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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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21 NOVEMBER 1986

USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SOCIETY FOR RELATIONS WITH TURKMENS ABROAD HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 17 August 1986 carries on page 3 a 500 word interview with B. Saparov, deputy chairman of the presidium of the Turkmenistan Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, on the work of the section of the society responsible for working with Turkmens living in foreign countries. Asked when this section was formed, he answered: "'Our section was founded in Ashkhabad at a constituent conference of representatives from republic creative unions and the public in 1977. Its duties are to propagandize successes achieved in Turkmenistan's economic and social construction among Turkmens living abroad, to draw them into active cooperation for peace and friendship among peoples, and to acquaint the Soviet public with the life, work and problems of Turkmens living outside the Soviet Union.'" He pointed out that "'there are now few Turkmens living in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, India, Syria and some countries in the West.'" The section has established permanent relations with Afghanistan's Ministries of Culture and Education, the ADR Academy of Sciences, Afghan radio, the newspaper GORESH and the journal MELLYATKHAYE BARADOR. It is active in sending books, records and other materials abroad and has received "hundreds" of subscriptions to Soviet Turkmen newspapers and magazines. The radio program "Mening Vatan" [My Fatherland] is received by foreign Turkmens "enthusiastically"; "the letters sent to this section of the republic radio committee testify to this."

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

EXCERPT FROM BOOK ON EUROPEAN CEMA WORKING CLASS DEMOGRAPHY

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, 1986 pp 37-54

[Abridged chapter from Vol 8 of an 8-volume work entitled "Mezhdunarodoye rabochiye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii" [The International Workers' Movement. Questions of History and Theory]; Volume title "Borba za mir i sotsialnoye obnovleniye obshchestva. Seredina 40-kh--pervaya polovina 80-kh godov" [The Struggle for Peace and the Social Renewal of Society from the Mid-Forties to the Mid-Eighties]; Volume 8 edited by T.T. Timofeyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and A.A. Galkin, doctor of historical sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement, Izdatelstvo "Mysl", 1985]

[Text] The Working Class in the European Countries of the Socialist Community during the Seventies and Eighties.

The advance of the European CEMA member countries into the new stage of the building of socialism has been accompanied by a further substantial increase in the proportion of the working class in most of these countries. In the early Sixties the proportion of workers among the employed population was as follows: in Bulgaria about one-third, in Romania about one-fourth, in Poland less than one-third, in Hungary less than half, in Czechoslovakia more than half, in the GDR two-thirds. By the late Seventies and early Eighties the picture was quite different. The proportion of the working class among the employed population was now as follows: in Bulgaria two-thirds, in Romania three-fifths, in Poland almost half, in Hungary almost three-fifths, in Czechoslovakia three-fifths. It remained unchanged only in the GDR, where the proportion of the working class among the employed population was higher earlier. Naturally, the high growth rates during the Sixties and partly in the Seventies could not be constant. By the late Seventies, as the proportion of the working class among the employed population became larger the process of enlargement began to slow down.

The fact that a majority of the population became working class was a qualitative shift whose special significance is determined by the specific nature of previous development. The forced pace in the industrialization that covered all aspects of the economy in most countries setting out on the path of socialist transformations led to rapid growth in the ranks of the working class, mainly through the inflow of people leaving the countryside, and also

through the recruitment of unemployed women into social production (however, among these many were members of families of the "new" workers who had moved in from the countryside).

This was accompanied by certain complications. The enormous scale of the "nonproletarian" reinforcements during the initial stages in the building of socialism created conditions in which for a certain period the working masses became, as V.I. Lenin wrote, "much less proletarian in makeup than previously." [1] This to some extent restricted opportunities for the working class to resolve the chief production-economic task, namely, achieving the highest degree of labor productivity. Moreover, the declining level of conscious discipline (which is virtually inevitable given the "less proletarian" makeup of workers) hampered the development of socialist democracy and gave rise to the danger of attempts to replace it with bureaucratic administration.

And contrariwise. The consolidation of the worker as a majority in the population signified a qualitatively new degree of social development for the working class, creating, moreover, a solid prerequisite for overcoming the "childhood diseases" of accelerated growth. The numerical reinforcement of the working class is now determined increasingly by the rates of natural population reproduction and the entry of young people from the urban working environment into the work places. Even where the absolute sizes and proportions of the rural reinforcement of the working class still remain very substantial, the relative importance of the inflow of new, to use Lenin's expression, "recruits" (compared with the general mass of workers) is declining sharply. And, moreover, people who have moved into the workers' collectives from today's socialist countryside differ radically in terms of their social orientation and cultural level from the peasants who moved into the cities during the initial stages of industrialization. Thus, the worker majority is creating additional prerequisites for further enhancing both the economic and the social role of the working class.

Given all the features in the quantitative growth of the working class in individual countries, its most numerous detachment remained and remains the workers in industry. The level of concentration of industrial workers has also grown [2], and the amount of technical and technological equipment available to them has also grown. At the same time the numerical strength of this detachment has altered in another way, namely as a function of country. Thus, during the period 1961-1983 the number of workers and employees employed in industry increased by a factor of 2.9 in Romania, 1.8 in Bulgaria and only 27 percent in Czechoslovakia. In Hungary it reached its ceiling in 1974 (1,7 million--25 percent more than in 1960), and then fell, totalling 1,456,000 in 1983 (a decline of 14 percent). In Poland the maximum number of industrial-production personnel was reached in 1977 (4,792,000, or 62 percent more than in 1960), and then began a gradual decline. Similar processes have taken place throughout the industrial sector of the national economies in these countries, including construction and transport along with industry.

The most important factors causing the slower rates of growth in the industrial detachments of the working class and their lower proportion (and in some countries a lower absolute numerical strength) were the completion in the

main of the process of industrialization and the gradual transition to the next stage of technical-economic development. This stage, associated with mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the intensification in all social production, is distinguished in particular by the growing role and significance of the still very labor-intensive sectors of the production and social infrastructure. Accordingly, one law-governed feature of this transition has been the relatively rapid increase in the numbers of workers and employees in the social-and-everyday and social-and-cultural services sectors. Thus, in 1960, in Bulgaria the number was 51 percent of the numbers of workers and employees in the industrial sectors of material production while in 1983 the figure was 57 percent; in Hungary the corresponding figures were 41 percent and 68 percent; in Poland 54 percent and 67 percent; and in Czechoslovakia 49 percent and 67 percent. In Romania, where the processes of industrialization were completed relatively late, the numerical strength of workers and employees working in the industrial sectors of material production grew at preferential rates over a long period, markedly more rapidly than the number of workers and employees in the social-and-everyday and social-and-cultural services; such that in 1960 the ratio between them was 100:59 while in 1975 it was 100:45. This ratio was also maintained in the latter half of the Seventies and the early Eighties.

Changes in the numerical strength of the workers and employees in agriculture had their own specific features in each of the European CEMA member countries. During the Sixties and Seventies, in Bulgaria the numerical strength and proportion of workers and employees in agriculture grew many times over (this was particularly rapid during the first half of the Seventies); both these indicators also grew in Poland, but on a smaller scale; in Romania the numerical strength of workers in the state agricultural sector grew while their proportion in the total number of workers and employees declined; in Hungary both these indicators steadily declined. In the GDR and Czechoslovakia the proportion of the agricultural detachment of the working class was quite small even at the beginning of the survey period, and during the late Seventies and early Eighties it fell even more.

As the rates of quantitative growth in the working class slow down in connection with the changes in its sector structure, increasing importance attaches to raising the cultural level of the workers. Introduction in the national economy of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution complicates the material base for the production activity of the workers. In all the European countries of the socialist community, over the past decades the proportion of unskilled workers has declined (although at inadequate rates), as has the proportion of those engaged in auxiliary or subsidiary work. The proportion of relatively highly skilled workers has grown correspondingly.

In those countries where the processes of industrialization were completed a relatively long time ago and increasing significance attaches to the transition to the stage of scientific-industrial production, skilled workers long ago became a majority in the working class. Thus, in Czechoslovakia in 1962 workers in the skilled occupations requiring special professional training made up 57.8 percent of workers and technical personnel, and workers in other skilled occupations made up 23.6 percent of the total, while only



18.6 percent of workers were unskilled and employed in auxiliary labor. In 1979 the ratio of workers in these occupation categories was 61:25:14. It can be seen that the changes were not too substantial since an optimal ratio had already been shaped during the early Sixties. In the GDR, in the late Fifties and early Sixties skilled workers made up 55 percent of all workers engaged in physical and auxiliary nonphysical labor, while by the early Eighties the figure was almost 80 percent, so that the proportion of workers engaged in semiskilled and unskilled labor had fallen from 45 percent to 20 percent.

Concomitantly, where the industrialization of the national economy had been completed after the bases of socialism had been built (for example, in Bulgaria and Hungary), even though the increase in the proportion of skilled workers together with the decrease in the proportion of unskilled workers took place very rapidly, even by the early Eighties the majority of workers in the working class were still not skilled. Thus, in Hungary, during the period 1961-1979 the proportion of skilled workers grew from 32 percent to 45 percent, but the proportion of semiskilled rose by almost the same amount, from 27 percent to 40 percent, while the proportion of auxiliary and subsidiary workers fell from 38 percent to 19 percent.

