authority continued to grow in the years of struggle for uniting the broadest masses in a popular front, in defense of democracy, against the growing threat of fascism, and in defense of the Republic against the Hitlerite aggression.

The CPCz was the country's only political force to take a resolute stand against the Western powers' Munich betrayal and the capitulationist attitude of the big Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. From the earliest days of the fascist enslavement, the party organized and mobilized the people for resistance to the invaders and their servitors. In the period when the question was being decided of whether our peoples were to be or not to be, thousands of communists displayed a fiery patriotism and boundless courage in the fight against fascism.

In the course of the national liberation struggle, indissolubly bound up with the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union, our people became firmly convinced that solid friendship and alliance with the USSR were alone a guarantee that Munich and March 15, 1939 — the day the fascist hordes occupied Czechoslovakia — would never be repeated, and that the freedom and independence of the Czechoslovak state would be ensured forever.

The communists were the chief organizers of the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and the Czech people's May 1945 uprising, as a result of which the national liberation movement developed into a national-democratic revolution.

These events, which had an influence on the country's destiny, convinced the broadest masses that the CPCz, the political representative of the working class, is the only force capable of solving the vital national and social problems. Its policy of working for Czechoslovakia's revival on new, people's democratic principles was winning ever broader support, and the CPCz's positions as the leading force of the society were strengthened.

Thanks to the Soviet Army, with which Czechoslovak military units also fought shoulder to shoulder, and which triumphantly consummated the Great Patriotic War with the liberation of Czechoslovakia, our national freedom and state independence were restored. May 9, 1945, marked the start of a new life for our people, a new epoch in our history.

The establishment of a people's democratic power went hand in hand with important political, economic and social transformations. The creation of a National Front government with the participation of the communists and the adoption of the Kosice Governmental Program, which had been worked out mainly by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, led to profound social changes in favor of the working class, and to a gradual development of the national-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

In this struggle, the National Front of the working people of town and country was consolidated. The party's policy won over a majority of the people for the communists, and exposed the true schemes of that section of the bourgeoisie which still took part in

governing the country. But when in February 1948, reaction tried to stage a coup, its attempt to mount a counter-revolutionary putsch was nipped in the bud by unanimous mass action. Power in the state fully and finally passed into the hands of the people. Consequently, the February events predetermined our country's subsequent progressive development and its place in the class-divided world. The victory of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia was achieved in political struggle, without civil war. Victorious February demonstrated that the CPCz is a party that has matured the Leninist way. But it also reaffirmed the abiding importance of Lenin's ideas about transition to a socialist revolution, the connection between the struggle for democracy and for socialism, and the role of correct strategy and tactics in the struggle for power.

Victorious February paved our way to the building of socialism. The general line of transition from capitalism to socialism, adopted by the CPCz at its ninth congress in 1949, became its program. In elaborating its line, our party proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socialist construction, from its general uniformities, which were first tested in practice by the CPSU. The correctness of these propositions was also borne out by the construction of socialism in our country, a country relatively developed in industrial terms. At the same time, in defining its policy, the CPCz took account of Czechoslovakia's historical specific features and traditions, the level of development and the arrangement of social forces and the experience of the people.

From the outset, socialist construction had to proceed in difficult conditions. While on the march, the working people had to learn the art of management and administration, to solve new and difficult problems in social transformations and to overcome deeply rooted habits. It was also necessary to rebuff the opponents of socialism within the country, who were being incited by international imperialism, which was trying by every possible means — from economic pressure to the cold war — to hamper the development of socialism in Europe and to thwart our people's creative plans.

Nevertheless, thanks to the working people's dedicated efforts, the party's correct policy and tremendous organizational work, the basic tasks of transition from capitalism to socialism were fulfilled in Czechoslovakia in a historically brief period. For the first time in our country's history a society was created without exploitation, unemployment or social oppression, a society in which the working people are not fearful of their future. The ideals of social justice, genuine equality, comradely relations, the brotherhood of nations and ethnic minorities are being realized in practice in our country. A person's work is the main criterion of his status. This is a society permeated with genuine humanism, a spirit of deep-seated socialist democracy, optimism and faith in the future.

The construction of socialism brought about unprecedented growth of the productive forces in the country and a marked enlargement of its industrial

base, which had been at a relatively high level. Of fundamental importance for our society's stability and further development was the successful socialist restructuring of agriculture on the basis of cooperative high-commodity production. The radical changes in the living and working conditions in the countryside, the elimination of age-old backwardness, the obliteration of the essential distinctions between town and country are among the major achievements of our party's policy.

These transformations have produced a new social structure of the society based on the leading role of the working class, on the emergence and consolidation of the class of cooperative peasantry, on the alliance between the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia.

Among the major achievements in socialist construction is the Leninist solution of the relations between the peoples and ethnic minorities in our country on the basis of solid unity and fraternal cooperation, which is expressed in the federal structure of our state. Through the common efforts of our peoples the historically rooted and deep-seated socio-economic distinctions between the various regions of our country have been overcome.

At every stage of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia, invaluable importance has been attached to the systematic development of all-round cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal countries and our state's participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Experience confirms that this cooperation multiplies the economic strength and potentialities of each socialist state. That is why our economy's further involvement in international socialist integration, deepening of cooperation and specialization of production, and coordination of national-economic plans and the whole of the economic policy — as the 26th congress of the CPSU and the 16th congress of the CPCz required — are, we believe, the most important prerequisites for the successful fulfillment of the important tasks facing Czechoslovakia, like the other countries of our community.

The whole meaning of the party's policy and activity in socialist construction consists entirely in securing the ever fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural requirements, guaranteeing their rights, interests and social gains, and creating the prerequisites for the individual's all-round development. The substantial growth of personal and social consumption, the high standards of education and culture, their general accessibility, the effective system of care for families with children, for the rising generation, pensioners, the large-scale housing and other construction, and other achievements — all of these testify to the great successes scored along this road by socialist Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia's experience also confirms that the socialist restructuring of the society is an intricate and difficult process. It calls for selfless and intense labor by the whole people, resolution and the principled approach by the party. Over these past decades, the CPCz has had to overcome consider-

able obstacles, to correct over-simplified notions, subjectivist and voluntarist views. Any relaxation and breach of the life-tested Leninist principles has always caused us heavy losses and has done harm. At the end of the 1960s, a grave crisis developed in the party and the society. From the victory over the counter-revolutionary and right-opportunist forces, our party drew serious lessons of a long-term character, by which it has been guided in all its activity since. We appreciate the fact that there has been a response to these conclusions in the international communist movement. Their message is that in order to achieve success in socialist construction there is a need steadfastly to strengthen the socialist state, actively to develop socialist democracy, and fight every manifestation of bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois anarchy. Our conclusions confirm the Leninist truth that the party can fulfil its historical mission only if its activity proceeds from a creative application of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, if it carries on an uncompromising struggle against any manifestations of revisionism and opportunism, maintains close ties with the people and if it is led by a united and resolute leadership.

The April 1969 plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee started the rapid consolidation of the party and the whole of the society. On the basis of the general line of building a developed socialist society, as mapped out by the 14th and further elaborated by the 15th and the 16th congresses of the CPCz, the rapid development of socialist construction was ensured. This line starts from the proposition that the building of socialism is a whole historical stage. It is at the basis of the complex and long-term Marxist-Leninist program for our society's political, economic, social and spiritual development, and of our state's internal and foreign policy. It is the result of a summing-up of our own experience and the general conclusions drawn by the fraternal countries and parties, and is an expression of the international and national interests of the Czechoslovak people. Of tremendous importance in elaborating the conception of the mature socialist society is the creative theoretical work of the CPSU, and especially comrade Leonid Brezhnev's principled statements.

The unfolding of the people's creative forces and initiatives in realizing this program promoted our society's all-round upswing. The 1970s were a period of fruitful creative labor, the country's stable development, and our people's happy life and well-being. The 16th congress had good ground to state that Czechoslovakia was entering the 1980s as a successfully developing socialist state with an advanced economy, science and culture, and with good prerequisites for further growth. The 16th congress of the CPCz further elaborated the general line of building a mature socialist society. Its decisions provide an active answer to the complicated problems of the forthcoming period in the light of the achieved results, and also of the new tasks and requirements of our society.

At the same time, the party reckons with the fact

that on the threshold of the current decade, the world finds itself in a state of intricate struggle and contest between the opposite social systems, in which the historical superiority of socialism is ever more pronounced. The deep economic upheavals and the protracted crisis in the capitalist states are attended with the activization of the most reactionary, the most aggressive forces of imperialism. In order to thwart their aggressive plans, there is a need for concerted, united action and maximum efforts by the whole socialist community and all the other peace-loving forces.

Grave complications and upheavals have also risen in the sphere of the world economy. There is a marked fluctuation of prices, competition is being sharpened, and international economic ties are being upset. There is a growth of difficulties and outlays in meeting the requirements in fuel, energy, raw materials and foodstuffs, a sharp increase in the dynamic of scientific and technological development, and growing demands are being made on the quality and technical standards of products. These factors, along with the more complicated internal conditions, also have a long-term effect on the situation in which the program for Czechoslovakia's further socio-economic development is to be realized.

The 16th congress of the CPCz emphasized that in order to realize the main goal of the party's policy, which displays all-round concern for the people's well-being, there is a need to muster most rapidly the available resources, potentialities and reserves of our economy, to overcome the existing problems and shortcomings, and consistently to implement the long-term strategy of enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of all workmanship. Accordingly, the congress adopted a decision which is of fundamental importance to accelerate the economy's switch to the way of intensive growth and effective remodelling of the structure of production. The CPCz's highest forum gave much attention to the need to increase the pace of scientific and technological progress and to deepen international socialist integration. These tasks constitute the main content of the document adopted at the congress — "The Guidelines for Czechoslovakia's Economic and Social Development from 1981 to 1985." Simultaneously, it put forward the demand for an improvement of the planned administration of the national economy in organic unity with the growth of initiative from below and the working people's ever broader participation in management.

As for our political system, the 16th congress of the party envisaged the further improvement of the activity of the socialist state and its organs, and a deepening of socialist social relations. This includes a skilful blend of personal and social interests, consistent practice of the socialist principle of remuneration for labor in accordance with its quantity and quality, consolidation of the people's moral and political unity, and steady development of socialist democracy and socialist social consciousness.

An important role in the forthcoming period is to belong to the National Front, the political expres-

sion of the class alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, which brings together all the social organizations of our people. By means of these organizations, the working people are ever more broadly involved in the management of social processes, in the elaboration and implementation of policy, exercise of control, and in the drafting and fulfillment of economic plans. Fresh confirmation of their support for the CPCz's policy comes from the fact that the whole of the National Front has unanimously adopted the program of the 16th congress as its own. We are convinced that in the elections to the representative bodies at every level, which are to be held in Czechoslovakia in June, our people will express full confidence and support for this program.

In view of the ever more complicated tasks of building a developed socialist society, the 16th congress of the CPCz emphasized the need to strengthen the party's leading role in the society, and its unity and competence. The way to this lies through consistent observance of the Leninist principles of inner-party life, party building and party work, development of criticism and self-criticism, and systematic concern for enhancing the ideological maturity of the communists.

The 1.5-million-strong army of Czechoslovak communists, armed with the experience of six decades of victorious revolutionary struggle, is the guarantee that all these tasks in building a mature socialist society will be successfully fulfilled in solid unity of party and people.

In mapping out and implementing its policy, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is invariably guided by the interests and requirements of the Czechoslovak people, by their awareness of the fact that the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for the cause of socialism and communism cannot be confined to the framework of a single state. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the CPCz has always declared with pride that it is a solid component part of the international revolutionary movement, that socialist Czechoslovakia is a reliable member of the community of socialist states.

Standing up for the cause of the working class, defending the Republic when the fascist menace loomed over it, and in the trying years of the national-liberation struggle and throughout the whole period of socialist construction, the Czechoslovak communists have come to realize from their own experience that for them international solidarity is a great mainstay and support. At the same time, the CPCz has always reckoned in its policy with the interests of the revolutionary proletariat and the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of other countries. The Czechoslovak communists believe it to be their internationalist duty to develop the cooperation and strengthen the unity of the international communist and working-class movement. We are bound with ties of militant solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, with all the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in their struggle for social emancipation and national liberation.

The urge to assure our people a free life in peace has always been an important organic part of the CPCz's policy. The six decades of struggle and victories by the party and the people have clearly confirmed this fundamental conclusion: sincere friendship, unbreakable alliance and constantly developing all-round cooperation with the USSR is the most reliable guarantee of our country's freedom, independence and security, the basis of its solid international positions, and the safeguard of our people's socialist present and future. That is why loyalty to the fraternal ties of alliance with the Soviet Union, their constant consolidation and deepening, and simultaneously, Czechoslovakia's membership in the great community of socialist states is the cornerstone of the foreign-policy orientation of our party and the state. One of the basic principles of our foreign policy is consolidation of the unity and cooperation of the socialist-community countries united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and resolute struggle against attempts by imperialism to undermine or weaken our alliance. The CPCz's comradely interaction with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an inspiring force and simultaneously the most reliable guarantee of the further successful pursuit of this policy.

The USSR is the chief bulwark in the struggle for world peace. This was once again convincingly demonstrated by the 26th congress of the Soviet communists, at which Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, and Chairman of the Pres-

idium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, put forward new and important initiatives aimed to strengthen peace, to solve urgent international problems, to bring about disarmament and international détente. The Czechoslovak communists, our whole people also accepted the Peace Program of the 26th congress as their very own. The 16th congress of the CPCz defined as the main task of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy its active participation in the overall struggle to implement this program.

The construction of a mature socialist society in Czechoslovakia is an embodiment and development of the best traditions of the CPCz's 60-year advance, traditions of dedicated struggle for the working people's emancipation and happy life. We recall our party's history in order to draw on the past for inspiration and strength to fulfil the tasks of the present and the future. The party has been convinced, moving along its victorious way, that the conditions for its successful advance is unflinching loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian, socialist internationalism, a principled Leninist policy and close ties with the working class and all the other working people.

Guided by these principles, our party is advancing, with the people's full support, to meet the intricate tasks of the 1980s solidly united and prepared in every way, with a clear perspective and firm conviction that the great goals set by the 16th congress of the CPCz will be attained.

Rude Pravo, May 14, 1981

New Conditions, New Tasks

Report by Georges Marchais

A plenary meeting of the French Communist Party Central Committee was held in Paris on May 15, 1981. The report was given by General Secretary of the FCP Georges Marchais. Below is the text of his report.

After 23 years in power, the right has lost the command of the country's affairs. Giscard d'Estaing has been defeated. Francois Mitterand, for whom we urged people to vote, has been elected President of the Republic.

Consequently, a profoundly new situation has been created. The working people, all those who have suffered from the policy of capital, are inspired

by a great hope. They rejoice and look to some kind of change!

We fully share their satisfaction. Our struggle was carried on with a will to remove Giscard d'Estaing and pave the way for change.

We now have to determine our orientation and our tasks in the present situation.

I. Our Orientation

Our policy and our strategy are those which were formulated at the 22nd and 23rd congresses.

Let me briefly sum up their main lines.

The resolution of the 23rd congress says that we shall struggle for "social transformations capable of advancing democracy farther than ever before," all the way to the democratic socialism of self-administration which we in France want to have. Let me add — quoting the resolution once again — that this is a choice which is "ambitious but not arbitrary. It is a modern, popular and realistic response to the

objective needs of the French society, the only way for resolving the crisis."

We want to attain this goal of democratic socialism along a way that is itself democratic.

This democratic way is inevitably a way of struggle — social and electoral struggle — for the purpose of ever deeper democratic gains, and also along the way of alliance. A new, honest and clear alliance based on the cohesion of the working masses themselves in the struggle, and reflected in agreements between political parties "which do not embellish

the actual positions of the partners, do not gloss over that which unites them, nor that which continues to distinguish them, agreements which promote the activity of the popular movement instead of hampering it." An alliance based on respect for the uniqueness and independence of each of the parties within it, and, naturally, on the observance of joint commitments.

It is in this spirit that our congress called on us not to separate the struggle for alliance from the efforts to strengthen the influence of our party's ideas, positions, activity and organization. "It is impossible to ensure the realization, preservation and successes of an alliance in the struggle for democratic change (again I quote what was said at the 23rd congress) without the existence and strengthening of the revolutionary party, in other words, our French Communist Party."

The former and the latter are both necessary for advance along the way of democratic change. This way is not one of isolation of a party claiming that it is capable all alone of carrying with it the masses toward change, nor one of converting that party into a mere additional force for the policy of managing the crisis for the benefit of capital.

WE HAVE FULLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE ELECTORAL VICTORY

It is precisely on the basis of this policy — briefly summed up here — that we nominated a communist candidate in the presidential elections and set a clear-cut goal in our party's electoral campaign: to fight the power and the policy of capital personified by Giscard d'Estaing, and to change the country's policy.

It is in following this line that on March 23 in my capacity as the candidate of the Communist Party, I specified the manner in which we would like to advance to that goal.

Finally, the same line was the basis for the decision which our Central Committee took a day after the first round to throw all our forces into the struggle in order to inflict a defeat on the right and to ensure the victory of Francois Mitterand.

I recall that we took this position without losing sight of the inadequacy of our results in the first round and the difficulties which this could entail in the future. But our analysis led us to the conclusion that that setback was essentially due above all to the specific character of the elections, to the fact that some of our electors strove to vote in such a way as, in their view, would be most "useful" for immediate change, while continuing to regard themselves as communist electors. We decided that in these conditions we could count on an impressive political force. We made a clear-cut decision to go forward, and this was shown by our activity between the two rounds.

That is why we have good ground to say that we have fully contributed to the electoral victory that has now been scored.

I insist on this word "fully." It is absolutely justified even in purely arithmetical terms: the votes of the communist voters in the second round were de-

cisive in assuring the election of Francois Mitterand.

But the main thrust of what I want to say is that it is the implementation of the policy formulated by the 23rd congress, the one that I have just recalled, in its every aspect, that made it possible, to the extent to which it depended on us, to ensure the victory. Thanks to our policy and to our activity, the right suffered a defeat on this occasion, although in 1974 and again in 1978 they gained the upper hand.

This fundamental conclusion is not modified in any way by the fact that in virtue of the character of the presidential elections, which poses a problem before us to which we shall yet return, we suffered a setback in the first round.

A COMPLICATED SITUATION WHICH SHOULD NOT SURPRISE US

The election of Francois Mitterand amounts to a condemnation and rejection of Giscardian policy and power, of the undivided domination of the right in our country over a period of 23 years.

The scope of this urge for change was such that the move which Chirac had made use of since 1976 for the benefit of the bourgeoisie in order to put himself in a position to obtain the votes of the discontented only to switch them to Giscard d'Estaing at the last moment, proved to be inadequate. The right was defeated. And the nature of Chirac's moves has now become perfectly clear thanks to the accord concluded within a few hours between the Union for French Democracy (UDF) and the Rally for the Republic (RPR).

Consequently we make no secret of the fact that we find ourselves in a complicated situation. This fact was also emphasized by many comrades at the meetings held since Sunday. They are right. At the same time, there is nothing here to be surprised about.

We clearly declared at the congress, that in view of the conditions in our country and in our epoch, "socialist transformations need to be realized with a clearly and democratically expressed accord and also with the active participation of a majority of our people." We also emphasized that in order to "create such a movement" there is a need to look not to a sharp and total break but to a "process," to "consistent mass struggle" designed to enlarge the working people's positions and to bring about ever deeper democratic transformations.

We also said that whatever the circumstances, our party intended to act in such a way as to help advance the movement. And it intended to do this conscious of the fact that, with its indispensable role of invigorator of the popular movement, our party cannot substitute for it in the passage of the various stages or to determine all the conditions in which these stages are to be passed.

That is why, I repeat, we have no reason to be surprised at the complexity of the situation, at the contradictory nature of the movement which we observe, to say nothing of being fearful of it (if the temptation to do so did exist).

At the new phase of the struggle which now opens,

everything will continue to depend on the capacity of the popular majority movement to advance toward the realization of the hopes pinned on the success in the elections.

We propose as an orientation to the Central Committee simply to maintain the line which we have maintained up to now, the line formulated at our congress.

A full-fledged participant in this popular majority

movement, which has driven the right from power, our party has no other goal but to contribute in every possible way and to the best of its abilities to bringing about the changes expected by the working people and needed by the country. Our party has no other goal but to help the working people to advance, learning at every stage the lessons of each experience, and so creating the conditions for ever broader democratic advance.

II. Effecting Our Orientation in the New Situation

Such was the spirit of the statement which I made just after 8 o'clock on Sunday night on behalf of the Political Bureau.

Let me recall its main points. Having expressed the joy and hope of all the communists after the electoral victory, I immediately emphasized that our party was prepared to assume all its responsibilities in the government and in every sphere of life for conducting a new policy of which the country is in need. We intend to do our utmost, having assumed our rightful place, to contribute to the effort of renovation which the country wants and expects. Our position is a positive and constructive one.

What is the concrete implication of this for our activity in the period ahead?

When it comes to the medium and long-term period, we believe that this needs to be considered once again when the time for it comes.

Of course, in order to develop our activity in every sphere, there is a need to draw the lessons from the struggle which we have just gone through. But as a rule, we shall have to define the tasks by elaborating the decisions taken by our 23rd congress, the decisions which we have already begun to implement.

Thus, we need to sum up the results of our effort so as to have a better knowledge of it and to address the working class with an eye to the diversity of categories of which it consists, from the most exploited working people, to whom we rightly devote the greatest attention, to the technical specialists with respect to whom we have begun positive work.

We need to reflect on the continuation of our work among the working people of small and medium enterprises.

We must also develop our work among women: the electoral campaign did show very well that their participation constitutes one of the distinctive features of our epoch. The same applies to young people, whose votes did much to bring about last Sunday's victory.

In the spirit of the National Council of Bobigny and in light of the lessons to be drawn from the electoral campaign, we also need to continue our efforts to improve our work among intellectuals.

We need to recall the particular importance which we attach to the dialogue with religious people and to work among them.

Those are only a few and far from exhaustive examples. A vibrant party like ours must necessarily

and constantly reflect on its activity, discuss it at all its levels within the appropriate framework as provided for by our statutes, closely tying in this comprehension with its practice, with its activity as a revolutionary and democratic party fighting for the interests of the working people.

That is precisely what we seek to do today (having assured ourselves of new means for doing so at our 23rd congress) and that is precisely what we intend to do tomorrow as well.

OUR TASKS FOR THE WEEKS AHEAD

But just now we propose to the Central Committee that it should concentrate all our attention, the party's whole activity on the urgent tasks which will present themselves in the forthcoming weeks, from the inauguration of the new President of the Republic to the elections for a new National Assembly and the formation of a new government.

A great deal has to be done. Let us examine this in detail.

Within a few days, Francois Mitterand will take over his functions and appoint his government.

For our part, we have already said that we are prepared immediately to assume all our responsibilities.

The new government can take certain measures, without waiting for the parliamentary elections and within the ambit of its prerogatives. We have in mind, in particular, the raising of the lowest incomes, notably, the inter-professional wage minimum, the various types of pensions, family and housing aids, an end to layoffs, a temporary freeze on prices of consumer goods, and also of some other prices, measures to protect the economy and our currency.

There is a need to start negotiations with the trade unions and representatives of the employers and to promote their rapid completion to the satisfaction of the working people's demands.

As for possible democratic reforms, we have always believed that the system of proportional representation is the best one. If it is to be introduced, there is, of course, a need to examine the possibility of a favorable vote in Parliament.

THE MEANING OF THE COMMUNIST VOTE IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

So, the parliamentary elections will evidently be the crucial stage for the future.

We have joined the new majority in a positive manner and without reservations, a movement which on May 10 ensured the election of Francois Mitterand. Our purpose is to reaffirm the defeat of the right, to secure change by creating a parliamentary majority of a solid, clear-cut and stable alliance of left-wing forces and a government of the alliance to include all the forces which ensured the victory in order to work to realize the policy which the country desires. For this purpose the Communist Party should have enough electoral influence, and win its place in the new majority and the government, enabling it to raise its voice and make its own contribution to the common cause. After all, the communists and their elected representatives, yesterday consistent defenders of the workers by hand and by brain in the opposition, and resolute fighters against the employers and the right, intend to become tomorrow the reliable representatives of the working people within the ranks of the majority, and active architects of change.

In order to create a majority of the left in all the districts where the outgoing deputy is a communist, a majority that will work for change together with the President of the Republic, there is a need once again to elect communist deputies who already now belong to the new majority and who have given proof that they are capable of fighting the right better than anyone else.

With that end in view, we propose to you that a call should be issued to the electors to vote for our party's candidates. We are joining in the battle with the avowed objective of securing the re-election of all our outgoing deputies and to win new seats at the expense of the right.

Of course, one should not oversimplify things and to deny the complexity of the situation. All of this, we believe, merely goes to increase the need to orient our struggle in a clearly positive and militant manner.

The conditions and the significance of the vote in a parliamentary election are different from those of a presidential election. It is now no longer a matter of electing one man, but a whole assembly. The point is to back up a power, a majority which has actually existed since last Sunday. The question is not whether the right will be beaten or not: it has already been defeated, and will be defeated once again within five weeks.

In clearly formulating the problem of the need for our party to have enough influence in the new National Assembly, we have no other purpose but to create the best conditions for installing a solid majority, with a good composition, deeply rooted in the left, and also a government of the alliance of the left.

To vote for the communists, to ensure the election of a communist deputy means usefully voting to ensure change, for the sake of the left alliance, for the new majority.

THE OBJECTIVES OF GOVERNMENTAL ACTION

From this orientation follow two questions, which I now intend to consider.

The first of these is: with what kind of program are we to go into these elections?

We have formulated 131 proposals of the plan for struggle, those which I stood for during the campaign for the presidential election. They express that which we want, that which is necessary to carry the country out of the crisis. They were approved by 4.5 million electors, whose aspirations we must voice. That is why our proposals remain fully valid.

We propose that they should be regarded as the party's general program for the future.

Consequently, the goal in the present elections is to create a new majority and a new government whose task will be to accomplish the first stage, and the implementation of the new policy. We believe that the country should be offered the set of objectives for governmental action plus the objectives which follow from the plan of struggle and which correspond to its general orientation.

Such objectives could be, for instance, the struggle for full employment and against precarious employment, the struggle for social justice and a better life for the working people, men, women and young people; development of national industry and agriculture, science and culture, and reforms capable of releasing economic and financial resources; progress of democracy in every sphere and a guarantee of freedoms; the assertion of France's independent international role, with a simultaneous respect for its alliances, for the sake of settling conflicts, peace, disarmament and the establishment of a new world political and economic order.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY

In each of these areas, there is a need to recall some of the measures we have proposed, considering their importance and urgency.

I now pass to the second question which confronts us: negotiations with the Socialist Party.

In the course of the campaign, Francois Mitterand declared that negotiations would be held between the parties of the left.

I declared on Sunday night, and reiterate it now, that we are prepared to participate in these negotiations, that we are prepared for any contacts and at any time.

We are prepared to join in a discussion in an effort to ensure the best conditions for the victory of the left forces in the parliamentary election, seeking to take our place in an alliance government that will conduct the new policy the country needs.

This means that we do not intend to enter these negotiations by demanding that the socialists should repudiate their ideas, their program for which the electors voted, in short, that they should cease to be socialists. Equally it cannot be demanded of us that we should cease to be what we are. On the agenda there is no question of a merger of our two parties, nor is it necessary or even desirable. That is why we do not expect and do not demand that the forthcoming discussions should result in a total identity of views in every sphere.

But we believe that this does not prevent us from

reaching an accord in order to confirm together (while each will seek its own place) the defeat of the right, and for that purpose to govern together in cooperation based on loyalty, mutual respect, democratic discussion and solidarity in action.

The main thing for success is the will to act together in order to justify the country's expectations. We, for our part, have such a will.

That is precisely the spirit in which we propose to the Central Committee that it should enter into negotiations with the Socialist Party.

THE PARTY'S IMMEDIATE TASKS

Now, in conclusion, very briefly concerning some immediate tasks facing the party.

First of all, we believe that in the next few days there will be a need to continue to explain and stand up for our constructive and militant position, by organizing many meetings with the working people at enterprises, with the population of large centers, and also in individual urban districts and villages.

There is a need to give special attention to the young people and to address them within the framework of special initiatives in contact with the young communist movement.

All these initiatives could help to bring into the party many new members and to strengthen its organization.

Second, there is a need to prepare the campaign for the parliamentary elections.

This means rapidly to nominate and ratify our candidates, to prepare various publications and initiatives. Some federations have decided in this connection to stage their festivals in a different way, turning them essentially into political rallies. This means taking steps for the further distribution of our press and for the extension of our fund-raising drives.

There is a need to elaborate and start a campaign whose forms will correspond to our orientation, in other words, a dynamic, serious, well-argued and highly active campaign in the electoral districts.

L'Humanité, May 16, 1981

Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

Report by Pen Sovan,
First Secretary, PRPK Central Committee

The fourth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea sat in Phnom Penh from May 26 to 29. It heard a Central Committee report presented by Pen Sovan, First Secretary of the PRPK Central Committee.

One of the main tasks of the congress, Pen Sovan said, is to strengthen the party, politically, ideologically and organizationally, to promote its unity and cohesion and its close links with the people and to foster solidarity with the international working-class movement. The results achieved of late were made possible by the patriotism and heroism of the Kampuchean people as well as by the disinterested aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries and progressive international organizations.

The speaker then outlined the historical stages of the people's difficult and protracted struggle for liberation.