Change in the forms of professional training for workers and their switch to study in special training establishments constitute an important factor in the cultural-technical development of the working class: in the early Eighties, in the GDR and Czechoslovakia almost all young people (up to 80 to 90 percent) were receiving professional training before beginning their labor activities; in Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland the figure was 75 to 80 percent. The upswing in the general culture and education of the working class was associated with the change in its type of skill and entire cultural-technical lineament because most workers engaged in developed industrial labor need at least an incomplete secondary education (7 or 8 years of education), while for the main mass of workers in scientific-industrial production, a completed secondary education is required (10 to 12 years).

Stabilization of the social makeup of working cadres and the expansion of the sphere of production activities and the higher level of culture in the working class also resulted in a further and very substantial strengthening of the role of the working class in the building of socialism.

In these countries the working class influences social practice primarily through its political vanguard--the Marxist-Leninist parties--and through the system of central and local organs of state power and state management. Hundreds of thousands of workers have become involved in state and public activities: they sit on the people's councils and their commissions, carry out the functions of people's assessors, are members of arbitration commissions and so forth. The representation of workers in the elected organs is very substantial. At the same time (and this is also very important), the exercise by the working class of its leading role is associated directly with the daily labor of the workers and their participation in the production management organs and in public movements and organizations.

The most developed (and most obvious) form in which the growing public activeness of the working class is seen is socialist competition. In all the

European CEMA member countries this has become a power engine not only of economic but also social progress, a factor in the spiritual and moral development of the working class, and a condition for strengthening its unity and cohesion.

Another important aspect of the production activity of the working class in a socialist society is participation in production management. The forms of production democracy may vary but practical work over many decades has shown that the most effective way to involve workers in production management is through the trade unions, and also through the mass organizations of workers that usually operate with their close involvement. This is exactly why the communist and workers parties pay constant attention to the activities of the trade unions and to extending the rights of the labor collectives.

The influence exerted by the working class on the production, social and political spheres of life in the European socialist countries has grown and is still growing not only because its own readiness for this kind of influence is being strengthened. Of no less importance is the fact that virtually all social groups in the populations of these countries have drawn substantially closer to the working class and accept its spiritual, political and moral values. The process of the rapprochement of all class and social groups taking place on this basis, together with the erosion of the social boundaries between them determines the direction in which the social-class structure is now being developed and perfected in all the European CEMA member countries. The creation of a classless, socially homogeneous society is the goal now facing the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries, with the emphasis on the objective nature and the historically prolonged duration of this process.

The law-governed patterns in society's movement toward social homogeneity are seen in the following interconnected processes: total predominance of population groups whose life activity is based on public (primarily national and state) ownership; development and deepening of the socialist features of all classes and social groups--working class, peasantry, intelligentsia; the rapprochement of all classes and social groups of workers in terms of their attitude toward the means of production, the nature of labor and its role in the social organization of labor, and levels of income and way of life. Under present conditions a decisive influence is exerted on the development and acceleration of these processes, on the one hand by the scientific and technical revolution, and on the other by the growing role of the social policies of the communist and workers parties.

By the early Sixties the present social structures in the European CEMA member countries had been established in terms of their main features as the result of completion of the first stage of socialist transformations. Despite the wealth and variety of specific forms of these characteristics, they generally coincide and are even developed in similar ways. The basis of these structures is made up of groups of socialist workers; there are no exploiters; and, where they remain, the groups of petty private owners (with the exception of Poland) make up only a tiny proportion of the population.

The absolute majority of workers whose life activity is organically linked with the socialist sector of the national economy (60 to 70 percent), makes up the groups that are traditionally counted as workers or were attached to them relatively recently. But those groups that form the stratum of employees differ increasingly little from the workers in terms of their position in the system of social production, their role in the organization of labor, the level of income and the ways in which income is derived, and other socially significant characteristics. This also is inherent in those groups of highly skilled specialists that are usually designated as the intelligentsia.

Specialists make up the most rapidly growing group in the socioeconomic structure of the employed population: during the period 1961-1983 their numerical strength grew by a factor of 3.6 in Bulgaria, 5.3 in the GDR, 5.2 in Poland and 2.7 in Czechoslovakia. The trend now in all countries is accelerated growth in the numerical strength and proportion of specialists in the sphere of material production. This trend is promoting the approximation of the intelligentsia and the working class because most specialists work in the major production collectives that form the sociopolitical nucleus of the working class.

The second main social group in the population of the European CEMA member countries (with the exception of Poland) is the class of cooperative peasants whose life activity is based on group ownership of the same type as national ownership and is now linked very closely to it. Accordingly, in the social lineament and political culture of the working class and the peasantry common features predominate, and this predetermines their constant and intensive rapprochement. In turn, in most socialist countries the specific features of the cooperative peasantry, resulting both from the nature of ownership and from the properties of agricultural production, have not only been retained but are also extremely useful in the context of solving the complicated problems of the agro-industrial complex.

In all the countries being considered both the numerical strength and even more the proportion of the peasantry within the population are systematically declining. The reason for this is the improved productivity in agricultural labor based on its mechanization and the introduction of industrial forms of production. At the same time the greater or lesser intensity of this process is caused by the dissimilar rates in the growing proportion of the working class in agricultural production. In Bulgaria the proportion of peasants among the employed population has declined particularly substantially, by a factor of 19 between the early Fifties and late Seventies. This occurred in connection with the creation in Bulgaria of agro-industrial complexes that included both state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, with the majority of the cooperative peasants being counted statistically as workers and employees. [3] In other countries this process has developed relatively slowly: in Czechoslovakia by the early Eighties the proportion of peasants among the entire employed population had fallen by a factor of 4, in the GDR by a factor of 5, and in Hungary and Romania by a factor of 3.1; even in Poland, where the numerical strength of the peasants had declined less substantially, their proportion in the employed population decreased by a factor of 2.1.

The decline in the proportion and absolute numerical strength of the peasantry does not mean that it is being squeezed out of the spheres of economic and political life. Its role in providing the population with food and industrial raw materials is very great in most countries. The peasantry plays a most direct and active part in the management of state and public affairs, mainly through its own mass organizations.

Of course, we should also not lose sight of the special feature in the social structure of society in some of the countries being considered (mainly Hungary, the GDR and Poland), namely, the existence of a stratum of petty commodity producers outside of agriculture, and moreover not only in trade and the personal services sphere but also in industry and construction. Thus, according to the figures for 1983, in Hungary 3.1 percent of all those employed in industry and 9.9 percent of those in construction (about 48,000 and 36,000 people respectively) are made up of handicraft workers. In its policy the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] proceeds from the premise that Hungarian socialist society will for a long time need the activity of petty commodity producers and retail traders. In Poland, since the Sixties the number of petty commodity producers has grown markedly, so that in 1983 they made up 7.4 percent of all those employed in industry (368,000 people) and 10.7 percent of those employed in construction (131,000 people). The state defines for the private sector "frameworks that are correct from the social standpoint and economically sound," within which it is guaranteed conditions for steady and stable activity; at the same time the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] deems it essential "to do everything to insure that the rules established are scrupulously observed and that all deviations from them are severely punished." [4]

The working class' realization of its leading role has been largely the result of further progress in the political organization of society. The nature of this process is defined both as the need to improve the effectiveness of political leadership by restructuring and perfecting social relationships and developing the economy and culture, and as the opportunity to resolve this task by involving increasing masses of the workers and the entire population in the management of state and public affairs.

At the stage of the building of developed socialism the prerequisites and trends for the dictatorship of the proletariat to grow into the power of the people are systematically strengthened. These trends are in line with and the result of changes in the relationship and significance of the main functions of dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, already during the stage of the building of socialism the task of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiter classes was largely resolved, but the role of the state in safeguarding the revolutionary gains of the people, public and personal property, and the honor and dignity of citizens is still preserved. As before, one important task for the working class, which has assumed state leadership of society, remains that of exerting influence on nonworker (nonproletarian) groups and strata in population so that they may organically acquire the ideals and values of socialism and communism. However, the forms and the very type of this influence have altered substantially because the life activity of the overwhelming majority of these groups and strata is based, and has been based for a long time, on socialistically organized

production and takes place in an atmosphere in which the processes of "social diffusion" and the deepening social homogeneity of society are intensified.

The main function of the socialist state, namely, organizer of new forms and conditions of life for the popular masses such as insure the free, harmonious development of all members of society, has now acquired much more significance and is being developed more than at any time. The significance of this aspect of the activity of the state and in general of all institutions that shape the political system of socialism is growing primarily because the scales of economic and cultural building are growing and the programs for social development are becoming more complex.

At the same time, the methods for realizing this function are changing substantially. Initially, tasks connected with defending the initial positions for the transformation of social relationships and the entire tenor of life for the popular masses on new principles were mainly resolved during the early stages in the building of socialism; all in all their resolution did not hamper the dominance of the principles of centralism and administrative measures in the management of society. This very dominance itself was the result both of the popular masses' lack of experience in participation in the management of state and public affairs, and of the more or less low level of their general and political culture. It is another matter at the stage of the building of developed socialism, when the focus of attention in the fraternal parties is the tasks of realizing to the maximum the enormous possibilities of the new society for satisfying increasingly fully the demands of all its members, and for their all-around development. Resolution of these tasks requires the use of methods that are more refined than previously, and a switch to a permanent and substantial expansion of democratic bases at all levels in the management of public affairs, including the sphere of economic building.

Without the comprehensive development of democratism, successful advance, the surmounting of existing difficulties, and the resolution of unresolved problems are impossible because "socialism cannot be introduced by a minority--the party. It can be introduced by the tens of millions when they learn to do it themselves." [5] The more attention the communist and workers parties give to the development of democracy and the perfection of its forms and institutions, the greater the role of the popular masses in creating the new society. And contrariwise, ostentation and formalism in the use of the democratic institutions, and campaigning in the implementation of democratic measures lower the activeness of the masses and gives rise to indifference and passiveness, which in turn strengthens bureaucracy and replaces leadership with imperium.