On April 17, 1975, the Kampuchean people achieved a historic victory after overcoming innumerable difficulties. However, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan group contrived to appropriate the people's gains. Having committed itself to a Maoist line, the pro-Peking clique openly betrayed the cause of the revolution, party and people.

The traitors inflicted incurable wounds on Kampuchea. The term genocide is not enough to describe the terrible crimes against the people perpetrated by the Pol Pot clique. It was this clique that caused unprecedented suffering to the Kampuchean popu-

lation. The traitors liquidated all the democratic institutions of society, destroyed the national economy and threw the country back to the Middle Ages. They made the party an instrument of domination and of oppression of the working people, reduced the armed forces to an army of bandits and turned the country into a military base of Peking's great-power expansionism. The Kampuchean people had no choice but to fight for the removal of the anti-people clique.

True revolutionaries requested the Communist Party of Vietnam to help them form political and military forces and reorganize the party. A Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation came into being; it roused the people to struggle. With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), the country set out to promote friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and other fraternal socialist countries.

With reference to the country's progress after liberation, Pen Sovan said that Kampuchea has virtually been cleared of Pol Potist bands. The threat of famine has been eliminated. He cited specific examples of rehabilitation of the economy, culture, the health services and the education system. The success of elections for local government bodies and the National Assembly is evidence of a normalized domestic situation. The people have become real masters in their country thanks to the party's correct policy and the vigorous activity of government

bodies. Kampuchea's foreign policy is widely supported by world opinion.

To strengthen solidarity, friendship and cooperation among the three countries of Indochina, Kampuchea has signed a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation and other important agreements with Vietnam and Laos.

Experience has shown that mutual assistance by these countries, Kampuchea and other socialist countries is becoming more and more effective. Cooperation with the Soviet Union is growing.

Marxist-Leninist theory, on which the PRPK relies for guidance in its activity, is at the basis of the gains made to date.

With due regard to Marxist-Leninist principles, the socio-economic characteristics of Kampuchea and the experience of the world revolutionary movement, the PRPK at the current stage of the revolution has set the task of reliably defending and consolidating the country's independence and effecting a gradual transition to socialism. Today the revolution cannot win unless it adheres to the principles of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The Kampuchean revolution is a component of the world revolutionary process. The Soviet Union is the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement; a strong and reliable supporter of all countries fighting for national independence and socialism.

The report stresses the need to foster proletarian internationalism, to build up solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and other socialist countries, with the progressive forces of the world. Led by the Marxist-Leninist party, the Kampuchean people will continue strengthening international solidarity, cherish the fighting alliance with Vietnam based on proletarian internationalism and resist every attempt by hostile forces to undermine friendship among the countries of Indochina, between Kampuchea and the Soviet Union or other socialist countries.

The rulers of China, the speaker went on, want to unleash a war aimed at subjugating the country and making it a bridgehead for expansion in Southeast Asia. The war is still going on and the blood of Kampuchean and Vietnamese soldiers is still being shed on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

The speaker pointed out the need to strengthen the country's defenses. Building socialism, he said, is a logical process of social development. The experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries has demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system. The experience of building socialism must be approached creatively. The transition to socialism should be effected gradually, in accordance with the social and economic conditions prevailing in the country, without subjectivism or voluntarism.

Pen Sovan spoke of the need to put agriculture on a socialist basis. He said that there are three economic sectors — state, collective and private — with the state sector leading. The main task in rehabilitating the economy in the years ahead is to develop production, primarily agricultural produc-

tion, by every means and to thoroughly change the economic situation of the state. It is necessary to have adequate supplies of food, increase consumer goods production and develop export and trade with socialist countries, all of which will serve to normalize and improve the working people's condition. This implies perfecting the system of government, providing the economy with competent management, improving the training of personnel and increasing the number of specialists in every economic field.

The report says that the PRPK exercises leadership, works out policy, supervises the selection and placing of personnel and mobilizes the masses to carry out party and government decisions. The Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation plays an important part in this.

Passing on to the international situation, Pen Sovan said that U.S. imperialism enters into collusion with the Peking hegemonists and expansionists and other reactionaries in an effort to recapture lost positions. However, the revolutionary forces of today, whose bastion is the Soviet Union, are in a position to frustrate every adventurist plan or action of imperialism and reaction.

At the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put forward new proposals intended to ease international tensions, curb the arms race, avert a nuclear war and promote peace and security. These proposals are important; they meet the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples of the world and enjoy the support of world opinion. The PRPK, Pen Sovan said, thinks highly of these proposals of the CPSU and fully subscribes to them.

He pointed out the need for a fair settlement of Kampuchean-Thai relations. The Thai side still makes its territory available to remnants of Pol Potist bands and other reactionaries. The foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos have proposed a regional conference of the countries of Indochina and ASEAN with a view to transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. But the ASEAN countries reject the proposal. They insist on calling what they describe as an "international conference on Kampuchea," which means interfering in the internal affairs of the PRK.

In conclusion Pen Sovan made the following statement:

The Kampuchean revolution is part of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and the world. The Kampuchean people's victories are inseparable from the vast and disinterested aid being extended by the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and other fraternal socialist countries. The main object of Kampuchean foreign policy is and will be to strengthen friendship with the peoples of Vietnam and Laos. Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos form one family in the great community of socialist countries. The PRK will continue building up friendship with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Eighteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Report by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal

The 18th congress of the MPRP was held in Ulan Bator from May 26 to 31. Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, delivered the Central Committee's "Report to the 18th Congress of the Party and the tasks for the Years Ahead."

Our party's congress, he said, is a major event in the country's political life, an important landmark in its development. Another significant point about the congress is that it is being held in a jubilee year, when we are marking the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the victory of the people's revolution.

Our party, set up by ardent internationalist-minded revolutionaries led by Sukhe Bator, has travelled a hard and glorious road of struggle and construction. Making consistent and creative use of Lenin's teaching in Mongolia's concrete conditions, it has become the true Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people.

The chief result of the party's activity and the Mongolian people's selfless work is that the once backward feudal Mongolia has evolved into a dynamically developing socialist state with a modern multisectoral economy, flourishing culture and rising living standards.

The communists and working people of our country have arrived at the party's 18th congress with remarkable successes in every sector of socialist construction. In the five years since the last congress, our country has made yet another stride forward in building the material and technical basis of socialism and raising the working people's living standards.

In the course of the struggle to implement the decisions of that congress, our party has continued to grow stronger in ideological and organizational terms. The efficiency and initiative of party organizations, state and economic bodies has considerably increased, and the moral and political unity of the party and the people has continued to strengthen.

The communists and working people of our country, the speaker noted, legitimately connect their successes and achievements, their plans for the future with the traditional friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, our great friend and ally. For us, the majestic achievements of the heroic Soviet people, which is blazing the trail to communism for the whole of mankind, are always a source of joy and inspiration.

The main lines of the MPRP's international activity, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal continued, are determined by our country's membership in the great socialist community, the need to ensure favorable external conditions for socialist construction in Mongolia.

The party's 17th congress substantiated and chartered the line for bringing Mongolia closer to the

fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, as the priority task of the party and the state in their international activity. The past five years have confirmed the effectiveness and vitality of this line, which reflects an objective uniformity in the development of the socialist countries.

Our steadily deepening cooperation and closer ties with the Soviet Union have been developing in the spirit of the policy-making documents signed in Moscow during an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union by a Mongolian party and government delegation in October 1976.

This process embraces all spheres of social life: coordination of foreign-policy acts, ideological activity, and national economic plans; extension of scientific and technical exchanges, establishment of direct contacts between party, state, economic and social organizations, and other forms of cooperation.

Efforts to direct the attention of the party, state, economic and social organizations to a systematic study and general use of advanced Soviet experience have been a major development of the party's activity in the past five years.

Over these years, the Soviet Union's fraternal all-round assistance has played a vast role in helping us to meet the targets of the sixth five-year period, to boost the country's economy and culture. From 1976 to 1980, we have put in operation with Soviet assistance something like 150 economic projects and started the construction of tens of industrial and agricultural enterprises. The joint Mongolian-Soviet mining combine Erdenet has a special place among these. This powerful combine, completed ahead of schedule by Soviet and Mongolian builders, is an instance of fruitful cooperation between our countries, and is very important for accelerating Mongolia's industrial development.

The activity of the joint economic association, Mongolsovtvetmet, and Soviet building organizations is another example of successful Mongolian-Soviet economic cooperation.

In the new five-year period, the Soviet Union's technical and economic assistance to our country is to be considerably increased.

Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in culture, science and technology has been growing steadily.

The joint space flight by Soviet cosmonauts and a citizen of the Mongolian People's Republic was a moving manifestation of the friendship and cooperation between the two countries. That glorious feat will go down as a golden page in the chronicle of Mongolian-Soviet relations as a true indication of the triumph of socialist internationalism.

Special note must be taken of the Soviet Union's fraternal assistance in strengthening Mongolia's defense capability, the speaker emphasized. This as-

sistance goes to equip the Mongolian People's Army with sophisticated weapons and military equipment, to train and retrain military personnel. The Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia at the request of our government and in accordance with the Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of January 15, 1966, have faithfully continued the glorious traditions of the Mongolian-Soviet combat comradeship, making a major contribution to the country's defense and security.

In the past five years, the speaker noted, Mongolia's fraternal friendship and close cooperation with the European socialist-community countries — Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia — have successfully developed and strengthened. The relations of friendship and cooperation with Yugoslavia have been further developed.

Mongolia's cooperation and interaction with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have been particularly fruitful. Our country is taking part in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration and the long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation among the CMEA countries.

In the present conditions, when the contest between socialism and capitalism is intensifying and permeating every aspect of social life, it is more important than ever before to coordinate closely the activity of the fraternal parties and the socialist countries. This is all the more important in view of the fact that our class adversaries have stepped up their psychological warfare and ideological subversion against the socialist countries, coordinating their activities and adapting these to the changing conditions of class struggle both in the various countries and on the international arena as a whole.

Imperialism's hostile activity is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is bent on finding links in the socialist system where it could intensify its subversive activity. This is evident, in particular, from the intrigues of the hostile forces in connection with the events in Poland. Imperialist and reactionary circles are trying to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, to use the difficulties that have arisen there in order to undermine the foundations of socialism in that country.

Mongolia's communists and working people have strong bonds of friendship with the Polish people. They express their firm confidence that the working class and other sections of the Polish working people, under the PUWP's guidance, will be able to overcome the crisis situation in the country, to rebuff the intrigues of the anti-socialist forces.

The MPRP sees its task in a further all-out effort to strengthen and deepen the relations of friendship, international alliance and cooperation with the socialist community countries. This has been and remains the cornerstone of the foreign policy followed by the party and the state.

As for our mutual relations with the People's Republic of China, the speaker went on, we are not to blame for their worsening. The reason for this lies in

the Chinese leaders' distortion of the principles of socialism, their flagrant violation of the norms of interstate relations, and their switch to a policy and practice of great-power hegemonism, threats and diktat. In their bid to carry out their expansionist plans with respect to our country, they falsify history and present-day reality, and are engaged in open military preparations against Mongolia.

Mongolia abides by its principled line of restoring and developing normal, neighborly relations with the PRC in accordance with the interests of the Mongolian and Chinese peoples. But this depends on whether the Chinese side will give up its faulty line and practice of Maoism.

The past years, the speaker said, have seen a further upsurge and fresh victories of the peoples' national liberation and revolutionary movement.

The experience of the socialist countries, the record of Mongolia's non-capitalist development in particular, points out the most realistic way toward economic and social progress. No matter how intricate and diverse the pattern of the present-day national liberation movement, its basic tendencies are clearly defined. They reaffirm the correctness of Lenin's time-tested propositions on the sharpening anti-imperialist edge of this movement, deepening struggle against exploitive relations, and stronger ties with the socialist world.

Our party, the speaker said, has steadily followed a line for stronger internationalist ties and militant solidarity with the national contingents of the world communist and working-class movement, always seeking to strengthen the unity of our movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its international cohesion in the struggle for the common goals, against imperialism.

The MPRP's strengthening relations with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries are a source of deep satisfaction for the Mongolian communists. These relations are firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on profound mutual confidence. They also reflect our parties' common views on matters of socialist and communist construction and major international problems.

In the past few years, we have intensively developed our cooperation with the CPSU and other fraternal parties in the field of party organization and ideological activity. The MPRP took an active part in multilateral meetings between the fraternal parties at different levels. Conferences between the fraternal countries on matters of international relations, ideological work and party organization also played an important role.

The Mongolian communists met with satisfaction the results of the 1976 Berlin Conference and the 1980 Paris Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which came out for peace and disarmament, and other regional forums, which have done a great deal to consolidate the communist movement and concert the parties' positions on urgent problems of our day.

Some communist and workers' parties of Asian countries have suggested a meeting of their rep-

representatives to exchange views on how to ensure peace and stability of our continent.

Our party supports this proposal, bearing in mind the present most complicated situation in Asia. Of course, such a joint measure calls for preliminary consultations among the parties concerned and for thorough preparations. We, for our part, are prepared to promote such preparations and work to ensure a successful meeting.

The MPRP, the speaker emphasized, will go on working to strengthen the unity of the communist movement, to expand and deepen its relations with the communist and workers' parties of the world, with national democratic parties and movements. It will carry on an irreconcilable struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against hostile ideology.

In the 1970s, the vigorous and concerted action of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries resulted in a turn from the cold war to détente, with serious and positive changes on the international scene. The persevering efforts of the Warsaw Treaty member-state and peace movements led to an improvement in the political climate in Europe and made it possible to eliminate a number of grave conflict situations in other regions of the world. The 1970s saw the beginning of talks on strategic arms limitations and military détente, and the start of mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems.

All these cardinal positive changes in international affairs are closely connected with the tireless and consistent efforts of the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, with comrade Leonid Brezhnev's vigorous and fruitful activity. They are the results of the successful implementation of the constructive Peace Program formulated by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU.

The present Chinese leadership has joined forces with imperialist reaction. Economic and political pressure, gross interference in other countries' internal affairs, military threats and armed intervention against neighboring states, encouragement of neocolonialism, support for fascist and racist regimes — all these have become part and parcel of the Chinese leaders' policy.

That is why, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal said, our party directly ties in the struggle against imperialism and reaction with the struggle against the Chinese leaders' great-power hegemonism. We shall continue resolutely to expose the anti-popular, anti-socialist line of China's ruling circles, to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against their great-power, hegemonistic and expansionist moves, which pose a growing danger to universal peace.

The developments in China itself prove that Maoism is totally untenable. They show widespread dissatisfaction and resistance by the Chinese working people to the Peking leaders' blind-alley political line, which cuts across the fundamental interests of the Chinese people, and is the source of its immense suffering.

The 26th congress of the CPSU and the congresses of other fraternal parties of the socialist countries were events of historic importance in further

strengthening world socialism, in the peoples' struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, in the efforts to consolidate peace and general security.

Starting from a deeply scientific, Marxist analysis of the present situation in the world, the 26th congress of the CPSU put forward a set of constructive proposals to free the peoples from the danger of nuclear war. These proposals are an organic continuation and development of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU.

The Soviet Union's latest initiatives are permeated with Leninist concern for the peoples' security and peaceful future. The congress once again reaffirmed that the future belongs to the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence, for in our day there is no other reasonable alternative.

Our party and the Mongolian people see the Peace Program of the 26th congress of the CPSU as a real way toward improving the international political climate. We warmly welcome and fully support this program as a common platform in the struggle for peace and general security, in the struggle to prevent a new war.

It is only natural that our party has constantly devoted special attention to the problem of strengthening peace and security in Asia, developing normal, neighborly relations between the peoples and countries of this continent. As a result of the positive changes in the world, especially since the historic victory of the heroic Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina, new and favorable perspectives have opened up for stronger peace and security on the continent.

At the same time, the speaker noted, the intensifying intrigues of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces have served to aggravate the situation in Asia, with growing hotbeds of tension and conflict. The U.S. imperialists and Peking hegemonists have been drawing closer together on an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist basis. They have been hatching plots against peace and the peoples' freedom and independence, making coordinated hostile moves against the socialist countries and against states and peoples that have taken the progressive road of development.

The policy of reviving Japanese militarism and drawing Japan into the orbit of the U.S.-Chinese military-political alliance is a growing concern for the Asian peoples. In view of all this, the Asian peoples must display greater vigilance and intensify their resistance to the imperialist and hegemonist intrigues.

Mongolia is to go on helping to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-use of force in relations between Asian states. A broad and constructive dialogue between Asian states could be most conducive to the attainment of these goals.

The speaker emphasized the great importance of the new Soviet initiative for confidence-building measures in the Far East. We hope, he said, that the states concerned will take a serious approach to this

important initiative, to the holding of concrete negotiations.

The First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee declared: In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Mongolian People's Republic will:

- make an active and consistent effort to implement the line toward stronger détente and an improvement of the international situation;

- promote in every way the realization of the peace initiatives put forward by the 26th congress of the CPSU in elaboration of the Peace Program;

- support the efforts of the peace-loving states to curb the arms race and adopt effective measures in the field of military détente and disarmament;

- work for a positive solution of the urgent problems of our day within the framework of the United Nations and other international bodies;

- do its utmost to strengthen peace and security in Asia through joint efforts by Asian states;

- advocate a further extension of the political dialogue and development of equitable cooperation with Asian countries in various fields.

The Mongolian People's Republic puts forward a proposal to elaborate and sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific. With this aim in view, the countries of these regions could hold a conference, to which they could invite all the permanent member-states of the UN Security Council.

Characterizing the MPRP's economic policy, the speaker noted that in the new, seventh five-year period, the party is advancing more majestic tasks in economic and social development and a further drive to boost the working people's living standards. These tasks are set out in the Central Committee's draft "Basic Guidelines for the Development of the MPR's Economy and Culture in the 1981-1985 Period." In the course of a nationwide discussion, the draft guidelines were unanimously approved by the country's communists and other working people.

Over the past five years, he said, the party has been working to realize the tasks of the country's economic and social development laid down by the 17th congress. It geared the efforts of party, state, social and economic organizations to raising the efficiency of social production and improving qualitative indicators in all the sectors of economic and cultural construction. The party's Central Committee has constantly focused its attention on vital economic problems, which were regularly considered at its plenary meetings.

On the basis of economic achievements, the social program drawn up by the 17th congress has been successfully implemented. Budget appropriations for social and cultural purposes have gone up by 50 per cent. Over the five years, as much housing has been built as in the two preceding five-year periods. The program for the development of education and culture has been successfully realized.

The present stage of socialist construction is marked by an extension and deepening of the build-up of the material and technical basis of socialism,

an improvement of the economic structure, and formation of new industrial centers, agricultural and other production complexes. Parallel with this, there are the vital tasks of further improving the relations of production and tackling major social problems.

The party's Central Committee, the speaker said, invites the 18th congress to formulate the main goals of the new five-year period as follows: to ensure steady development of social production, raise its efficiency through a constant growth of labor productivity, apply scientific and technical achievements and advanced experience, improve in every way the quality of workmanship in all sectors of the economy and culture, make effective use of production capacities and of material, financial and manpower resources, further to build up the country's economic potential and, on this basis, ensure a steady rise in the people's material and cultural standards.

The aggregate social product is to go up by 41-45 per cent, and the national income by 38-41 per cent.

The party shows particular concern for the development of agriculture.

In the new five-year period, the MPRP is to follow a consistent line toward ensuring steady growth of agricultural production by further strengthening its material and technical basis and improving the organization of production. In tackling this task, it is necessary to make the utmost use of the advantages of the social economy, to apply scientific and technological achievements and advanced experience in agricultural production. As compared with the sixth five-year period, average annual farm output is to increase by 22-26 per cent.

The priority task here is to continue developing livestock farming, the crucial sector which accounts for three-quarters of the country's total farm output. In crop-growing, average annual grain production is to go up by 82 per cent over the five-year period.

Considering the scale and importance of the problems that have to be tackled, the party's Central Committee maintains that these can be solved only under a long-term and comprehensive goal-oriented program for developing agriculture and raising its efficiency. This program must envisage all the measures aimed to realize the party's strategic task: that of ensuring the country's constant supply with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials coupled with a solution of the social problems of the countryside.

Expressing our people's fundamental interests, will and aspirations, the speaker went on, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has inspired and organized all its successes and victories. Indissoluble bonds with the people, firm loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and constant efforts to learn from the abundant epoch-making experience of Lenin's great party have been and remain the basis of our party's revolutionary-transformative activity.

What makes the MPRP strong is the monolithic unity of its ranks, the high consciousness and activity of its members. It has always believed that its main purpose is to serve the people.

In the past five years, the party has grown even stronger in ideological and organizational terms. It has constantly sought to extend its ranks and improve their qualitative make-up. Among those who have joined the party since the 17th congress, 63 per cent are those who are directly employed in the sphere of material production. Today, the party has 76,240 members.

In accordance with the decisions of the 17th congress, the party's Central Committee has constantly encouraged greater activity on the part of the communists, seeking to make sure that they perform their vanguard role. The party organs must continue to center their attention on the need to enhance the communists' vanguard role and labor activity.

The party organizations are instructed to select for party membership front-ranking working people with an active stand in life, the best representatives of the youth in the first place; to make wider use of the forms and methods of a differentiated approach to work with party members and candidate members, intensify the work with young communists, take fuller account of the educational role of the party inducements and penalties in work with party members; constantly to enhance the communists' responsibility, initiative and organizational skills, and to improve the placing of party cadre in the various sectors of the economy and culture.

In the view of the need to continue increasing the communists' role in social labor and their responsibility to the party, the Central Committee thinks it necessary to introduce some changes and amendments to the MPRP rules.

The party's cadre policy is a reliable instrument helping the party to exercise its leading role in society. This policy is based on the Leninist principles of selection, placement and education of cadre. It is fully geared to the tasks of socialist construction.

The speaker gave a detailed description of the role and place of state organs and social organizations. In the past five years, he said, the central and local executive organs of the people's state have become even more active in running the economy and culture and in solving the problems that arise. At the same time, there are also some serious shortcomings in the work of the state organs. The local khurals and their executive organs have not always fully exercised their powers under the law, making inadequate use of their control functions in the solution of economic and cultural problems.

Ideological, political-education work, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal emphasized, is a major and responsible element of party activity. In the past five years, all its efforts in this field have been directed toward ensuring the party's socio-economic policy in ideological terms, intensifying the working people's communist education, and asserting the socialist way of life.

Closer coordination and cooperation with the CPSU and other fraternal parties in ideology has been very important for our party. The regular meetings between the CC secretaries of the communist

and workers' parties of the socialist countries on ideological and international matters are particularly fruitful in this respect.

The publication in Mongolia of works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, documents of the fraternal parties of the socialist-community countries, and works by prominent leaders of the communist and working-class movement play an important role in the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Leonid Brezhnev's trilogy, *Little Land, Rebirth, and Virgin Lands*, and his other works have been translated into Mongolian, which is of great importance for the ideological and political education of the communists and the working masses.

The opening of a new V.I. Lenin museum in Ulan Bator was a major event in the country's socio-political life. From the very first days, it has been a center for the propaganda of the prolific ideological legacy of the brilliant leader of the world proletariat and the CPSU's epoch-making experience.

The press and the other mass information and propaganda media, whose capacities have further increased over the past five years, are a powerful ideological instrument in the party's hands. The works of writers, painters, composers, workers of stage and screen project an ever broader image of our contemporary. In the past years, the working people have been presented with many ideologically and aesthetically sound works, which are relevant to life, to the people's work.

The assertion of the socialist way of life is a natural process of socialist development. This process unfolds in an irreconcilable struggle against the survivals of the past in people's minds and behavior, for the establishment of new, socialist relations.

Education of the young and all the working people in a spirit of patriotism, internationalism, and true friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries is an integral part of the formation of the socialist way of life. The party continues to attach much importance to the education of the working people, especially the young, by holding up before them the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the older generations.

In conclusion, Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal said: fraternal friendship and close all-round cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries have been and remain a reliable guarantee of our successes and achievements.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will consistently continue its principled line for stronger unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement, support for the national liberation movement, and active struggle for peace, détente and social progress.

The congress elected the party's leading organs: the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee elected Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal General Secretary of the MPRP CC.

Speech by Mikhail Gorbachov

Mikhail Gorbachov, member of the Political Bureau, CPSU Central Committee and CC secretary, who led the CPSU delegation, spoke at the congress. He said, in particular:

It is more than six decades now since Lenin's meeting at the Kremlin with a group of Mongolian revolutionaries, with the fearless Sukhe Bator, the leader of the people's revolution. That was when the idea of Mongolia's transition from feudalism to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage was just being advanced. Up to that time, the history of world civilization had never known anything of the kind.

Today, there is every reason to say that the experiment has been successful. Your example is a major gain of revolutionary thought, a valuable contribution to the practice of world socialism. Mongolia has in effect made a stride across the centuries, forging ahead in its social, economic and cultural development.

And we are proud to note that it has also been a period of the formation and all-round development of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation. Our peoples take a truly fraternal interest in each other's affairs and concerns.

The past few months have seen the congresses of several fraternal parties — the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic — and now it is the Mongolian communists who have met for their highest forum. All these congresses are keyed on a common theme: concern for the working people's well-being, for the prosperity of our countries, and the cohesion of our peoples in the struggle for the lofty goals of social progress and peace.

We heard with great attention comrade Tsedenbal's report on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee. That document contains a scientific analysis of the road that has been travelled, and gives a convincing account of the party's multifaceted activity. The MPRP is setting new and more complex, but quite realistic and well justified tasks, specifying the ways and means for their fulfillment. The party calls for a vigorous, creative approach to the urgent problems of social development, an approach which reckons both with the general uniformities of socialist construction, and with the country's concrete conditions and socio-historic traditions.

The Mongolian communists draw their strength from their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and from their close unity with the working masses. This is most forcefully confirmed by the MPRP's growing role in the present-day Mongolian society, by the correct political line followed by the party and its Central Committee, headed by comrade Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, a fine son of the Mongolian people, prominent leader of the international communist and working-class movement, and consistent internationalist. The people have confidence in the party's profoundly popular policy, fully approving and supporting it.

We know very well that the road you have travel-

led has not been easy. Trail blazing is never easy. The MPRP pinpoints the problems that arise and, relying on the energy of the masses, successfully solves them. Whatever the goal — fuller use of the advantages of socialism, greater efficiency of industrial and agricultural production, economy drive, or better training and use of manpower resources — the party takes a concrete and purposeful approach, seeking to do more and better tomorrow than today.

All this is geared to the task of improving the working people's well-being, and is coupled with extensive efforts to educate the new man, a man with an active civic position, a high sense of responsibility, genuine patriotism and internationalism. For it is the man of labor — arat, worker, engineer, or scientist — who is the main architect of the socialist homeland's fine present and even more wonderful future.

In cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, your republic has built new cities and large enterprises well up to modern scientific and technical standards. Such well-known industrial centers as Darkhan, Erdenet, and Baganur, built over the past few years, and the new projects that are now under construction in town and countryside show the confident strengthening and development of socialist Mongolia's material and technical basis.

Warm words have been spoken in this hall today with respect to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, its Central Committee and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev. Comrades, we appreciate your high assessment of the international importance of the CPSU's 26th congress, the broad support of its resolutions. The communists and all the other working people of our country — your true friends — are determined to go on strengthening and developing Soviet-Mongolian friendship.

A short while ago, we witnessed the flight of an orbital complex with a crew consisting of Soviet cosmonauts and a representative of people's Mongolia. The whole history of Soviet-Mongolian combat and labor brotherhood had led up to that flight. Yesterday we said: in one crew in battle and in one team in labor, and today we can add: in one spaceship in the cosmos.

By improving and enriching the forms of cooperation, by multiplying our joint efforts, the peoples of the socialist community have been scoring fresh successes. Socialist economic integration helps to accelerate the growth of the Mongolian economy, more rapidly to master modern scientific and technological achievements. The fraternal countries draw strength from their close friendship, from each other's successes, and we have everything necessary for each country's dynamic and consistent development. We are all interested in supplementing each other's economic potentialities, in ensuring that the common socialist market satisfies all the growing requirements of our peoples.

We are building socialism and communism, a society whose ideals are peace, labor and happiness. These lofty ideals inspire our foreign policy, our consistent struggle to eradicate war from mankind's life, for disarmament, for peaceful and mutually advantageous relations among the peoples of the world. This principled policy has once again been reaffirmed by the congresses of our parties.

The situation in the world is now fairly complicated. Bellicose imperialist circles are stepping up the arms race, seeking to interfere in other countries' internal affairs in a bid to stop social progress, and are pushing the world to the brink of war. In their attempts to aggravate the world situation, the imperialists have found active accomplices, the Peking leaders, who have made the struggle against the socialist community a major line of their foreign policy.

The atmosphere on the vast Asian continent is disquieting. The policy of imperialism and Chinese hegemonists cuts across the vital interests of the Asian countries, jeopardizing their security.

This is evident, for instance, from the establishment of new U.S. bases, the launching of a counter-revolutionary intervention against Afghanistan from Pakistani territory, and the intensified arming of Pakistan. Then there is also the overall build-up of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean region. Many Asian and African countries see this, and with good reason, as a direct threat to their independence.

And what is the purpose of the rapid deployment force being set up by U.S. imperialism? This shock

force is to be used thousands of miles away from the USA itself for aggressive action against other countries, for suppressing the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle.

As for Peking, it has everywhere followed in the wake of this provocative policy, ignoring not only the interests of peace, but also those of the Chinese people themselves. This is evidenced by its hostile policy with respect to neighboring states, including the Mongolian People's Republic, and its gross pressure on the countries of Indochina.

The Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, and other socialist-community countries expose the dangerous anti-popular policy, taking an active stand against it. This is our common internationalist duty. We express solidarity with the efforts of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. We shall go on extending our friendly cooperation with India and other peace-loving Asian states. The fraternal socialist countries, as the recent party congresses specially emphasized, have always sided and will continue to side with the peoples that are fighting for their freedom and independence.

Our policy is dictated by the interests of socialism and stronger peace. As you know, the 26th congress of the CPSU put forward a set of new initiatives for a radical improvement of the international situation, including confidence-building measures in the Far East. Progressive international opinion has described these initiatives as a Peace Program for the 1980s. Together with all the fraternal socialist countries, we shall work hard to put it into effect.

Sixth Congress of the German Communist Party

The sixth congress of the German Communist Party was held in Hannover from May 29 to 31. It was attended by more than 850 delegates. GCP Chairman Herbert Mies gave a report on behalf of the Party's Board. Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau and CC secretary, who led the Soviet delegation, spoke at the congress. Below is an account of the report by Herbert Mies and Boris Ponomaryov's speech.

Everything For Peace! Let Us Defend Social and Democratic Rights! — Report by Herbert Mies

Herbert Mies noted that in the period since the GCP's Mannheim congress, the party program adopted at that congress has proved to be a reliable political compass. We communists, he said, are guided by our programmatic provisions, which express the interests of the working people and make it possible to defend these interests in the struggle against capital, which craves for total power and superprofits. Together with all the other progressive forces, we have been working for a turn toward democratic and social progress. We communists want to open the way to socialism in our country as well.

Although the conditions of struggle have been

sharply aggravated, Herbert Mies went on, the party has always sought to keep abreast of the times. Over the past period, its activity, power and prestige have increased. Owing to the tireless work of the party's members and activists, 5,160 new members have joined its ranks since the Mannheim congress. Many of them are industrial workers. Today, the GCP has almost 50,000 communists. The figure is not very large, but their policy, their activity, their friendly bonds with young working-class German socialists and the Marxist student union Spartacus, their deep ties with the international communist and working-class movement have turned the party into an in-

fluent force. The GCP's activity has helped to invigorate the country's working class and democratic forces.

We communists, Herbert Mies continued, are a part of the FRG's working people. We share their hopes and apprehensions, their aspirations and disappointments, their work and everyday life. And we know: the life of the ordinary people in our country has become more difficult. The younger generation is anxious about its future. The whole people are concerned about the future of peace.

The question of whether to build up arms and deploy U.S. nuclear missiles or to ensure security through disarmament and a refusal to host U.S. missiles has split the country's political forces into two camps. The resistance to NATO's intention to deploy Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in the FRG is intensifying. This is indicated by demonstrations, statements by politicians and clergymen, the formation of new committees for the struggle for peace, peace forums and "peace weeks", and statements by scientists dealing with security problems. Another indication is that more than 800,000 FRG citizens have signed the Krefeld Appeal. Then there is also the massive support for the Bielefeld Address, "Courageous Struggle for a Better Future," which has already been signed by more than 10,000 SDPG members and activists. On the whole, the peace movement in the FRG has taken on new dimensions, spreading to diverse sections of the population, a movement of great attractive power. This sweeping movement is the result of the efforts of peace fighters, the result of communists' activity.

The struggle against the threat of a destructive war, Herbert Mies went on, is tied in with an awareness that world problems in our day can be settled peacefully. The ways and means for this are pointed out in the Soviet Peace Program, and in the Soviet Union's numerous concrete proposals for disarmament. Such ways and means have also been proposed by realistically-minded forces in the FRG. There is a growing sense of indignation among our people over the situation in the world, when more resources are wasted on arms than on education and health care taken together, when 600 million people are undernourished, when at least 1 billion lack decent housing, 1.5 billion have virtually no access to medical assistance, and 250 million children cannot attend school. In the FRG, DM 70,000 is wasted on armaments every minute. Realizing all this, the masses reinforce their demand to put an end to the frenzied arms race, and to allocate, at long last, the billions that are now being squandered on the manufacture of ever more dangerous mass destruction weapons to the solution of mankind's economic, social and ecological problems.

The FRG's peace forces are united in their concern over the fact that the federal government's moves contradict the fundamental interests of the states in furthering international détente. Some wonder: is there any rational explanation at all for the FRG's present policy in foreign and military affairs? After all, its ruling circles are perfectly aware of the fatally dangerous consequences of the

implementation of NATO's missile decision.

Political adventurism is always hard to explain. Of course, the FRG's ruling circles do not aim at self-annihilation. Nor do they want to lose the free scope in foreign policy which they have acquired owing to their realistic policy, as well as their advantageous economic ties with the socialist countries. But the imperialists remain imperialists. They hate existing socialism because it is the main force of social progress in our days, and because its might is increasingly restricting capitalism's possibilities for treating the peoples as it chooses.

Together with the imperialists of all countries, they are looking for means and opportunities to stop the further advance of the forces of progress, to retain their power and the sources of profit and raw materials. They want imperialism to attain military superiority over the socialist countries. As for the imperialists of the FRG, who have no intention of resigning themselves to the results of the Second World War, they want even more. The recent decision to publish present-day geographical maps showing Germany within its 1937 borders clearly indicates that some of them are still harboring great-power dreams, and that some of them apparently believe that they could move a step closer to their revanchist goals by supporting the present U.S. policy of confrontation and the missile deployment plans. Of course, such views are just an illusion. But they present a mortal danger and amount to playing with fire.

And when Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the course of his visit to the USA sacrifices the Social Democrats' peace policy to the Pentagon, for whom there are things "more important than peace," this is also playing with fire. By threatening to resign if the NATO decision is not put into effect, the Chancellor has proclaimed a crusade by the advocates of deployment against its opponents.

Whenever it is a matter of mustering public opinion in favor of further armament and greater military outlays, their advocates resort to anti-Sovietism. In defiance of the true state of affairs, the Chancellor accuses the Soviet Union of allegedly having used the period of détente to build up its arms and attain military superiority.

The Soviet Union, Herbert Mies noted, has always openly declared that NATO measures would entail Soviet counter-measures. As for the Soviet Union itself, it has never aimed at military superiority. We ask the Chancellor: isn't it true that for some time now not only the USA, but also the FRG have been building up their arms without restraint? Hasn't the federal government accepted NATO's long-term program and has even stepped it up? Hasn't it approved President Carter's Directive 59? Hasn't it — we want to point this out as well — created over the past few years a powerful monopolistic arms industry in violation of the restrictions in international law to which the FRG was subjected after the Second World War? Those who, like the federal government, encourage and support the arms mafia, instead of taking steps to curtail it, have no right either from the standpoint of the se-

curity policy or for moral reasons to reproach the Soviet Union for strengthening its defense potential.

No one should forget, especially today, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, that the roar of the fascist bombers is still very much alive in the memory of the Soviet people and the peoples of other countries. So, they have every reason to be anxious over the program for the manufacture of the new Tornado bombers. Nor have they forgotten the fascist Tiger tanks. So, there is every reason to ask: who will be the target of the new Leopards? The peoples have every reason to be concerned over what will happen when the Federal Republic is stuffed with U.S. nuclear missiles.

We want to avert this danger, and so keep appealing to the reason of the ruling politicians, warning them not to lead our country into the blind alley of political adventurism. The FRG's present chancellor wrote in the 1960s that "the deployment of medium-range missiles, so to speak, on the threshold . . . is psychologically bound to be seen by any great power as a provocation. Imagine the U.S. reaction to the possible deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba." Having drawn such a conclusion, how can one assume the responsibility for the decision on nuclear missiles?

Together with other peace-loving and realistically-minded forces, we communists demand: the federal government must withdraw its consent to the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles. Talks must be started without delay in order to limit and reduce medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. While the talks are in progress, it is necessary to declare a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe by NATO and the USSR. We demand the withdrawal of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons from the territory of our country. Down with the U.S. plans for the manufacture of neutron weapons and their deployment in Western Europe! End the increase of military expenditures!

The speaker went on to note the urgent need for U.S.-Soviet talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The communiqué of the NATO Council's Rome session, he said, clearly shows that the USA is still bent on escalating the arms race. Reagan, Haig and Weinberger have still not given any thought to serious negotiations with the Soviet Union. Such a conclusion can also be drawn from Helmut Schmidt's visit to the USA, and also from the Bundestag meeting this week. This is also well known to Mr. Genscher, who has recommended the government use more flexible tactics and profess a readiness to negotiate so as to abate the tide of indignation over NATO's latest plans. The thing to do now is to work hard to get serious negotiations under way and ensure that these yield tangible results.

Imperialist policy, which is irresponsibly toying with the destiny of mankind, Herbert Mies said, is confronted with the consistent peace policy of socialism. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the

Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, clearly said at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "To safeguard peace — no task is more important now on the international plane for our party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world." The practice of Soviet policy fully coincides with these words. This is evident from the Peace Program for the 1980s put forward at the 26th congress of the CPSU. It is also evident from the Soviet Union's unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from the GDR, and its readiness to continue the disarmament process. In accordance with the common peaceful interests of the peoples, and also with the national interests of our country, we communists welcome and support the Soviet peace initiatives. We are convinced that they give a new and powerful impulse to the struggle to maintain peace.

While voicing our firm confidence in the successful development of existing socialism, the speaker went on, we do not overlook and are concerned about the complicated situation in the Polish People's Republic. When we hear voices denigrating socialism and eulogizing the so-called free market economy, and when trade unions emerge which are alien to the traditions of the revolutionary working-class movement and boast of the support they get from anti-socialist forces from abroad, it becomes clear that the subversive centers of imperialism and the internal counter-revolutionary forces have managed, making skillful use of the PUWP's serious mistakes, to create a situation in the country which jeopardizes the socialist system. And, we think, this danger cannot be reduced by making concessions to the anti-socialist forces, as has been done until recently. We are convinced that socialism in Poland can be successfully defended and strengthened only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party that takes purposeful and militant action in the spirit of the principles of proletarian internationalism. We frankly declare: the interests of the Polish working class and the Polish nation in general, of the whole socialist community, of all the progressive forces in the world, and also the interests of peace make it necessary to avert the danger of a counter-revolution in Poland without delay. Our party, which has bonds of solidarity and friendship with the Polish people, is unreservedly on the side of the working people and communists of Poland who are defending the socialist cause.

Herbert Mies expressed the GCP's solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Speaking of the relations among the various social forces in the FRG, taking part in the struggle against the nuclear-missile threat, the GCP Chairman especially noted the importance of joint action with the Social Democrats.

He then went on to speak of the problems facing the GCP in its struggle for the working people's democratic rights, against the "berufsverbot" job prohibition, and ways of organizing resistance to the reactionary and Nazi offensive.

Much attention in the report is devoted to the

problems of increasing the party's ranks, primarily by drawing in industrial workers and young people, by strengthening the party's organizational, ideological and political unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

International cohesion of the communists of all countries and continents, Herbert Mies noted, is a major historical lesson and, at the same time, a major imperative of our day. We have strengthened and extended our friendly ties with the CPSU, the SUPG, and the parties of other socialist countries. We have extended our relations with the fraternal parties in states following the anti-imperialist line and in countries fighting for national liberation. We have been working together with the fraternal parties of other capitalist countries. These friendly ties have further strengthened our party's international positions, serving the interests of the country's working class.

Loyalty to proletarian internationalism has been and remains an unshakeable principle of our party. We denounce the policy followed by the leadership

of the Communist Party of China as a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet and adventurist policy, which is a threat to peace. We shall continue to display vigilance in order to protect the party's ideological strength. Now that the imperialist and reactionary forces are increasingly coordinating their efforts, the communists of all countries must rally even closer together. But our primary concern is to help, as it was said at the 26th congress of the CPSU, to ensure that everyone should abide by this principle: "The great unifying principle, a powerful factor furthering cohesion and enhancing the prestige of the world communist movement, is the communists' unremitting struggle for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policy, and the arms race that carries with it the danger of a nuclear disaster."

On May 31, the new GCP Board met in plenary session. It elected the Presidium of the Board, including Herbert Mies, Hermann Gautier, Martha Buschmann, Kurt Bachmann, Kurt Erlebach, Kurt Fritsch, and others.

Speech by Boris Ponomarev

Fraternal long-standing bonds link our party with the German communists, Boris Ponomarev said. The Soviet people deeply respect and value the contribution made to the common working-class cause by the outstanding leaders of the German communist movement: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Wilhelm Pieck, Max Reimann.

In the Soviet Union's hour of trial when Hitler's hordes were pushing toward Moscow and Leningrad, toward the Volga and the Caucasus, we always knew that there was another Germany, the Germany of anti-fascists. That other Germany was personified by Ernst Thaelmann, an outstanding German communist and a great friend of our country.

We know and remember that much of the credit for everything good that has appeared in the relationship between the peoples of our countries over the past few decades goes to the communists of the Federal Republic and to their selfless struggle for the truth and the ideals of internationalism in the grim years of the cold war.

The communists have the most advanced and the only correct theory at their disposal: the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This powerful weapon makes it possible to analyze the processes occurring in each country and in the world as a whole from a scientific, class angle. The report of the party's Board, presented by Herbert Mies, a man widely known to the entire communist and democratic movement, is a case in point.

Comrades,

Your congress has "Everything for Peace" as its motto. You have called it an "anti-missile congress." And that is yet another indication that communists correctly and clearly express the major current concerns of the masses, problems which touch on the vital nerve of the whole nation and which, without any doubt, affect its very existence. Leonid

Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU congress: "... At present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being — the right to life." And it will be right to say that this universal truth is of greater significance to the people of your country than to many other nations. And their responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the Earth is also very high.

In the course of a hundred-odd years, German militarism has three times kindled the flames of the most destructive wars, both European and global, which have claimed over 60 million lives. Twenty million Soviet people died in the Second World War. The German people suffered heavy losses as well.

In our day, it has for the first time become possible to live without wars, in the conditions of lasting peace. Europe's 36 peaceful years have proved this conclusively. This has become possible because of the increased strength of existing socialism, the society that by nature rejects the very idea of aggression and upholds peace, and also because the peoples have learned their lessons from the Second World War and from the cold war, which made a nuclear disaster quite possible. They are coming to realize their own ability to prevent war.

But in recent years the clouds of a war danger have again gathered over the world. Imperialism does not want to put up with détente and reckon with the peoples' will to decide their own destinies and live in an environment of peaceful coexistence. Hence the attempts of imperialism to rewrite history and take social revenge, so to speak. The main purpose behind these attempts is to build up force so as to use its militarist fist against the cause of peace, freedom and social progress. The arms drive means an attack on the living standards of the working people and fabulous profits for the arms monopolies.

It is the Washington hawks that are calling the tune in the present crusade against peace, détente and national liberation.