Proceeding from the premise that the expansion and deepening of the sociopolitical independence of the workers is an objective necessity and an objective possibility, the fraternal parties pay unremitting attention to strengthening the democratic bases in the functioning of the political system and the economic mechanism. This is also helped by transferring certain of the functions of state management to public organizations, extending the competence of enterprises, restructuring the local organs of state power as organs of local (or territorial) self-management, and other measures that

improve the "sociopolitical tonus" of the population and create conditions for a real strengthening of public activeness.

The need to develop socialist democracy, however, results not only from the impossibility of resolving cardinal tasks in the building of developed socialism in any other way. The introduction of democratic bases in all spheres in the life of society is also essential because it is a most important aspect of the all-around development of the harmonious and socially active individual. The perfection of socialist democracy is therefore regarded by the communist and workers parties in the CEMA countries not as an "appendage" of socioeconomic transformations but as an integral part of the program for the building of socialism. And the further the progressive advance of society, the greater the significance acquired by this process.

This is precisely why the fraternal parties pay attention to the need to check all the democratic mechanisms put in place during earlier stages in the building of socialism from the standpoint of how effectively they are "operating" and insuring a "return" on the paths to developed socialism and communism. Further improvement is taking place in the electoral systems, criticism and self-criticism are being developed, particularly criticism from below, and there is active discussion of vitally important political, economic and social problems. The tasks of introducing the broadest openness in the work of all elements of the management system and intensifying the struggle against attempts to spread distorted information about the real state of things, including in the form of the embellishment of reality, are being posed and resolved. As they improve management, the fraternal parties are seeking out and applying new ways and means to expand participation by workers in dealing with public affairs, and developing socialist democracy.

At the new stage in establishing the communist system, the growing complexity of the processes of social development are making increasing demands on the the level of political leadership in these processes--the leadership that has been assumed and is exercised by the communist and workers parties in the countries of the socialist community. The program and political documents of these parties emphasize that they recognize themselves as the leading force in social progress and are prepared to realize their lofty mission.

The leading role of the communist and workers parties in the countries of socialism is played with sufficient effectiveness primarily because they are concerned about the harmonious development of all spheres of public life--its material-technical base, socioeconomic relations, political infrastructure, and the spiritual sphere. Here, both as a set and individually, the main forms of leadership in all these spheres are formulation of a political line and work on the corresponding political decisions and their implementation.

The historical experience of the socialist transformations effected in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe has convincingly confirmed the correctness and permanent topicality of the Leninist proposition that the most important factor in successful political leadership over these transformations on the part of the communist and workers parties is their constant strengthening of their ties with the working class and the entire mass of workers, their ability "to determine without error any question, the mood of

the masses at any moment and their actual demands, aspirations and thoughts... and the degree of their consciousness and the strength of given prejudices and vestiges of the past in influencing them," and their ability "to win the unbounded trust of the masses by their comradely attitude toward them and a concern solicitously to satisfy their needs." [6]

It is a question both of positive experience in the activity of the communist and workers parties in the European countries of the socialist community and of certain negative phenomena. For example, in Poland "the weakening of the political and moral-and-psychological links between the party and the working class--links that predetermine the strength of the PZPR and its place in the life of society" was one of the sources and an important cause of the socioeconomic conflicts that shook the country in the late Seventies and early Eighties. [7] One of the main prerequisites for overcoming the crisis situation in Poland and for the struggle to deepen socialist gains and consolidate popular power was the restoration and strengthening of the links between the PZPR and the working class and the entire mass of workers, and the restoration of their trust in the program theses and policy of the Polish communists.

Observance of and perfection of the Leninist norms and principles of intraparty life, self-criticism, and the ability to analyze in depth both one's own political experience and the experience of the fraternal parties are important conditions in enhancing the authority of the communist and workers parties and thus enhancing their role as the leading force in social transformations leading to the establishment and consolidation of the collectivist tenor of life in the working masses.

Typically, for example, work on the strategy for socialist development in Czechoslovakia during the Seventies was preceded by publication of the document entitled "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and Society since the 13th CPCZ Congress" adopted at the CPCZ Central Committee plenum in December 1970. This document provided a comprehensive and substantiated review of the errors of the former CPCZ leadership. Likewise, in a series of articles published in the MSZMP central organ, the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, in connection with the 25th anniversary of the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in 1956, an in-depth analysis was given of the historical experience of socialist transformations in Hungary in the context of the tasks facing Hungarian society at the stage of the building of developed socialism. [8] A detailed analysis of the reasons for and the course of sociopolitical conflicts in the history of People's Poland was contained in the report of the special commission set up by the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR (July 1981). [9]

The fraternal parties try to draw lessons from the experience of earlier development and from the acute conflict situations that have arisen in a number of countries and that in some cases took the form of sociopolitical crises. The in-depth analysis of the conditions and causes giving rise to negative phenomena, and also of the nature of the processes taking place there, as conducted by the communist parties and social sciences in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia has made it possible to draw certain general conclusions.

Analysis has shown that where errors and omissions in domestic policy are added to the subversive activity of imperialism the ground is prepared for the activation of elements hostile to socialism. Moreover, although in some countries the conflict situations and crisis phenomena were preceded by certain difficulties in the economic and social fields, nevertheless the main causes of the negative processes and phenomena were found in the political sphere. These include first and foremost subjectivism and voluntarism, the immoderate use of the levers of state power and the unjustified conviction that all complex problems can be solved in this way, and the proclamation of the kind of aims and tasks that the masses did not perceive as their own.

The documents of some of the fraternal parties have noted that individual leaders and leading organs suffered from the illusion that gaining political power opens up for them unlimited possibilities, and that only they have a correct idea of what society needs. They outlined lofty goals and made what were from their standpoint effective decisions, forgetting the main demands of Leninism: to manage scientifically and to express correctly what the people recognize. As a result, all this led to a crisis of trust on the part of the working class and other groups of workers and to the formation of a vacuum between the subjects of management and the masses. And this was used by the enemies of socialism.

Self-critical assessment of one's own experience, however, is not the only prerequisite for correctness in the political decisions made. They can serve as true leadership to action only if they correctly reflect the reality and dynamics of social development. Accordingly, the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries show constant concern to insure the scientific soundness of leadership and to recognize more deeply the objective law-governed patterns in the development of socialist society and the mechanisms by which these patterns act and are used so that they can study in good time and comprehensively the contradictions inherent in socialism and seek out and find ways to resolve them. The interaction between policy and science is one of the central aspects in the activity of the fraternal parties. [10]

The need to strengthen the scientific soundness of decisions adopted and to optimize the process by which they are reached results from the fact that the building of socialism "is an equation with many unknowns that cannot be brushed aside." [11] And the number of these "unknowns" grows as the process of socialist transformations deepens. In particular, in connection with the realization of the program instructions of the communist and workers parties to develop socialist democracy in every possible way, in the decisionmaking process increasing significance attaches to the problems of interests--social, group, personal--and their relationships and interactions.

It is now obvious that the difficulties encountered by the communist and workers parties in the European socialist countries were ultimately caused by inadequate consideration of the complex structure of interests. The fact is that at the level reached in the development of society, and even with the availability of material and other resources, it is not possible fully to satisfy to the same degree all social interests and the demands that form



their basis. Accordingly, the parties leading the building of socialism try to weigh and agree interests in such a way that, first, acute conflict situations are avoided, and second, maximum use is made of the various interests in order to advance successfully along the road to communism.

However, leadership of the working class by the Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist transformations is not limited merely to political decisionmaking. Their most important function is to implement these decisions to the maximum and in good time. Leadership depends largely on how smoothly the entire party mechanism operates and on how active and consistent the primary party organizations and all communists are in implementing adopted decisions, how each in his own place realizes in a practical way the role of his own party as the nucleus of the political system. Therefore, at the stage of the building of developed socialism the problems of party building occupy a very important place in the process of strengthening the leading role of the communist and workers party. Among them particularly great significance attaches to the problems of perfecting democratic centralism and deepening intraparty democracy, which are becoming increasingly urgent.

Even at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class in the European countries of the socialist community were constituted as mass political organizations that included a considerable proportion of the leading and most aware workers, and also the best people from the other strata of work people. But, of course, broad gravitation into the communist parties also creates its own problems. The chief of these is connected with the need to maintain and augment the living, personal links between the party and all strata and groups of workers and at the same time be solicitous that the ideological-political boundaries that distinguish the communist from the nonparty person are not eroded. Hence, the orientation of the fraternal parties on raising the criteria for the admission of new members and on improving their makeup, and strengthening ideological-indoctrination work with communists. Accordingly, during the Seventies and Eighties the ranks of most of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties have been somewhat reduced while at the same time more importance has been attached to improving the quality of new party recruits. Particularly great attention has been paid to improving the social makeup of the parties and to increasing the proportion of worker-communists. The need for this is determined primarily by the fact that the working class, first and foremost its industrial nucleus, thanks to the features of its own position within the system of social production is, as previously, the main social base for the process of the revolutionary restructuring of society led by the communist and workers parties. In turn, the possibilities for expanding the party ranks predominantly through the working class have become increasing favorable in step with the higher level of workers' general and political culture and their increased labor and social activeness.