The world was shocked to hear a high-ranking leader of the main imperialist power utter the blasphemous statement that "there are certain things that are more important than peace." And that is being said in the nuclear age! The same man has more than once explained that the "most important" things are the interests of the United States, naturally as perceived in the light of the requirements of the military-industrial complex. In our day, pursuit of world supremacy is fraught with a mortal danger to the whole of mankind.

We regret to state that this danger is underestimated in many Western capitals. As one could see from the NATO Council's recent meeting in Rome, the unprecedented pressure from across the Atlantic produced a result that can only worsen the international situation. In return for a vague promise to begin negotiations with the USSR, the United States' West European partners have virtually given the green light for yet another and extremely dangerous round of the arms race in Europe. This was further demonstrated by the recent meeting of the NATO defense ministers in Brussels, where the West Europeans pledged themselves to tighten their belts and step up military spending.

Amazing as it may seem, there are people who are glad that the new American medium-range missiles sited in West Germany can reach Moscow in a matter of four minutes. But if such missiles are deployed in your country, this will create a real danger of their being used against other peoples. What does this mean? It means that an aggressive war may again break out from German soil. It would not be a conventional war. It would be a nuclear war.

It appears that some people in America would be pleased to see things developing that way. For the Europeans, however, this would mean the destruction of everything created by the genius and labor of the peoples throughout their history.

If so, by opposing the deployment of American missiles on West German soil, the missiles that may detonate a new war, you not only promote the cause of peace but, in effect, help to save your own people and your civilization. The struggle for peace in Europe is a struggle for the future of all mankind.

To justify their plans, the ideologues of imperialism keep pouring torrents of lies and slander on the Soviet policy. They keep plugging the allegation about a "Soviet military threat." Do they have any proof? They have none. No one has ever proved what motives and reasons the Soviet Union might have to provoke a military confrontation with other countries. There are no such reasons and there cannot be any.

On the other hand, we have serious and most weighty reasons for seeking peace. These reasons are rooted in the very foundations of our system and our vital goals. The 26th congress of our party convincingly demonstrated them once again.

Boris Ponomarev went on to tell the GCP congress about the results of the Soviet people's con-

structive efforts and their plans for the future.

Everyone who comes to our country can see that the Soviet people are being educated in a spirit of peaceableness, friendship and respect for other peoples. Would one do this if one wanted to fight, suppress or threaten anyone?

The highest forum of our party, the 26th congress of the CPSU, demonstrated to the whole world, to all the peoples our commitment to the cause of peace and our determination to do everything to strengthen it. The new peace proposals formulated by Leonid Brezhnev cover the most controversial and urgent international problems. These proposals are profoundly realistic. In them, the USSR expresses its readiness to ensure détente and curb the arms race through fair negotiations. They are not meant to obtain any one-sided advantages for the Soviet Union. The 1979 SALT-2, which has now, unfortunately, been frozen by the U.S. administration, bears this out.

Of course, we cannot, we have no right to sit idle in face of the growing war preparations of imperialism, which, far from concealing, it threateningly flaunts. The Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have not built socialism to allow imperialism to speak the language of threats to them and tell them how they should behave. "We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side," Leonid Brezhnev said in his address to the 26th congress. "That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind and talking to us from a position of strength are absolutely futile."

That is why we are taking measures to maintain our defenses at a proper level. But these are truly defensive measures. In the West, in the FRG in particular, one may hear that the Soviet Union "is arming excessively" and that it has upset the existing parity. All that is untrue.

The fact is that, first, the number of medium-range nuclear vehicles in Europe has for several years remained approximately the same, about 1,000 on each side. Here NATO has a considerable stockpile of nuclear weapons capable of reaching the territory of the USSR. The nuclear armaments of the Soviet Union in Europe do not exceed that level. In analyzing the balance of nuclear forces, one cannot single out just some particular type of weapons, as, say, land-based missiles. The nuclear potentials should be considered as complexes, because that is the only basis on which the principle of the parties' equal security can be observed.

Second, in replacing its old missiles with new ones, the Soviet Union, in order to preserve the nuclear parity, not only did not increase the overall number of medium-range nuclear vehicles by a single unit, but even decreased it: with the deployment of each new (SS-20) missile the USSR simultaneously removed one or two old missiles.

Third, if we consider the number of nuclear warheads, we shall find that NATO's medium-range armaments can already carry about 1.5 times more of these than the corresponding systems of the

USSR. The replacement of old missiles with new ones has not led to Soviet superiority in this field. Rather than increasing, the total yield of the warheads of Soviet medium-range missiles has even decreased.

This must be clearly understood: the deployment of new U.S. missiles is a way to destabilize the international situation. The Soviet Union, for its part, is persistently working for a relaxation of tension. It proposed and is proposing negotiations before these missiles appear on European soil.

As you may remember, Leonid Brezhnev, speaking in Berlin on October 6, 1979, put forward a proposal to the NATO countries that negotiations on medium-range nuclear arms be held on a mutually acceptable basis. It was then authoritatively stated that the Soviet Union was prepared to cut the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the western part of the USSR if no new medium-range U.S. nuclear weapons were additionally stationed in Western Europe. The proposal is still valid. However, the NATO countries chose the course dictated by Washington.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of Hitler's attack on the USSR. We shall observe this date so as once again to remind the peoples of the importance of averting a new war. Feelings of revenge are alien to us. On the contrary, we are for peaceful cooperation and friendly relations with your country. One should mention in this context the 1970 Moscow Treaty and the mutually beneficial agreements that have been signed, in particular, the agreement on the extension and development of long-term economic and industrial cooperation between the USSR and the FRG, concluded during Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG in May 1978.

We want our relations to go on developing along

the line of peaceful cooperation, and not confrontation. We are sure that peaceful cooperation with the USSR fully meets the interests of the FRG and its people, while the calls to turn the territory of the Federal Republic into a launching pad of missiles targeted on us contradict these interests. Even more at odds with these interests are the calls, sometimes heard in your country, to master and popularize the "traditions" of Hitler's Wehrmacht.

All of the latest facts — the demonstrations in many countries involving hundreds of thousands of people, the collective letters and appeals against the military danger, and the speeches delivered in parliaments and municipal councils — show that the peoples do not want war. However, the warmongers and NATO bosses are stubbornly building up armaments and increasing the military danger. All this calls for new energetic efforts by all those who are striving to prevent a catastrophe. The experience of the postwar years proves that war can be prevented.

Our party urges all the parties acting in the workers' movement to pool their efforts against the military danger. At the 26th congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev emphasized the great opportunities of the social democrats and their great responsibility for the cause of peace and the security of nations. Once more in the present century, the communists are stretching out their hand to social democrats for a joint struggle to rid mankind of new and destructive wars, to safeguard peace.

The communists are working selflessly for peace, for the interests of the working class and all working people, Boris Ponomarev concluded. We agree with Herbert Mies, who spoke here of the need — which is more imperative today than yesterday — to strengthen the unity of communist ranks in the name of peace and social progress.

Letter from the Sixth Congress of the GCP to the CPSU Central Committee

Dear Comrades,

On June 22, it will be 40 years since Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, so turning the Second World War, unleashed by German monopoly capitalism, into the bloodiest and most destructive war mankind has ever known. It took a toll of 50 million lives, and 35 million persons were disabled. In the struggle against German fascism, the Soviet peoples alone lost 20 million lives. The German people paid the price of 6 million lives. Eight million people were destroyed in fascist prisons and concentration camps. Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was not only a monstrous crime against the Soviet people, but also the gravest crime ever committed by German imperialism against the German nation itself.

Today, 40 years later, the forces of the past in Bonn and Washington are planning to jeopardize the future of our continent by deploying new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles. In the early 1980s, as a result of NATO's Brussels decision on missiles,

the détente of the 1970s could turn into its opposite. Today, 40 years after the fascist attack on the Soviet Union, an all-destructive conflict could once again break out from German soil; our country is being turned into a nuclear target, and our continent is threatened with total destruction.

At this hour, we communists of the Federal Republic of Germany reaffirm our readiness to do everything to prevent the outbreak of another war from German soil. The oath which was taken before the whole world by German anti-fascists of diverse views after the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and which has become the main principle in the whole political activity of the GDR, the socialist German state, this oath has now acquired a special urgency and importance for the people of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The GCP members are aware of their unity with the steadily rising movement for peace in our country, whose purpose is to end the nuclear arms race and prevent the deployment of new nuclear missiles

in the Federal Republic. The proposals for disarmament, détente and negotiations put forward at the 26th congress of the CPSU are of great help to us in this struggle.

We know that the Soviet people need peace, that they want peace and are defending it. The communist construction in the Soviet Union does not pose any threat to the working people of the Federal Republic. On the contrary, peace and détente between our peoples guarantee the lives of millions of people in the Federal Republic, provide them with jobs and bread.

We know that our industrially developed state can no longer cope with the arms drive, which is getting beyond its means. We know that our people do not

want the emplacement along the Rhine of nuclear missiles with warheads targeted on Moscow, and that behind this lurks the strategic goal of U.S. imperialism: to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. It is the very same goal which 40 years ago induced German imperialism to attack the Soviet Union.

Dear comrades,

From the rostrum of our party's sixth congress, we assure all Soviet communists, all Soviet citizens, of the FRG communists' unbending will to do everything in their power in the struggle for disarmament, prevent the deployment of the new nuclear missiles, promote mutual understanding between our peoples, ensure and defend peace.

Turn the Mediterranean into a Zone of Stable Peace and Cooperation

The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government gave a dinner at the Grand Kremlin Palace on June 9 in honor of President Chadli Bendjedid of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, General Secretary of the Front for National Liberation Party, who arrived in Moscow on an official visit.

At the dinner, a speech was delivered by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev.

From Leonid Brezhnev's Speech

The unprecedented arms race, unleashed by the United States, and the Pentagon's global strategic manipulations—the whole frantic activity, which, to put it frankly, is designed to establish world domination of U.S. imperialism, has quite understandably aroused the peoples' protests and indignation.

In order to weaken such a response, deception is used and public opinion is deluded. This is exemplified by the myth of some "Soviet military threat"—an old trick of the enemies of socialism—which is being persistently spread by Washington and its Peking and other yesmen. Indeed, things have gone so far that high-ranking representatives of the U.S. administration do not disdain to spread open fabrications in their urge to distort and smear the policy of the USSR.

Another example is the attempt to declare as "terrorism" the peoples' struggle for their national liberation and social emancipation. The absurdity of such allegations should be particularly clear to the Algerian people, who had to wage an armed struggle for freedom and independence for seven years.

The U.S. administration, which has frozen SALT-2 and has not agreed to a resumption of the dialogue with us on problems of medium-range weapons in Europe, is now trying to lull its allies and public opinion. It is being alleged in Washington that the United States will shortly start or that it has even already started talks with the Soviet Union on questions of arms limitation.

Unfortunately, these are mere words. I can say quite definitely: so far not a single real step has been taken on the part of the United States since the installation of the present U.S. administration either on the one or the other question in order to continue, at least preliminarily, the discussion of the essence of these questions. On the contrary, under various pretexts the Americans are delaying the beginning of such a discussion, while we, for our part, are prepared for it at any time.

Meanwhile, the unrestrained build-up by the West of military budgets and armaments, the cult of force, diktat and threats in international relations, the whipping up of hatred for the socialist countries and liberation movements and persecution of all progressive parties are leading today to grim consequences for the peoples.

One of these is the bloody wave of terrorism by right-wing extremists, which is nowadays literally sweeping many states in various parts of the world. The targets of terrorism are prominent, including the highest ranking statesmen, political and religious figures. For all the difference in the specific circumstances, their common aim can be seen quite clearly—it is to destabilize political life in the countries concerned, suppress democracy and create conditions for a take-over by the most reactionary dictatorial regimes.

You, Algerian comrades, know from the experience of your liberation struggle what imperialist

terrorism is: fresh in your memory are the atrocities perpetrated by the notorious OAS.

But the peoples of the world see opportunities for mankind's development other than the way into the poisonous swamp of hatred, terrorism and military preparations. For its part, the Soviet Union put forward at the recent congress of the CPSU a wide program of specific measures to create a healthier international climate and to build up confidence between states. We will pursue this policy with perseverance and consistence.

This also, of course, concerns our relations with the United States. We tell the U.S. leaders in our contacts with them, and I am repeating this in public: we do not seek a confrontation with the USA, we do not encroach upon America's lawful interests. We want peace, cooperation and normal relations between our countries, based on mutual trust. This is precisely why we offer the United States and other Western countries fair constructive talks, a quest for mutually acceptable solutions for virtually all the major issues existing between us. We want a joint quest for ways toward a lasting peace and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Our stand on problems such as the Middle East and the Mediterranean, which are close both to Algeria and the Soviet Union, is also determined by the striving for a just and lasting peace.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its stand on the Middle East settlement in concrete and explicit terms. This stand meets with growing understanding and support from the Arab states, to whose contribution to the efforts to ensure a lasting peace in the Middle East we attach tremendous significance.

The imperialists' crusade against détente has not bypassed the Mediterranean. Increasing pressure is being brought to bear on Spain with the aim of drawing it into NATO. A clearly inequitable agreement on U.S. military bases is being imposed on Greece. The campaign of hostility and hatred against the progressive countries of that region is being toughened up.

The Soviet Union believes that it is necessary and possible to turn the Mediterranean from an area of military-political confrontation into a zone of stable peace and cooperation.

In our view, the attainment of international agreements on the following issues could serve these aims:

- extension to the Mediterranean area of confidence-building measures in the military field, which have already proved to be effective in international practice;

- coordinated reduction of armed forces in the area;

- withdrawal from the Mediterranean of ships carrying nuclear weapons;

- renunciation of deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of Mediterranean non-nuclear countries;

- adoption of a commitment by the nuclear powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not permit the deployment of such weapons on its territory.

Together with all the states concerned, we are also prepared, of course, to examine any other initiatives and ideas in this direction.

Pravda, June 10, 1981

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To the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is sending this letter to you with a feeling of deep anxiety for the fate of socialism in Poland, for Poland as a free and independent country.

Our action is motivated by the interest we have as members of the CPSU in the affairs of the party of Polish communists, in the whole of the Polish sister nation and of socialist Poland which is an integral part of the Warsaw Pact and of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Soviet and Polish communists have acted together shoulder to shoulder in the fight against fascism and have been bound together during all the years since the war. Our party and all the Soviet people have helped their Polish comrades in the construction of a new life. And we cannot but be anxious about the mortal danger that at present hangs over the revolutionary achievements of the Polish nation.

We say openly: certain tendencies in the development of People's Poland, in particular in the field of ideology, and in the economic policy of its previous leaderships, have caused us great anxiety for many years past. In complete agreement with the spirit of the relations existing between the CPSU and the PUWP, we had already spoken about this with that leadership during talks at the very highest level and at other meetings. Unfortunately, these friendly warnings, as well as the deeply critical statements expressed in the PUWP itself, were not taken into account and were even ignored. As a result, a profound crisis broke out in Poland which extended to the whole economic and political life of the country.

The change in the entire leadership of the PUWP, the effort of the party to overcome the serious errors and violations of the rules of the construction of socialism, to regain the confidence of the masses and above all of the entire working class in the party, and to reinforce socialist democracy, have been entirely understood by us. From the first days of the crisis, we considered it important that the party should firmly oppose the attempts of the enemies of socialism to take advantage of the difficulties that have arisen for their long-term aims. But this was not done. The continual concessions to the anti-socialist forces and their demands has led to a situation in which the PUWP has retreated step by step under the pressure of the internal counter-revolution, which is supported by foreign centers of imperialist diversion.

At the present time, the situation is not only dangerous, but it has led the country into a critical

situation. It is not possible to arrive at any other conclusion. The enemies of socialist Poland do not conceal this nor do they conceal their intentions. They are carrying out a struggle for power and are already winning it. They are taking control of one position after another. Counter-revolution is using the extremist wing of Solidarity as a striking force. It has tricked workers who have joined this trade union, to drag them into a criminal plot against the people's power. A wave of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is being developed. The imperialist forces are undertaking ever more audacious attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland.

The serious danger which hangs over socialism in Poland also constitutes a threat to the very existence of an independent Polish state. If the worst happened and the enemies of socialism came to power, if Poland no longer enjoyed the defense of the socialist countries, then the hungry hands of imperialism would fasten themselves upon her. Who could then guarantee the independence, the sovereignty, the frontiers of Poland as a state? No one.

You remember, comrades, the meeting of the leaders of the fraternal parties of the socialist community which took place in Moscow on December 5, 1980. On March 4, 1981, there took place talks between the Soviet leadership and the PUWP delegation to the 26th congress of the CPSU. On April 23 this year a delegation of the CPSU met the entire Polish party leadership. During these meetings, as well as in the course of other contacts, we voiced our growing anxiety regarding the activities of the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland. We spoke of the need to overcome the confusion in the ranks of the PUWP, to defend party cadres decisively against enemy attacks and to defend people's power.

We called particular attention to the fact that the enemy had gained control of the mass information media which, for the greater part, had become instruments of anti-socialist activities and which were being used to undermine socialism and disorganize the party. Attention was drawn to the fact that the battle for the party would not be won while the press, radio and television were working, not for the PUWP, but for its enemies.

We vigorously pointed out the need to reinforce the authority of the organs of public order and the army and to strengthen them against the ambitions of the counter-revolutionary forces. When a free hand is given to those who calumny and attempt to disorganize the security organs, the militia and even the army, this, in practice, implies the disarming of the socialist state and abandoning it to the class enemy.

We wish to underline the fact that on all the questions discussed, Stanislaw Kania, Wojciech Jaruzelski and the other Polish comrades expressed their agreement with our points of view. But in fact nothing changed. Nor was there any change in the policy of concessions and compromise. One position after another was surrendered without taking into account the documents of the last Central Committee plenum, drawing attention to the counter-revolutionary threat. Up till now, not a single measure has been taken in practice to counter this threat, nor have the organizers of the counter-revolution been directly mentioned.

In the past period the situation inside the PUWP itself has become a subject of particular concern. Little more than a month remains before the party congress. Despite this, it is the forces hostile to socialism who are more and more setting the pace in the campaign for the election of delegates and of the leadership bodies. It is not unusual for people chosen at random, and who openly preach opportunist points of view, to get into local party organizations and to be included as delegates to conferences and to the congress. This fact cannot but cause anxiety. The result of the many manipulations by the revisionists and opportunist enemies of the PUWP is that experienced militants completely devoted to the cause of the party and with an irreproachable reputation, are put on one side.

The fact that among the delegates elected to the forthcoming congress there are only a very small number of communists of working class origin is also a cause for profound anxiety. The process of preparation for the congress is complicated by the so-called horizontal movement which constitutes an instrument for dismantling the party to the advantage of the opportunists to bring to the congress people who are indispensable to them. Nor can the possibility be excluded that, during the congress itself, an attempt could be made to deliver a decisive blow to the Marxist-Leninist forces in the party, so as to liquidate them.

We wish to say in particular that during the past months the forces of counter-revolution have been carrying out all sorts of anti-Soviet activity aimed at wiping out the results of the activity of our two parties and to revive nationalist and anti-Soviet feel-

ings in various sections of Polish society. These slanderers and liars do not stop at anything. They claim that the Soviet Union allegedly "plunders Poland" — and this is being said without taking into account that the Soviet Union has given, and is giving, enormous extra material aid in this difficult period. This is being said of a country which, by its deliveries of oil, gas, minerals and cotton at prices up to half world prices, is actually supplying the main branches of Polish industry.

Dear comrades, in addressing ourselves to you through this letter, we have not only in mind our anxiety for Poland, for the future perspective for Soviet-Polish cooperation. We, as well as the brother parties, are no less concerned at the fact that the offensive of the anti-socialist forces, enemies of People's Poland, threaten the interests of our entire community, its cohesion, its integrity and the security of its frontiers. Yes, our joint security. Imperialist reaction is supporting and stimulating Polish counter-revolution and does not conceal its hopes to change the balance of forces in Europe and the world in its favor.

Imperialism is actively using the Polish crisis to denigrate the economic system, the ideals and principles of socialism. It is being used for new attacks against the international communist movement.

Thus the PUWP has not only the historic responsibility for the fate of its own country, its independence and its progress, for the cause of socialism in Poland. You comrades also carry an enormous responsibility for the joint interests of the socialist community.

We consider that it is still possible to avoid the worst and a national catastrophe. In the PUWP there are many honest and determined communists who are ready to fight for the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, for independent Poland. In Poland there are many people devoted to the cause of socialism. The working class, even workers who have been tricked by the enemies' machinations, will after full reflection, follow the party.

It is now necessary to mobilize all the healthy elements of society, to counter the class enemy and combat counter-revolution. This requires in the first place a revolutionary will on the part of the party, its militants and its leadership. Yes, its leadership. Time is running out. The party can and must find in itself the forces to reverse the course of events and channel them in the right direction even before the congress.

We would like to believe that the Central Committee of our sister Polish Party will rise to its historic responsibilities.

We wish to assure you, dear comrades, that in these difficult days, as in the past, the Central Committee of the CPSU, all Soviet communists and all the Soviet people are in solidarity with your struggle. Our point of view was succinctly expressed by comrade Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU: "We will not abandon fraternal, socialist Poland in its hour of need, we will stand by it."

*Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

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Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee

The 11th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee was held on June 9 and 10, 1981. The Polish press agency published the text of the plenary meeting's resolutions, which says that the political, social and economic crisis in the country is intensifying. The steps that have been taken up to now to overcome the crisis have not yielded positive results. The state of the economy is constantly deteriorating. The political situation is becoming ever more complicated, and the counter-revolutionary threat to the very existence of the socialist system in Poland is growing. The destabilization of the state and the economy undermines Poland's position as a reliable partner in the international arena, its good name and position in the community of socialist states.

All party members, all Poles, the resolution notes, must realize the historic responsibility now falling on our state and people. The security of Poland's borders, its independence and sovereignty depends on whether it will remain a strong socialist state.

The PUWP declares that Poland has been, is and will continue to be a socialist state making a considerable contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community, to peace and social progress.

Friendship and alliance with the USSR are a cornerstone of Polish foreign policy, guaranteeing the country's independence and security, and creating favorable conditions for Poland's development.

We shall work to strengthen, the resolution goes on, the political and military cooperation under the Warsaw Treaty. We shall resolutely develop mutually advantageous cooperation in the CMEA, aimed at deepening socialist economic integration.

We have confidence in the opinion and conclusions of the fraternal parties in matters relating to the vitally important interests of the international working-class movement, to the defense of socialism above all. It is in this spirit that the PUWP Central Committee received the CPSU Central Committee's letter as an open one and showing concern for the development of the situation in Poland and the preservation of the basic socialist values in our country.

The PUWP Central Committee affirms the similarity of the views of the two parties assessing the current situation in Poland and expresses this in the present resolution. We resolutely confirm our party's will to take consistent action for the benefit of socialism.

The PUWP Central Committee's resolution goes on: The implementation of the party and government's policy is still being violated by forces hostile to socialism. They launch political campaigns endangering the state's stabilization, its security and sovereignty. The goal of these forces is to seize power and overthrow socialism.

The Central Committee declares that the Polish United Workers' Party is the main guarantee for

implementing the process of socialist transformations. Its ideological unity and organizational cohesion, the activity of all its members and units are the key to overcoming the profound social crisis.

The resolution notes a number of points relating to the ongoing report and election campaign in the PUWP. It points out in this context that there are tendencies within the party leading to a split in the PUWP and undermining its Marxist-Leninist nature and organizational cohesion, and attempts are being made at factionalism. The PUWP Central Committee resolutely turns down the revisionist concepts aimed at eliminating the party's leading role or limiting its leading role solely to the ideological sphere, and depriving it of the instruments of political power. This is the main danger. At the same time, the Central Committee emphasizes the need for resolute struggle against conservative views and attitudes which complicate the process of restoring the party's ties with the masses, and reminds of the duty of every party member, of all the party organs and organizations scrupulously to observe the PUWP rules. Anyone who violates these rules must be punished without hesitation in the primary party organizations or in the party organs and control commissions.

The CC resolution calls on the Polish government, on all state organs standing on guard of the law to take determined action in defense of the state, its institutions and representatives, to resist the hostile propaganda, anarchy and self-rule. In order to defend socialism and civil rights, resolute steps must be taken to restore tranquility and social order, and also to normalize the working rhythm at the enterprises and establishments. The administrative authorities, civil militia and the security service, and also the judicial organs must use every available opportunity for doing their duty to the state and the citizens. This is an indispensable condition for restoring legality.

Recognizing the justice of the criticism directed at the activity of the mass media by many participants in the CC plenary meeting, the meeting instructs the CC Political Bureau and Secretariat urgently to take all the necessary political and organizational measures, to assess the activity of journalistic personnel and adopt personnel decisions which will serve to ensure that the press, radio and television implement the line of the party and the socialist state.

A major task of ideological and propaganda activity is to take a consistent stand against manifestations of anti-Sovietism, distortions of Poland's modern history, the rehabilitation of bourgeois political concepts, and a nihilistic attitude to People's Poland.

The government and public order bodies, the resolution says, must, in accordance with the country's laws, bring to book all persons whose activities are aimed to undermine the interests of the state and the people, especially those who put out and circu-

late anti-socialist publications and leaflets advocating breaches of public order, who inspire the anti-Soviet campaign spearheaded against Poland's most vital interests and alliances, who attack administrative personnel, state and party leaders or political parties, and urge defiance of the existing laws and decisions adopted by state organs.

The Central Committee declares that strikes and protest actions serve to deepen the crisis, increase the social tension, and undermine the reality of social agreements. Political strikes are inadmissible.

Addressing party members, the plenary meeting points out that the present struggle is a struggle for the future of socialism and the people, for internal

tranquility and a peaceful end to the crisis, for a renewal and strengthening of the party, which took shape in the struggle of working-class generations and the best sons of the Polish people, the party which led Poland's left forces in the battle against the nazi invaders and for a socialist homeland, the party which has for 36 years now guaranteed the Polish people's independence and peace.

In the name of the homeland's supreme interests, the PUWP Central Committee calls for serried ranks, for the maintenance of the party's ideological and political unity, consistent implementation of the socialist renewal line, and a vigorous offensive against the enemies.

from the press

New Technology and the Working Class

Chip and Robot Revolution

Although the "chip and robot revolution" is still in its relative infancy, it is already having a serious impact on the status of the working class both as to technological unemployment and redistribution of the work force.

The "Computer-on-a-chip" known as the micro-processor, is revolutionizing technology in production and increasingly in all other areas of work. There is virtually no field in manufacturing, utilities, the service industries or commerce that has not been affected by the new technology.

In evaluating the impact of the new technology, Gus Hall (*Political Affairs*, April 1981) calls attention to "jobless growth" and "technological unemployment" as a result of new plants which increase production without increasing (frequently decreasing) the work force. This is borne out by the fact that between 1950 and 1980, when overall employment increased 114 per cent, jobs declined by 5 per cent in the auto industry, 14 per cent in mining, and 34 per cent in general manufacturing.

Further, according to Professor Shaiken, Massachusetts Institute of Technology specialist, "Anybody who does not take seriously the notion that there will be significant job displacement, certainly on a regional level, and perhaps major structural changes in American employment as a whole, is making a major mistake" (*The New York Times*, April 18, 1981).

As for structural change, an instructive study ("Reagan and the Real America," E. Rothschild, *The New York Review of Books*, February 5, 1981) reveals that while the U.S. had by far the most rapid growth in total employment of any major industrial (i.e. capitalist) country in the 1970s, the new jobs were concentrated in two sectors of the private economy — services and the retail trades. These two sectors provided more than 70 per cent of all new private jobs created from 1973 to the sum-

mer of 1980. According to Professor Rothschild, the increase in employment in "eating and drinking" places since 1973 is greater than total employment in the auto and steel industries combined.

The structural changes in the work force that are already taking place are underscored by the data: in the last 30 years, employment in the wholesale and retail trades rose 119 per cent; in restaurants, bars and fast-food emporiums, 220 per cent; in finance, insurance and real estate, 173 per cent; and in the service trades (hotels, motels, laundry, beauty shops, janitorial services, etc.), 228 per cent.

Significantly, these are the work areas which are at the lower or lowest wage levels and rely heavily on women and minority groups. By 1979 women already accounted for 41 per cent of all employment; they predominate in certain areas, as for example, up to 81 per cent employment in health services. These are areas which are not only low-wage paying, but in most cases such that the workers are least protected by trade union organization and benefits.

Nor are these areas immune from the new technological developments. Thus, according to J.J. Barnet (*New Yorker*, April 1980), "the micro-processor ... now threatens to revolutionize the service economy by eliminating not only thousands of clerks, secretaries, and paper pushers, but also highly skilled office positions."

The process of permanent displacement of workers in manufacturing industries is already under way, along with restructuring of the work force into service sectors of dubious future. This loss of industrial jobs and the nature of the "new" employment confronts the working class in a capitalist economy with a host of new problems requiring urgent consideration and action by the labor movement.

Al Merle
Daily World, May 12, 1981

Microchips, Dogs and Robots and Work

There is a story going the rounds in some areas which points up the bitter irony underlying the introduction of new technology and the predictable effects which it will have on working people.

The story involves a workplace which, the owners insist, is totally automated. Showing a group of visitors around, the party come upon a solitary man and a dog.

One of the group challenges the guide saying that if the place were indeed automated then there could be no need for the man or the dog.

"Ah!" says the guide, "the man is there to feed the dog and the dog is there to keep the man from tampering with the machinery."

It is the very circularity of this little story which exposes some of the underlying implications surrounding the new technology and its introduction which require the urgent attention of the labor movement.