One traditionally important direction in party building for the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class is cadre policy--work with the party aktiv and its indoctrination and disposition with consideration of how direct links and feedback will be insured between the party leadership and the party masses, while in other spheres of life activity in socialist society the party aktiv is the primary conductor of the political line of its own party. At the

present stage of socialist transformations, paramount importance in the communist and workers parties realization of the role of leaders and organizers of these transformations attaches to their own democratic development. The involvement of communists--both those advanced to leading positions at various levels and rank-and-file communists engaged in executive labor in the various spheres of public life--in discussion of the entire spectrum of problems in socialist development and insuring their rights in obtaining comprehensive information about the activity of party, state and economic organs and their opportunities freely to express their opinions on the substance and form of this information, and guarantees that the opinion of communists will be considered in party decisions--all these things make up very important prerequisites for expanding socialist democracy in society and really strengthening the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the functioning of the political system of socialism and in the process of improving social relations and the way of life of the working masses.

The nature of political development in the socialist countries and the successes and contradictions in this process are largely the result of the full-blooded activity of all institutions in the political system of socialism and their perfection in accordance with the principles of socialism and communism. Accordingly, an important place in the activity of the communist and workers parties in the fraternal countries is occupied by the optimization of the political system, which on the one hand assumes progress in socialist statehood, and on the other, the reinforcement of elements of public self-management within the political system of socialism.

Under conditions in which the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class are playing the role of leading political force in socialist society, the correct delineation of functions between party and state and the elimination of parallelism and duplication are of great importance for the normal activity of the political system. Each of the leading fraternal parties has its own way of solving this problem, and this enriches the collective experience of real socialism. Here, of course, the principle of demarcation in the powers and practical activity of party organs and state institutions is not absolutized. Indeed, it is impossible to do this if the proposition on the leading role of the communist and workers parties in socialist society is undeviatingly followed. Therefore, in all countries of the socialist community various versions are used to combine party and state functions, mainly in the form of the election of representatives of the party leadership at all levels to state and local representational organs of power.

One important reserve in perfecting the political system of socialism is to be found in enhancing the role and improving the activity of the mass public organizations. Work to utilize this reserve is being done by each of the fraternal parties. The trade unions play a particularly great role in a society where labor is a main value and the working man is the main subject and main object of social development. Since under socialism they are an indispensable participant in the management of production (and thus a school of management and a school of economics), they cannot, on pain of losing the very meaning of their existence, forget their duty to defend the interests of the workers. Insufficient attention to this may result in loss of trust on the part of their members and the decline of their authority, and hence to the

decline of their influence among the workers, as occurred, for example, in the Polish trade unions in the late Seventies. The new PZPR leadership has criticized the earlier trade unions and their practical activities. In the first half of the Eighties the restoration of the trade unions was initiated in Poland in accordance with the principles set forth in the document "The Position of the PZPR Central Committee on the Question of the Restoration of the Trade Unions" and the Law on the Trade Unions, adopted by the Polish Sejm on 8 October 1982. [12]

Involvement of the mass organizations of the workers in the management of society is done in different ways in different countries. But here certain common trends can be seen. For example, in all the fraternal socialist countries of Europe the organizations of the National (or Homeland or Popular) Front still play a major role in sociopolitical life. These movements, which in some countries have acquired the features of a public organization, resolve tasks of insuring mass support for party and government measures and coordinating and agreeing the interests of the individual social strata and groups, and also of individual organizations and union political parties (where they exist). They insure the combination of public initiative and state activity, including the conduct of election campaigns, the exercise of public control and so forth. The presence of this kind of national organization (or movement) in a country helps the leading communist and workers parties and the institutions of political power in maintaining links with the broad masses and the various strata of the population and relieves the state organs of some functions.

One way of involving the broad masses of workers in the management of society is the creation in some spheres of state activity (particularly in the sociocultural sphere, the exercise of people's control and so forth) of unified social-state or state-public organs; which makes it possible to combine the material-technical base and organizational experience of the state with the broad initiative, activeness, mass nature and definite direction of interests in the public organizations. Thus, the Bulgarian Council of Ministers State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs was elected at a national conference, and more than half of its members represent public organizations and labor collectives. That country's Committee on Culture is also elected by a congress of cultural workers that is convened every 5 years; the committee is accountable both to that congress and to the government.

In the states of the socialist community rich experience has been gained in developing a system of democratic control over the activity of state organs, institutions and organizations and officials. Control from below, from the broad popular masses and their organizations, is particularly important for deepening democratism. This kind of control is exercised not only through the system of party and state control but also through an extensive network of public control created in individual socialist countries by the local organs of state power, the public organizations and directly by the public, with the leading role assigned to the party organizations.

One important direction in the development of socialist democracy is the strengthening and deepening of production self-management by the workers, effected through the labor collectives, which are the kinds of organizations

where not only the production but also the sociocultural and social-political activity of the workers take place. It is through the labor collectives that the workers become involved in active participation both in production and economic management and in the management of state and public affairs in general.

The fraternal parties give increasing and unremitting attention to further development of the political system of socialism and its efficient functioning, because at each higher stage in the advance of society the importance of the subjective factor rises. The criterion for success in this work is both the achievements in the sphere of economics and in the social relationships and spiritual life of the peoples building and perfecting socialist society, and the level of real participation by the workers and the entire population in the management of state and public affairs.

As the new edition of the CPSU Program emphasizes, the past decades have enriched practical work in the building of socialism and have graphically revealed the diversity of the world of socialism. At the same time, the experience gained during these decades testifies to the enormous importance of the general law-governed patterns of socialism, first and foremost those such as the power of the workers with the leading role of the working class.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 19.
2. For more detail on this see "Razvitiye rabocheho klassa v sotsialisticheskom obshchestve: internatsionalnyye zakonomernosti i natsionalnyye osobennosti" [The Development of the Working Class in Socialist Society: International Law-governed Patterns and National Features], Moscow, 1982.
3. Many Bulgarian scholars do not think it possible to assign these cooperative peasants unconditionally to the working class (see, for example, RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYI MIR No 1, 1982, pp 106-110).
4. Speech presented by W. Jaruzelski at a PZPR Central Committee plenum. PRAVDA 18 Oct 1983.
5. V.I. Lenin. op. cit., Vol 36, p 53.
6. Ibid., Vol 44, p 348.
7. Speech presented by W. Jaruzelski... op. cit.
8. NEPSZABADSAG IX-XII 1981.
9. "Sprawozdanie z prac Komisji KC PZPR powolanej dla wyjasienia przyczyn i przebiegu konfliktow spolecznych w dziejach Polski Ludowej." [Report on the Work of a PZPR Central Committee Commission Convened for the Purpose of Investigating the Causes and Course of Social Conflicts in People's Poland], NOWE DROGI (Warsaw), 1983, special issue.

10. See "Partiynoye, stroitelstvo v sotsialisticheskikh stranakh: napravleniya formy i metody rukovodyashchey deyatelnosti kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy" [Party Building in the Socialist Countries: Directions, Forms and Methods in the Leading Activity of the Communist and Workers Parties], Moscow, 1980.
11. V. Benke. "Interests in the System of Socialist Democracy." "Real Socialism in the Eighties." Prague, 1982, p 110.
12. TRYBUNA LUDU 9 Oct 1982, 1 Nov 1982. For further details see V.I. Valevskaya. "The Trade Union Movement in Poland at the Present Stage." RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYI MIR No 5, 1984.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BRIEFS

U.S. EXCHANGE DELEGATION VISITS--A group of tourists-activists from the U.S. society "Council for Exchange" [translator comment: possibly the "Citizen Exchange Council"] is in Tajikistan for four days. The foreign guests met with activists of the Tajik Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (TSFCR). The chairman of the presidium of the TSFCR K. Yu. Yuldashev gave a detailed account of the activities of the Tajik society in the struggle for peace and international security. The guests were also received at the Dushanbe gorisplokom. [Excerpts] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 9 Oct 86 p 3]

CSO: 1807/49

EASTERN EUROPE

CSSR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY FOJTIK ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

PM221445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[Article by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, under the rubric "Community: People, Experience, Problems": "Clear Guidelines"]

[Text] Prague, October--The efforts of the Communists and all the Czechoslovak people are now focused on the consistent implementation of the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. These represent a program for the all-around development of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the struggle for social progress and peace. This program is based on the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development, the orientation toward intensive expanded reproduction, and a qualitatively higher level of introduction of achievements of scientific and technological progress in various spheres of society's life.

The CPCZ regards this as the path toward the dynamic development of production forces, toward achieving a real rise in the population's living standards, further strengthening the political stability and consolidating the international position of the CSSR as a reliable component of the socialist community and a fighter in the broad formation of anti-imperialist forces.

The impressive and complex tasks put forward by the 17th CPCZ Congress in connection with the demands of the current crucial stage and the attained level of our society's development can be resolved only if the human factor is galvanized, if society's material and spiritual potential is developed and used rationally, and if the socialist social system continues to be further strengthened and improved.

In this situation it is necessary to raise the standard of political and leadership work and to bring all its links in line with the new requirements and demands which ensue from the strategy of acceleration. At the same time it is necessary to substantially improve ideological work. This applies both to theoretical work and to propaganda and agitation. The loftiest mission of ideological work is the molding of a scientific world outlook and of an active life stance in all citizens. The set aim can be achieved only if this activity is creative and innovative, closely connected with practice, and capable of responding appropriately and without delay to the changes which are taking place in society.

The 17th CPCZ Congress has set ideological workers the task of adding depth to their arguments and making them more persuasive. Special emphasis was laid on improving the population's access to information. The concrete approach to political activities must be matched by a concrete approach to propaganda. There must be no room for empty talk, formalism, or a patronizing tone. Propaganda must not be used to gloss things over, to embellish reality, to excuse or justify mistakes and omissions, unscrupulousness, and purely pragmatic attitudes which as a rule are presented as "principledness" and whose essence is concealed behind outwardly impressive gestures and generalizations. Such deformations must be resolutely eradicated, people must be given truthful and prompt information, questions must be discussed openly and frankly because the effectiveness of our democracy and the establishment of a creative and businesslike atmosphere at work places and in social life directly depend on it. It is a precondition of the active involvement of the working people in the solution of social problems, their interest in the successes of their collective, their sense of responsibility toward their comrades and their motherland. It is a question of the fate of our policy documents and resolutions, of the translation of our good intentions into deeds.

In their efforts, our party and the Czechoslovak people find real support and encouragement in the Leninist course of the CPSU, in the line toward the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development defined at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and confirmed, developed, and concertized at the 27th Congress of Soviet communists. The restructuring which is being carried out in the interests of the implementation of this course in the party and the Soviet society convincingly confirms that the CPSU is a party of the Bolshevik, Leninist type. This is so not just by virtue of the length of the historical path which it has traveled but also thanks to the creativity, revolutionary boldness, and principledness which it is displaying now in resolving extraordinarily complex tasks in domestic and foreign policy.

The entire activity of the CPSU is imbued with boundless faith in the creative abilities of the working masses, indestructible conviction in the historic superiority of socialism and its humane, peace-loving mission, and the faith in the ultimate victory of the communist truth. The high responsibility not just for the further development of the Soviet society but also for the fate of mankind and for the life of all peoples in conditions of freedom and peace is characteristic of the CPSU. It represents powerful support for all progressive forces and creates a favorable situation for a new peace offensive of socialism and the strengthening of its prestige.

There is hardly any need to mention what a positive impact all this is having also on the work of our party, on the further development of the CSSR, and on decisive progress in the creative elaboration and concretization in all spheres of social life of the documents of the 17th CPCZ Congress! It is no accident that our people want the Czechoslovak Communists to act with equal consistency and principledness. Proceeding from our own conditions and historical experience we recall the grim lessons which history has taught us and we once again examine the meaning and topicality of many concepts and ideas which confront us in our day-to-day work. Some of them have turned into stereotypes, becoming divorced from practice in the process of development or



failing to take account of new conditions, and some of them have lost their original importance. "Resuscitating" their importance is possible only on the basis of a critical assessment of the path that has been traveled and a synthesis based on the correct analysis of the state of public awareness, society's actual degree of maturity, and understanding of society's specific needs. We find reliable criteria for this kind of activity in the immortal works of the founders of scientific communism, in particular the works of V.I. Lenin and in the Marxist dialectical method of thought which has been creatively applied for instance in the new edition of the CPSU Program and the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th Congress.

Of particular significance for our party in this context--and this must be mentioned here--are the "Lessons from the crisis development in the CPCZ and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress." On the basis of this document in which the party subjected its activities to profound and acute self-criticism, a principled political platform was elaborated which has made it possible not only to eliminate the damage caused by the counterrevolution but also to ensure the continuity of the revolutionary development of socialism in our country. Even today this document exhorts us to high responsibility and the application of Leninist methods in political leadership work.

The experience of the socialist community countries indicates that a key task in the dynamic development of society and the creation, consolidation, and improvement of various aspects of social life on a socialist basis lies in the galvanization of the human factor.

The underestimation of this fact and neglect of the duties ensuing from the very need to galvanize the human factor create a fertile soil for petit bourgeois excesses and bureaucratic obstacles in the path of the masses' initiative. Such deviations have sometimes led to social tension and in some cases to the development of crisis situations in political life and the alienation of a considerable section of the working people from the socialist state and the party. Now when people's competence and their ability to acquire the habit of resolving new, qualitatively more complex tasks set by the strategy of acceleration and involving whole collectives and individuals is considered of paramount importance, it ought to be remembered that ignoring the role of the human factor and making insufficient use of it has inevitably led to serious disruptions in the social mechanism and even to the undermining of the prestige of socialism.

This, naturally, places a great responsibility on the workers of the ideological front. Their work must be closely coordinated with the general efforts of the party which is constantly studying the masses' requirements and interests, their values in life, the real possibilities for improving their living and working conditions, for creating material and spiritual resources to ensure the development of society and the improvement of the people's living standards in accordance with the principles of the socialist way of life.

It is beyond question that any manifestations of a narrow departmental approach to ideological work are inadmissible. And as long as such an approach exists (and, unfortunately, it does, clearly as a result of

recurrences of opportunism) the effectiveness not just of ideological work which deteriorates into ineffectiveness preaching but of all our endeavors is considerably diminished. When this happens, ideological education becomes improvisation, it lacks prospects and the necessary confidence. And that inevitably widens the gulf between the declared intentions and reality.

A decisive influence on galvanizing the human factor, the creative activity of the working people, their thoughts and actions as conscious masters and citizens of their country, is exerted by both the existing system of planning and management of the economy, that is the economic machinery, and the level of development of socialist democracy. This is without any doubt the main thing that determines people's social activity. Therefore it is so important to avoid even the smallest stagnation in the development of these systems and likewise to prevent a weakening of their socialist basis, notably the public ownership of the means of production, worker-based, people-based political power, and the leading positions of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working people.

At the same time it is necessary however to be strictly guided by the dialectics of mutual relations between objective and subjective factors, and the systems and institutions that were created by the revolution must not be treated as a fetish. On the contrary, they must be constantly improved and made more flexible, and any elements of bureaucratism must be most resolutely discarded. This is possible only given the masses' vigorous activity and their bold involvement in resolving problems both of a local and a statewide nature in accordance with the Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

And it is on this task that attention is being focused in our country now in accordance with the instructions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. The implementation of this task will provide the basis for the successful transition to the intensification of the economy and the implementation of the strategy of acceleration. Inevitably, it is bound up with substantial changes in people's thinking and mentality. Their essence lies in improving the quality of decisions and enhancing discipline in and responsibility for the fulfillment of these decisions. And this applies both at the "top" and at the "bottom," it applies to all from the worker to the minister.

It is necessary everywhere to introduce methods which lead to a constant growth of labor productivity and production efficiency in all spheres of social life, never to be satisfied with what the country achieved yesterday, and to aspire to exceeding the best world standards.

Care must be taken to ensure that the appeals for a new way of thinking do not turn into a cliché which is bandied about even when there is not the least change in the life of society, into a slogan which certain people use as a kind of political "alibi," as a screen behind which they live their old lives.

The need for the new way of thinking and radical changes in people's mentality is stressed so as to ensure that people rid themselves of the views and habits fostered by the extensive method of management over a long period of time, views and habits which have led certain people to regard substantial losses as

the norm, to take a passive attitude to irrational endeavors, and to view mismanagement all but as an "attribute" of socialism.

Thus, for instance, deformations in the relations between production and the social sector, disregard for the priority of the social, the human sphere, has left a profound mark not only on the practice of central planning but also on the way important questions affecting people's lives virtually in every village, okres, or draj are tackled. A very dangerous obstacle to the development of people's activeness and initiative has been, as is known, the violation of the principle of remuneration according to labor. Wage "leveling" still occurs and certain people have incomes which are undeserved or acquired dishonestly.

The trend toward some kind of "equalization," the leveling of all and sundry, which is sometimes taken to be the expression of "true democratism" is one of the worst distortions of socialism. In the age of the scientific and technical revolution and the historical confrontation with capitalism which is trying to exploit certain advantages in the development and application of science and technology, being satisfied with mediocrity, or aspiring to it, is one of the gravest political mistakes.

The assessment of the role of the law of prices and commodity and financial relations in the socialist economy is also directly connected with this. It is impossible to combat the absolutization of this role--which occurred in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the sixties when the counterrevolution sought to weaken central planning and destroy the economic base of socialism--by strengthening bureaucratic administrative management. In reality such methods only play into the hands of revisionists with their "market model" of socialism, unjustifiable decentralization, and revival of petit bourgeois mentality. What we are seeking, after all, is the establishment of a dynamically developing integrated plan-governed national economic complex capable of satisfying the needs of society in the light of its long-term development and the tasks of the international division of labor within the framework of the socialist community.

Truthfulness and concreteness are the most important features of propaganda. Unity between words and actions. Truth, as V.I. Lenin emphasized, is always specific. We are waging the struggle for the new way of thinking, for the restructuring of the mentality of the masses, for the galvanization of the human factor in specific historical conditions. The crucial nature of the present age and the complexity and newness of the tasks facing us make it especially necessary for us to strive for flexibility, the ability to react promptly, boldness of action, combined with an utmost sense of responsibility which must be felt by everyone, especially if he works in a sector on which the fate of many people depends.

Lack of competence in conditions of a high level of socialization of labor, equipment of fixed assets with expensive machinery, and highly complex technologies can result in tremendous losses. Not even professionalism can help here if it is not backed up by political, moral, and civic maturity. Planning of the development of the national economic complex must under no

circumstances be entrusted to incompetent people with poor qualifications without appropriate public supervision.