DIFFERENCE

Technological change is not new but the new technology possesses certain characteristics which when taken together, amount to a major difference in kind from any other technological change we have yet experienced.

With the economy of this country, and the rest of the capitalist world, in one of the troughs of endemic crisis, employers are introducing new technology while labor is in a relatively weak market position.

Where the present layoffs, closures and cuts in the social services are by and large the result of government economic policy, the effect on jobs has yet to be felt in relation to the new technology.

In many cases employers are taking advantage and introducing the new technology at a time when organized labor is fighting across a wide front. With demand being restricted by government policy, it is then not unreasonable to ask what incentive management could have for introducing the new technology.

Previous technological innovation has tended to be limited in its application to specific industries and even specific areas of productive activity. The robotization in assembly and general manufacturing in the 60s, for example, made a significant impact in the areas affected but its application outside of assembly was strictly limited.

This general principle of fairly limited application holds good for other types of technological change but not for the silicon chip. If anyone has any doubts about this, just let them look around at the ways in which the chip is sold to us.

Many of these — TV games, digital watches, and so on — are as yet demand created, but the chip nevertheless, has a potential application in practically every area of our working lives.

Doctors with automatic diagnostic equipment, lawyers with text retrieval systems, teachers with silicon chip-based teaching machines, engineers with computer numerically controlled machines,

store staff with automatic stock control and check-out cashiers with equipment that reads the by now widespread bar coding on our purchases.

These are just a few of the enormously wide range of applications of the new technology. I have not mentioned the Trident or Cruise missile systems which are controlled by the same principles which are used in the space invader games, since the absurdity of these particular applications are beyond reasoned comment.

The wide range of applications are being introduced over a far shorter time period than the initial introduction of computers or previous innovations in industry. This has important implications for the trade unions.

Whereas previously the trade unions had time in which to react to technological change because it had taken place over a number of years, today the situation is different. Not only is organized labor facing an employer and government offensive of some magnitude, but the rate at which the new technology is being developed and introduced is breathtaking.

It might be thought that in a period of falling demand and general economic recession employers would be unwilling or unable to find the investment necessary for the introduction of processes based on the new technology.

CHEAP

While it is undoubtedly true that the recession has slowed down investment generally, from ludicrously low levels in the first place there are still many examples of the new technology being introduced into even quite hard-pressed industries — like engineering. This is simply because, in contrast to previous technological advances, the applications of the new technology are relatively cheap to buy and instal when measured against labor costs.

For example one word processor — a visual display unit which looks like a TV screen with a keyboard in front of it — does the work of two or three typists and costs between £3,000-£4,000. A word processor on a shared logic system, linked to a computer, does the work of nine to ten clerk-typists and costs in the region of £5,000.

This pattern is reflected in engineering but because of the complexity of the relationship of different design and productive functions, it is difficult to arrive at anything approaching accurate figures. However, to give just two examples, a computer-controlled universal miller costs in the region of £20,000 and at a conservative estimate quadruples productivity, while robots in batch processing cost around a more modest £9,000 with a similar gain in productivity.

You don't need to be a mathematician to assess the relative costs and the benefits to employers of employing less staff with more capital equipment. After all, the cost of the machines is actually coming down and labor costs are rising.

Another inducement for employers is that the new technology does not take coffee breaks, doesn't join unions or press for higher wages.

The problems which the labor movement faces when dealing with multinationals are not peculiar to the question of the new technology. However, it is also true to say that the rationale upon which these companies make their decisions regarding investment, manpower plans and so on will be profoundly influenced by their assessment of the economics of introducing the new technology.

To pick just one example out of many, the decision of Peugeot-Citroen to pull out of Linwood was, at least in part, based upon the company's decision to introduce the new technology into other plants and leave the Linwood operation to decay.

The fact that the Linwood stewards anticipated Peugeot-Citroen's intentions and produced a recovery plan based on the new technology, but to no avail, says something about the whole idea of encouraging the multinationals to set up operations in this country.

WELL-ORGANIZED

Quite simply, the trade union movement has never faced a capitalist class as powerfully and ef-

fectively organized as they are at present, especially in the context of Britain's continuing membership in the EEC.

In the past, one technological change produced increased demand and increased employment in other sectors of the economy.

Up until now it has been generally true that if capital expenditure on machinery and plant is increased, then labor requirements automatically diminish, and vice versa. But it is also true that this displaced labor has been re-absorbed into productive and, increasingly this century, into the service sectors of the economy, because labor is still a prime requirement.

This will not be true for much longer. Micro-electronics reduce capital costs in production and administration and also reduce labor requirements, since the new generation of technology is capable of taking over so many normally labor intensive functions.

The liberation of workers from the boring, dangerous and downright degrading jobs they have been subjected to is a real possibility — but not with the present system in operation.

Mick McGrath
Morning Star, May 13, 1981

On the FRG Chancellor's Visit to Washington

On a recent visit to the USA, Federal Chancellor of the FRG Helmut Schmidt held talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan. That was the first official U.S.-West German summit meeting under the new Washington administration. It has given rise to understandable interest and commentaries, for it was a meeting of the leaders of the two states which in many respects play a determining role in the Western system of coordinates. The main thing was that the talks were held against a tense international background, which calls for a particularly responsible approach to acute problems, to the task of lessening the danger of war, and ensuring reliable peace.

Many opportunities opened up before the participants in the Washington talks in this connection. It was precisely at that time that the Soviet Union, in development of the constructive ideas of the 26th congress of the CPSU, put forward a number of new and important proposals in the international field. These relate to the Middle East, the situation in the Persian Gulf, questions of limiting and reducing nuclear-missile armaments in Europe, and ensuring the success of the Madrid meeting — in short, everything that is of particular concern to the peoples at present. The whole world sees the new manifestation of the USSR's good will, and its readiness to discuss any problems which cause concern in the world.

The Chancellor and the President, as the joint U.S.-West German statement notes, "held detailed

negotiations on a wide range of political and economic matters." They also discussed the above-mentioned topics. However, it must be pointed out straight away: they discussed them as if with their eyes closed. And this is indicative.

The point is that the participants in the Washington talks did not proceed from a desire to settle the most acute and pressing international problems in the interests of peace and the security of the peoples. They based their work on a different foundation: on the recent decisions taken by NATO's governing bodies in Rome and Brussels. That is why the Washington meeting has not produced anything positive, and has not resulted in any proposal. Having reaffirmed the U.S. line toward the arms race, the nuclear arms drive in Europe above all, the Federal Chancellor followed Washington along the path of aggravating the international situation.

It was not long ago, however, that he advocated détente, defended SALT-2 and came out for good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union. He even sometimes indicated that it is not always and not in everything that our country should be blamed for this or that event. However, the joint U.S.-West German statement, Schmidt's remarks overseas, and his recent governmental statement in the Bundestag present the Soviet Union solely as a hostile force, the only way to deal with which is while keeping a stone handy. The "Soviet threat" bogey

is stuck on to any problem, to any region. This, in effect, represents the "identical views on the international situation" worked out by Washington and Bonn.

The absurd anti-Sovietism of the Washington administration is no longer much of a surprise to anyone, but the "American language" of the Chancellor, who seems to have forgotten his own recent calls for common sense, restraint and a balanced approach in international practice obviously jars upon many of his compatriots. The commentaries of the West German press are most indicative: many periodicals are far from sharing the Chancellor's "hundred per cent satisfaction" with the results of the trip to Washington.

"Helmut Schmidt," writes *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, "has so closely approached Reagan's tone in assessing the aims of the Soviet policy that the conclusion has now been drawn in Washington that Helmut Schmidt regards East-West relations in the same way as Reagan himself. Thus, during his stay in Washington, the Chancellor did not use the word 'détente' a single time. Still, even this step toward Reagan did not bring Schmidt any tangible benefits." The newspaper *Westdeutsche Allgemeine* believes that "the Chancellor acted according to the principle: he who wants to achieve something must be able to adapt himself . . . That is why during his stay in the U.S. capital he echoed the 'hawks' louder than usual, accused the USSR, and advocated the build-up of his country's might." The influential West German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine* sums up: "During his talks with Helmut Schmidt, Reagan did not allow his fundamental positions to be shaken."

The principal one of these "positions" is at any cost to deploy in the FRG and other West European NATO countries new U.S. medium-range nuclear-missile weapons targeted on the Soviet Union and its allies. It is known that these plans, designed to meet the Pentagon's insatiable appetite, have caused well-justified concern and indignation. Because of them the situation in Europe is already changing for the worse.

West German leaders who have committed themselves to the NATO decision have to look back on public opinion and the protests in their own parties. It is no accident that the preparations for the Chancellor's visit to the United States were accompanied by loud promises to win the USA's consent to an early start of negotiations on nuclear-missile armaments in Europe. Promises remained mere promises. A careful look at the joint U.S.-West German statement or the Chancellor's Bundestag statement about his visit will clearly show: the assurances not to forget "arms control" negotiations in the heat of the military preparations were a distracting maneuver.

In practice, the emphasis is precisely on the so-called "modernization of nuclear forces," that is, the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe in spite of everything. It is precisely the build-up of the NATO countries' military potentials that is proclaimed an essential condition of security, and a "basis" for negotiations. However, the U.S.

line with which the FRG government is in effect linking itself, is a line for negotiations aimed at legalizing armaments, and not at disarmament. U.S. officials, by the way, are not even trying to conceal that.

By way of justification, Helmut Schmidt keeps talking about a change in the global military equilibrium, primarily as regards the nuclear forces in Europe, a change allegedly brought about by "Soviet efforts." However, Bonn knows very well that this is not true. In Bonn, facts are deliberately turned inside out to conceal many things from the population. All objective analyses indicate that the overall nuclear potentials which the two sides have in Europe today are roughly equal. As for different estimates, these are only meant to camouflage NATO's additional arming.

The U.S. military-political leadership aims to achieve military superiority and dictate its will to the whole world. For this purpose, the Pentagon is prepared to take any risk. Developing Carter's notorious Directive 59 about a "limited" nuclear war, the new U.S. leaders maintain that a nuclear war "can be won." The whole point for them is how to start it in such a way as to ensure that the Americans are affected as little as possible. This adventurism surpasses everything history has known so far.

It is significant that whereas in Washington this is spoken of with cynical frankness, Bonn seeks to veil the imperial manners of its ally, pretending not to notice the U.S. line for military superiority, with the deployment of new systems of nuclear weapons in Western Europe being visualized as a considerable step toward it. Those in Bonn frown when the question of whether the deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons would turn the European continent into the main or even the only theater of operations during a thermonuclear war is being openly considered in the U.S. press. Even the fact that such a question is being considered "in theory" shows that the Pentagon is in principle indifferent to the future of the Europeans. So much for the "community of destinies" of the FRG and the USA, proclaimed in the joint statement of their leaders.

One can well understand the concern of broad masses of people in the FRG over these developments. A state which is already saturated with nuclear and non-nuclear weapons is being forced to host armaments whose very existence exposes it to mortal danger in the event of any nuclear conflict. A state which, perhaps more than others, has tasted of the fruits of détente is being urged to worsen relations with the socialist countries in the name of "NATO's common interests." It is quite easy to understand the discontent of people who are being forced to pay for the expanding military preparations and who are being subjected to a real and not a mythical danger by those who prefer the positions-of-strength policy to the policy of reason.

The intensification of military tension in Europe is not caused by the absence of good will on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have been and remain firm advocates of a reduction

in the levels of the military confrontation and a fold-up of military activity. With this aim in view, the USSR is prepared to sit down at the negotiating table without delay. The other side, however, does not want an accord, and this is the stumbling block.

Speaking in Washington, Helmut Schmidt admitted that the "deployment of new nuclear forces in a densely populated country was not an easy decision to take." Nevertheless, Bonn is prepared to deploy on West German territory new-generation Pershings and Cruise missiles. And these are first-strike weapons, although only one year ago, on the 35th anniversary of the ending of the Second World War, the Chancellor solemnly assured: "A war should never again be started from German soil."

It is quite appropriate to recall this today. A short while ago we marked Victory Day, and soon it will

be 40 years since the beginning of the Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union. These historic dates invite one to serious reflections on the need to ensure a durable peace in Europe. All the signs indicate, however, that such a task was not put forward during the Washington talks. In his government statement in the Bundestag as well, the Chancellor found nothing better than to boast of a Bundeswehr that is "first-class both in qualitative and quantitative terms." He spoke about the "special impression" made on the U.S. President by the West German "defense contribution." One should not, however, forget the impression which it has made on the peoples, who have not forgotten the habits of German militarism.

Assessing the results of the Washington talks the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*, among other West German periodicals, points out that "Schmidt fully follows the U.S. course toward accelerating the arms race."

The true motives of that line remain in question, but the "adjustment" to U.S. standards is obvious. Judging by the joint Washington-Bonn statement, this applies to almost all the major problems and

trends in world politics — be it in Europe, in the Middle East or in other regions. Speaking about the goals of the policy followed by the present U.S. administration, the Chancellor himself said: "I am glad that our views fully coincided on these general lines."

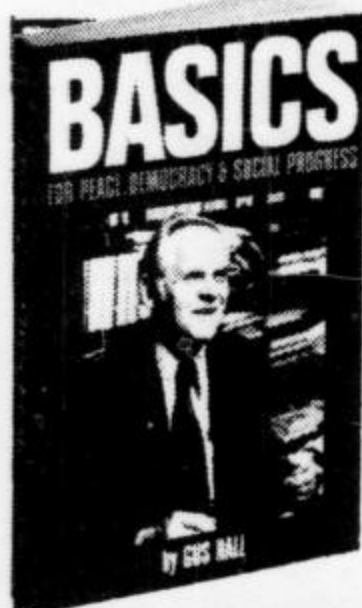
As to the "general line" of the Reagan administration, it is well known and is determined first of all by the course toward a headlong arms race, heightening tension, and confrontation in international relations. It is with reason that this foreign policy course of the United States is described everywhere as "anti-détente."

It is already clear that Bonn has somewhat miscalculated in adapting itself to the U.S. course, for Washington's tough line fully applies to its allies as well. It has no intention of reckoning with their opinions in earnest. That is why the Chancellor failed to win a single political, economic or other concession from the USA during the Washington negotiations. That is why the Western press notes that he returned home empty-handed. Many people in Western Europe, in the FRG in particular, understand the necessity of preserving détente. More and more people are coming to realize: the policy of whipping up international tension, reliance on military strength is a policy of renouncing common sense.

The 1970s showed how much the FRG and the whole of our continent stand to gain from détente. Today, too, it has no reasonable alternative. This is the firm conviction of the Soviet people, of all people of good will.

"A peace based on mutual intimidation has no appeal for us," Leonid Brezhnev said in his speech in Tbilisi. "We prefer a peace under which arms levels are increasingly lowered, while the scale of cooperation in all fields grows and its quality improves."

Pravda, May 28, 1981



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