The example of the CPSU which has energetically rid itself of the accretions of the past inspires us by its consistent application of the Leninist methods of work and the Leninist norms of life, and by its scientific thought whose highest criteria are the objective law of development and the principledness expressed in its devotion to the cause of the working class and the working people and to the idea of communism and peace. Everything is done for man, for his well-being, for his happy life in peace and freedom. The CPCZ, aware of its tremendous responsibility to its own people and to the world's revolutionary and progressive forces, also acts in accordance with this clear motto. It has subordinated all its ideological work, its struggle on the ideological front for the new man, for the new socialist way of life, to this aim.

This struggle is complex. Innovation does not occur automatically and without difficulties. Furthermore, in this struggle we are constantly exposed to the attacks of the reactionary imperialist forces which are engaging in "psychological warfare" against socialism. Reactionaries are speculating on the future of the socialist countries. They are hoping that the changes which are taking place in the USSR will "destabilize the situation" in other socialist countries. Imperialism proceeds from the premise that these changes are a reaction to the alleged "bankruptcy of the Marxist ideology" and it claims that socialist countries "will dissociate themselves on the quiet" from this ideology. This is by no means the first time that our opponents have entertained unrealizable hopes! Incidentally, those among them who are afraid of the CPSU's new course are right in a way. After all, its implementation confirms right now completely equivocally that the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism is viable, and that freed from the paralyzing structures of dogmatism, it does not give any kind of revisionism a chance. It is a powerful instrument for the further development and strengthening of socialism as a result of which socialism becomes an even more solid, invincible, indestructible, and reliable support of social progress and world peace.

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EASTERN EUROPE

BOOK BLAMING 'IMPERIALISM' FOR 1956 HUNGARIAN EVENTS REVIEWED

PM281141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[B. Zhironov review under the "Books" rubric: "The Failure of Operation 'Focus'"]

[Text] "The Failure of Operation 'Focus'"--That is the title of the book by Janos Berecz [Footnote] [J. Berecz. "The Failure of Operation 'Focus': Counterrevolution By the Pen and the Sword" (Kraakh operatsii "Fokus": kontrrevolyutsiya perom i oruzhiyem). Translated from the Hungarian. Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1986, 255 pages] which has just been published in Russian. In Hungary this work has already run to two editions. The translation of the second, enlarged, edition of the book is brought to Soviet readers' attention. The author, now a secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, consistently and thoroughly exposes the role of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, and internal reaction in organizing the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Hungary in October-November 1956 and shows the heroic struggle of the socialist forces to rout the counterrevolution.

As is well known, during the period of the world socialist system's formation and establishment the imperialists proclaimed subversive activity against the socialist countries as their official goal and elevated it to the rank of state policy. Within the framework of the imperialist policy of "containment" and "liberation," which was essentially a policy of subversion, the U.S. special services also formulated an anti-Hungarian plan code-named "Focus." This action was a long-term program. Its ultimate goal was to "terminate the existence of the Hungarian People's Republic." Using a wealth of factual and archive material, the book under review scrupulously traces step by step the two stages in the development of the subversive operation "Focus."

The first stage of the operation (1954-1955) was meant to create the conditions for carrying out a counterrevolutionary rebellion. The paramount task in this regard was to give moral support and psychological assistance to internal reactionary forces in Hungary and help them to organize themselves and unite as though in a single focal point. Hence the name of the action--operation "Focus." The anticommunist centers preferred to rely not so much on obvious reactionaries as on rightist revisionists, such as the Nagy-Lozonczi group, since the latter's views essentially coincided with the subversive program's ideas. Opportunists, for example, demanded the "complete" revision of the party's policy, denied the need for the dictatorship of the

proletariat, expatiated on "improving socialism" and "purifying democracy," and campaigned for a national unity devoid of all class content. All this bewildered, confused, and disorganized the masses.

The main aim of the second stage of operation "Focus" (1956), was nothing less than direct preparation for a counterrevolutionary rebellion. Against a background of increased domestic political tension, the reactionary emigre movement believed that the time had come to move closer "to the scene of the action." For instance, the "Hungarian National Committee," founded after World War II on the American mainland, rapidly switched its base to Europe. It is noteworthy that its leaders' monthly salary was immediately increased from 400 dollars to 600 dollars. The fascist holdouts placed their experience and hatred for socialism at the service of the "Free Europe" committee, which played a sinister role in the Hungarian events. In the FRG, the "Gehlen Service," with a network of 5,000 agents, and its Hungarian department played an active role in the October events in Hungary.

Western propaganda still makes strenuous efforts to present the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Hungary as a "people's revolution" on the grounds that ordinary people took part and died in the demonstrations and armed clashes. But the overwhelming majority of them were deceived. They were victims of the false appeals and slogans of "national communism." The responsibility for the people who were tragically deceived and who lost their lives rests with the rightist opportunists with their demagoguery and intrigues.

What happened in Hungary in October and November 1956, J. Berecz shows, was not a "people's revolution" but two putsches, carried out according to the scenario of the "Focus" program. One was acted out on the streets to the thunder of guns and the roar of rampaging gangs, whose ringleaders were mainly former Horthyist officers and supporters of Arrow Cross [Hungarian fascist party]. Another putsch was staged within the party, where opportunists, resorting to the weapon of lies, deception, and treachery, took power into their own hands. Without this second putsch the first, as the author shows, would never have gained the upper hand, even temporarily.

The book gives a precise and clear answer to the question: What were the conditions which, despite the exceptionally complex situation, made it possible to eliminate imperialism's offensive in Hungary in a relatively short time? The decisive role in the victory over the counterrevolution was played by the fact that in the early days of November 1956 the Hungarian revolutionary worker-peasant government was formed and the Provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was formed, headed by Comrade J. Kadar.

The new, truly revolutionary, communist government openly repudiated the traitors and resolutely opposed the rebellion. The armed forces of the counterrevolution, the book notes, were routed in Hungary with assistance from Soviet Army units. This created favorable conditions and opportunities for the socialist forces in the country and for their political, philosophical, and ideological struggle.

As a supplement to this book, some of the most important documents concerning the 1956 events are published, documents such as the Hungarian revolutionary worker-peasant government's appeal to the Hungarian people. Thus, the entire content of the book helps people gain a deeper understanding of the essence of the alarming events of 30 years ago and to learn the lessons of history. The main lesson is that of maintaining constant political vigilance against imperialism's intrigues.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ACTIVITIES OF CONTADORA PROCESS, U.S. OPPOSITION CHRONICLED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 13-25

[Article by M. L. Chumakova: "From Contadora to Caraballeda"]

[Text] The short period of time that has passed since the formation of the Contadora Group has been marked by important events having an effect on the situation in the region and the position of the contiguous countries with regard to the Central American conflict and the development of new approaches to settling it. Over these years Contadora has become an indispensable part of the international political situation in Central America and an important factor opposing Washington's policy of force. Its activity has struck a broad international chord, forcing Washington to make corrections in its Central American policies. Therefore, a review of the principal stages of the Contadora process, specific features of its development and the difficulties of multilateral diplomacy is exceedingly topical. This theme provokes great interest with regard to the new anti-Nicaraguan moves of the United States that have unfolded in recent months.

Anatomy of a Conflict

The crisis situation in Central America took shape gradually to the extent of ever greater United States interference in events that occurred in the region after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution. Several internal and localized conflicts arose here as a result. The Reagan administration's utmost support of the anti-populist regime in El Salvador, implemented in accordance with the strategic directive of "throwing back communism," led to a sharpening of the armed conflict in that country and to countless casualties among the peaceful population. In Guatemala, the policy of state terrorism conducted by the dictatorial regime with the approval of the United States was accompanied by growth in the appearance of leftist forces waging an armed struggle for the creation of a democratic government. In Nicaragua, at the instigation of Washington, the opposition was activated, and with the aid of the CIA armed bands were created using of counterrevolutionary emigres that are waging combat actions for the purpose of overthrowing the government.

The undeclared war against Nicaragua begun by the CIA in 1981 and the sorties of the contras based on Costa Rican and Honduran territory led to a conflict

situation on the borders of Nicaragua. The crisis situation was aggravated by a worsening of the financial and economic situation and a growth in social and political tension in Honduras and Costa Rica. The expansion of the U.S. collaboration with El Salvador and Honduras within the framework of a regional anti-insurgency strategy and their accelerated militarization led in turn to an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility among these countries. "In accelerating the militarization of the region, Washington poured fat on the fire," noted the realistically minded American political scientist Donald Schultz. (Footnote 1) (Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Boulder, 1984, p 50.) As a result, a "crisis of crises" arose, the scope of which exceeded the sum total of its constituent elements. This led in turn to an intensification of disagreements between the United States and Mexico, which came out in defense of principles of non-interference and the non-use of force, rendered economic aid and political support to the Nicaraguan government and proposed a "peace plan" in February of 1982 that provoked a negative reaction in Washington.

### Right Versus Might

Venezuela soon joined the peacemaking efforts of Mexico. In September of 1982 while the United States, in the graphic expression of the journal NUEVA SOCIEDAD, "was licking the wounds inflicted by the Malvinas conflict," (Footnote 2) (Nueva Sociedad. San Jose, 1982, No 63, p 79) the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela came out with a joint initiative, sending messages to the governments of the United States, Nicaragua and Honduras in which they stressed their vested interest in the peaceful and stable development of the region and called upon Washington to begin a constructive dialogue with the countries involved in the conflict. In this manner, two influential Latin American states came out against the Reagan administration's plan of "pacification" with the aid of force. Both regional states renounced the Reagan version of the rise of the conflict, seeing the root causes of the explosive situation not in machinations of Moscow or Havana, but rather in the poverty, lawlessness and social injustice that prevailed in the countries with reactionary militarist regimes. The national-reform governments of Mexico and Venezuela felt that long-term political stability and economic development could be ensured with democratization and the carrying out of urgent reforms.

Columbia and Panama became allies of Mexico and Venezuela in their quest for a political settlement of the Central American crisis. Positive shifts in the foreign policy of Columbia were noted with the coming to power of the government of B. Betancur. It diverged from silent support of the anti-Nicaraguan policy of Washington. The government of Panama has traditionally manifested interest in the situation taking shape in the region, and was unsettled by the course of its development.

On 9 Jan 83, the presidents and foreign ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Columbia and Panama, on the Panamanian island of Contadora, adopted a joint document aimed at a political settlement of the crisis in Central America. Its chief tenets were the following: the quest for peace based on dialogue and diplomatic negotiations; the condemnation of the use of force and threats; and, an appeal to all countries with a request to refrain from actions that would aggravate the situation in the region. In this manner, the four Latin

American countries repudiated the Reagan version of the conflict and declared the necessity of observing the principles of international law.

As a result of their efforts, the first joint conference of the foreign ministers of the Contadora group with their Central American colleagues was held three months later. These conferences (later the "Meeting of the Nine") gradually took on a regular nature and became an important mechanism for elucidating the points of view of the countries involved in the conflict and the exposure of mutual complaints and disputed issues.

Fearing that the initiative of the Contadora group could lead to a turn of events unfavorable for the Central American allies of the United States, Washington tried every way possible to stimulate the political activity of the Salvadoran regime, which came out with its own declaration. Among the urgent problems requiring resolution, it cited the necessity of the "institutionalization of democracy" in Nicaragua and the cessation of "ideological aggression" on its part. (Footnote 3) (Estudios centroamericanos. San Salvador, 1983, No 415-416, p 533.) Repeating the theses of Washington, the reactionary regime intended to drag in anew the idea of creating an anti-Nicaraguan bloc that was earlier reflected in the attempts to knock together the so-called "Central American Democratic Community."

The United States encouraged the position of its Central American allies, using the "Meeting of the Nine" for new attacks on Nicaragua. In the course of these meetings, Nicaragua took a consistent and principled position aimed at defending its sovereignty and security and insisted on the cessation of aggressive activities by the United States and the holding of bilateral negotiations with the countries involved in the conflict. A series of peace initiatives by the Sandinista government, however, were rejected by the puppet regimes, and Nicaragua itself turned out to be at the center of a hostile campaign of imperialism and Central American reaction.

Under these conditions, the Contadora group developed a new approach to settling the crisis in the region associated with concluding political compromises among all of the countries. The Cancun Declaration, adopted on 12 Jul 83, proposed a series of measures aimed at halting the militarization of the region, recalling foreign military advisers, creating a climate of trust and strengthening democracy. In response, Washington resorted to conducting military exercises off the coast of Nicaragua. The Central American regimes following a policy of hostility toward revolutionary Nicaragua for their part continued to play out the scenario proposed earlier by the White House, at the center of which was support for the Salvadoran uprisings on the part of Nicaragua and Cuba. In the summer of 1983 they even adopted the "Guatemala Declaration" which renounced "terrorism and subversive activities" and had a clearly anti-Nicaraguan thrust. Along with this, they undertook urgent steps to re-animate the Central American Defense Council, aimed at suppressing liberation movements in the region.

In order to preserve the possibility of continuing the process that had been started, the Contadora group undertook a new attempt to combine the aims and requirements of Nicaragua on the one hand and the Central American regimes on the other and to develop a legal basis for further negotiations. In September

of 1983 the "Meeting of the Nine" adopted a Document of Goals that was met with optimism in Latin America. This document contained a number of the clauses of the Cancun and Guatemala declarations along with some of the Nicaraguan proposals. Its approval by all of the Central American countries, it seemed, would open up the possibility of a gradual political settlement of the crisis in the region.

#### The Subversive Tactics of the White House

The first anniversary of the Contadora activities coincided with the publication of the report of the National Commission on Central America chaired by Kissinger. It emphasized that the United States "cannot use the Contadora process as a substitute for its own policies." In the opinion of the report's authors, the Contadora process worked effectively only when the United States "acted purposefully." (Footnote 4) (Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. Washington, 1984, p 120.) Apparently, the American administration regarded intervention in Grenada, the development of military construction on Honduran territory at the Nicaraguan border, regular broad-scale military exercises, increased aid to the contras and the involvement of Costa Rica in anti-Nicaraguan provocations as "purposeful" actions that were deemed to accelerate the process.

In analyzing the situation taking shape in the region, American political scientist Bruce Bagley came to the conclusion that "the prospects for a successful political solution are zero." (Footnote 5) (The Caribbean Challenge: U.S. Policy in a Volatile Region. Boulder, 1984, p 157.) The skepticism of international observers with regard to the reality of the Contadora efforts increased with the expansion of the scope of the undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people and the continued militarization of the countries in the region. It "is becoming not so much a search for peace as a cover for war," concluded S. Voulk, an American researcher of Latin American problems (Footnote 6) (NACLA Report on the Americas. New York, 1984, vol XVIII, No 4, p 47.), since not a single one of the participating countries "has the military might to require or accelerate the resolution of the current crisis, and not one can actually challenge American supremacy in the region." (Footnote 7) (Ibid., p 44)

A similar point of view is adhered to by a number of Latin American observers. Commenting on the escalation of U.S. military preparations, the Mexican journal PROSECO ascertained that "the efforts of the Contadora group are useless in the face of Washington's resolve to arm the region." (Footnote 8) (Proseco. Mexico, 1984, No 396, p 40.) By the journal's count, some 300,000 Central Americans were under arms in 1984, that is, an average of one out of every 70 residents. (Footnote 9) (Ibidem.)

#### A Central American Troika in Washington's Harness

The aggressive actions of Washington against Nicaragua are accompanied by the actions of the Central American troika--El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica (Footnote 10) (In 1984 the government of Guatemala took a neutral position with regard to Nicaragua)--aimed at discrediting Nicaragua within the framework of the inter-American system. The declarations of the

representatives of these countries at the Contadora meetings repeated almost word for word the arguments of the White House. Salvadoran President N. Duarte has become a herald of the anti-Nicaraguan policy of the Central American regimes, striving at the same time to present the electoral process in his country as proof of democratic change. Distorting the true state of affairs, each of the three countries has come out with complaints against Nicaragua, called this country "the seat of the problems in Central America" (Footnote 11) (Vision. Mexico, 1984, vol 62. No 11, p 34) and has frustrated the enactment of mutually adopted documents.

In this regard, the history of the Act of Peace and Collaboration in Central America, developed in the summer of 1984, is extremely instructive. On September 7 it was delivered to the foreign ministers of the Central American states, and on September 25 to the secretary general of the United Nations. As early as September 21 the government of Nicaragua declared its willingness to sign it immediately without any changes or corrections. The act was composed in accordance with the norms of international law and stipulated a series of political obligations: the achievement of a regional detente and national reconciliation and the participation of the masses in the process of democratic renewal of Central American society. (Footnote 12) (Furthermore, it proposed the adoption of a number of obligations regarding military maneuvers (points 16-17) and restraining the arms race (points 18-22), the presence of foreign military bases and the intolerability of supporting "subversive, terrorist and sabotage activities" (points 32-35). The provisions of the Act also included steps for creating mechanisms for fulfilling and observing the indicated obligations by the parties.) Immediately after Nicaragua agreed to sign this document, the U.S. State Department declared that the text was unacceptable, while the National Security Council soon adopted a secret memorandum relative to measures for blocking the Contadora process. (Footnote 13) (CIDE. Perspectiva latinoamericana. Mexico, 1985, No 4, p 41.) After consultations with representatives of the American government, Honduras sent in their "remarks." Additional new corrections were introduced, giving the Act an anti-Nicaraguan slant, at a meeting of the foreign ministers of three countries in Tegucigalpa on October 20. (Footnote 14) (According to them, the stages of disarmament of the Latin American countries were not connected with a reduction in the American military presence in the region. The amendments were actually aimed at the unilateral reduction of the defensive might of Nicaragua (point 25). Furthermore, a provision on forbidding international military exercises was excluded from the Act. The aim of excluding the Contadora group from participation in monitoring the course of disarmament was also pursued.) The revised text of the document, or the "Anti-Act" as it was called by C. Andres Perez (Footnote 15) (Nueva sociedad, 1985, No 79, p 107), once again led the multilateral negotiations process to a dead end, which was joyfully grasped by the Central American reactionaries hoping for a military solution to the crisis. Nostalgic for a repeat of the Dominican or Grenada version of intervention, former Costa Rican Foreign Minister Gonzalo Fazio hurried to declare the necessity of creating inter-American "peace forces" as an alternative to the Contadora process. (Footnote 16) (CIDE. Perspectiva latinoamericana, 1985, No 4, p 41.) Declarations were made that Contadora had reached "a critical point" and that it "was in a death agony." (Footnote 17)

(Relaciones internacionales. Heredia, 1984, No 8/9, p 10; Dialogo social. Panama, 1985, No 177, p 12.)

All of this occurred on the eve of the general elections in Nicaragua. After the convincing victory of the Sandinistas, Washington shifted to a more unbridled campaign and demanded that the Nicaraguan government begin negotiations with the contras. The "peace plan" advanced by Reagan on April 4 was consistent with this spirit, containing an ultimatum to begin negotiations with the mercenaries within a thirty-day period. Under the cover of sensational propaganda adopted in this regard, the United States imposed a trade embargo against Nicaragua in May of 1985. The new anti-Nicaraguan action served as a signal for new attacks by the Central American troika against multilateral negotiations as well.

On the other hand, Washington, taking into account the growing vulnerability of the Latin American countries during the prolonged crisis on the issue of the payment of foreign debt, tried to win over each of the participants to greater compliancy, to drive a wedge into the relations of Nicaragua with the regional powers. They also tried to direct the Contadora process into channels more favorable to the United States. "The Contadora have only one card--their moral position... The United States has many cards--secret and open warfare, economic and diplomatic warfare, and, finally, verbal warfare," stated Voulk. (Footnote 18) (NACLA Report on the Americas, 1984, vol XVIII, No 4, p 49.)

This type of evaluation, however, reflected the traditional ethnocentric views of American political and academic circles. They did not take into account powerful new factors that influenced the international political situation such as the strengthening worldwide movement of solidarity with Nicaragua and antiwar demonstrations in the Latin American countries and the United States itself, and a new political consciousness that was carving its way in the ruling circles of Latin America that repudiates a policy of dictate and interventionism and affirms the concept of the need for an active struggle for general peace. In evaluating the Central American policy of Washington, many Latin American government and public figures came to the conclusion that the "United States leaves little room for the creation of peace in the region" (Footnote 19) (Dialogo social, 1985, No 177, p 21), and the threatening declarations of Reagan create "a new evil and lead to the fact that even more of a conflict situation arises." (Footnote 20) (Tiempo. Mexico, No 2241, p 37.)

#### Latin American Support of the Contadoras

The democratization of the countries in the Southern Hemisphere, the fall of military regimes in Argentina and Uruguay and the transition to civilian rule in Brazil have created favorable preconditions for these countries to take a more active position with regard to the conflict in Central America. In August of 1985, a Contadora support group was formed in Lima made up of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Peru. In the same month, they took part in an expanded Contadora group meeting that took place in Cartagena where eight Latin American states emphasized that the solution of the Latin American problem could not be achieved through the use of force.

The anti-interventionist thrust of the support group can be distinctly traced in the declarations of the government figures of its member countries. Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations and Worship Dante Caputo, for example, emphasized that "no government, however powerful it may be, can strive for the replacement of another government." (Footnote 21) (Granma. La Habana, 27 Aug 85.)

The rise of the support group, apparently, induced certain changes in the Latin American policy of the United States. In order to neutralize its efforts, Washington increased the subversive activities of its Central American allies. As a result, in December of 1985 a resolution was adopted on halting the Contadora negotiations until May of 1986 in connection with the elections in Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica. The attention of Latin American society, with the aid of the U.S. mass media, was switched from the Contadora process to the course of these elections and, after the coming to power of new governments in Guatemala and Honduras, on the advance of these countries along the road of "democracy." At the same time, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz and State Department representatives came out, using the accustomed cliches, with new conjectures and accusations toward Nicaragua. This line was followed by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs E. Abrams and presidential National Security Advisor D. Poindexter, who visited the countries of Central America in December of 1985. (Footnote 22) (The Financial Times. London, 14 Dec 85.)

All of these attacks were aimed at the diplomatic isolation of Nicaragua. Making use of the "forced inactivity" of the Contadoras and trying to dispose it toward its position, Washington resolved to rid itself of the odious Central American dictatorial regimes. At the beginning of January, the American press reported with relief that the Contadora process was dead. The further rapid development of events, however, demonstrated that this evaluation was premature. A "Caraballeda Message for Peace and Security in Central America," which gave a new impetus to the Contadora process, was adopted on 12 Jan 86 at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Contadora and Lima groups in the Venezuelan city of Caraballeda.

This document, as a permanent basis for ensuring peace in the region, cited a Latin American solution of the problem, self-determination, non-interference, territorial integrity, pluralistic democracy, the non-proliferation of arms and a ban on the creation of military bases, a refusal of military actions and support for forces trying to destabilize constitutional order, and the observance of human rights, that is, practically all of the principles contained in the Peace Act. The Caraballeda Message also contained nine points that stipulated the simultaneous renewal of negotiations for the signing of the Peace Act.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Venezuelan President J. Luisinchi noted: "Contadora has not died, it cannot die, since it is nothing more than the idea of peace. It is will and conviction." (Footnote 23) (El Pais. Madrid, 13 Jan 86.) The authors of the Message also emphasized that it reflects the aspirations of 95 percent of Latin Americans for the establishment of peace in the region. The text of the Message was sent to the United Nations, the EEC,



the OAS and representatives of the Group of 77 and the non-aligned movement. The new Latin American initiative was received with approval by wide circles of public opinion.

Two days later, the Latin American countries signed a declaration of support for the Caraballeda Message at the mediation of Spanish Foreign Minister F. Ordonez, while the new president of Guatemala, Vinicio Cerezo, came out with a proposal to create a Central American parliament and convene a meeting of the presidents of five Central American states.

#### New Obstacles

The United States did not conceal its dissatisfaction with the activation of the multilateral efforts of the Latin American countries and their broad international support. The policy of the American administration to subvert the new initiative was especially clearly manifested on the threshold of the proposed meeting of D. Schultz on February 10 with the foreign ministers that signed the Caraballeda declaration. At first G. Shlaudeman, and then Schultz himself, held meetings with the ringleaders of the Nicaraguan contras. At these meetings, a plan was discussed to create a transitional government of "national consent" in Nicaragua. Next meetings were held in Washington of contra leaders with Savimbi, the leader of the Angolan counterrevolutionaries. The contacts of official Washington figures with the ringleaders of terrorist organizations occurred against a background of a noisy anti-Nicaraguan campaign and were called to ensure the appropriate psychological atmosphere for easing the passage through Congress of appropriations to aid the contras. Their ringleaders were trying to include their requirements on the agenda of the Contadora negotiations.

The meeting of Shultz with the foreign-affairs ministers of the Caraballeda countries on February 10 did not advance the settlement process a single step. The United States refused to renew negotiations with Nicaragua and declared the necessity of continued aid to the contras, completely ignoring one of the points of the Message. Ignoring the political will of the eight Latin American countries, the U.S. administration demonstrated once again that there remains a true policy of inflaming the conflict in Nicaragua. U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger justified the aid to the contras by the necessity of not permitting the strengthening of the Sandinista government. In confirmation of the threatening declarations, the regular naval military exercises of the United States were begun off the coast of Central America on February 18, and after a week Reagan appealed to Congress with a request to allocate 100 million dollars to the contras.

The visit of Reagan to Grenada that took place on 20 Feb 86 was eloquent confirmation of the fact that he does not intend to refrain from a forceful approach to international affairs and is trying to extract new political dividends from interventionist activities against small Caribbean countries. N. Duarte was given the signal for a new diplomatic offensive against Nicaragua. Refraining for over a year from dialogue with the FNOFM [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] he, after consultations with E. Abrams, came out with a proposal to renew it when the Sandinista government began negotiations with the contras. Washington again tried to place an equal sign

between the patriotic forces of El Salvador and the Nicaraguan contras--CIA mercenaries in the same way.

The Salvadoran initiative, however, was not supported by the new governments of Guatemala and Honduras. Furthermore, the government of Nicaragua, with the assistance of the Contadoras, was able to reach agreement with Costa Rica on the creation of a commission for monitoring the situation on the border between the two countries. The importance of this peaceful step, aimed at normalizing relations between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, was emphasized at a joint meeting of the Contadora countries and the support group in Punta-del-Este (26-28 Feb 86). The communique that was adopted stressed that "Latin America should solve its problems without foreign interference." (Footnote 24) (Granma, 1 Mar 86.) The meeting called for the expansion of the support group and the continuation of the search for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the region. Indicating the significance of this meeting, Peruvian President Alan Garcia noted that "Latin America should be united in the solution of the problem of foreign indebtedness and the struggle against imperial power that intends to interfere... in the affairs of Nicaragua." (Footnote 25) (Granma, 15 Mar 86.)

The position of Latin American and world opinion has sharpened the debate in the ruling circles of the United States regarding Central American policy. Notwithstanding White House pressure, the U.S. Congress voted against the allocation of 100 million dollars for military financial aid to the contras. (Footnote 26) (PRAVDA, 22 Mar 86.) Reagan, however, did not renounce his intention to gain the approval of the American legislators for contra aid, continuing a policy of interference in the affairs of Nicaragua. On 25 Jun 86 Congress succumbed to the pressure.

#### Neoglobalism--A Threat to Peace in the Region

The Washington policy of supporting the contras, expanding the American military presence in the region and new aggressive acts against Nicaragua is part of the neoglobal strategy of the United States directed against regimes in the developing world that it does not care for. Part of this strategy is the utmost assistance for antigovernment forces. An alliance of the ringleaders of counterrevolutionary groups waging war against the legal governments of Angola, Nicaragua, Laos and Afghanistan was put together in June of 1985 with the knowledge and blessing of the American administration. This alliance, with the cynical name of the "Democratic International," is aimed at coordinating the subversive activities of counterrevolutionaries of all colors. The doctrine of "neoglobalism" envisages the military and political intervention of the United States into the internal affairs of developing countries, which is based on the justification of combating "international terrorism," by which the Washington strategists understand the liberation movements of African, Asian and Latin American countries. This type of activity, in the opinion of the American strategists, is needed to ensure regional stability. But as a result of Washington's militarist policy, as events in Central America demonstrate, a deepening of the conflict is occurring in the region.

The problem of settling it remains one of the most acute problems of modern international relations. It has already moved beyond the bounds of the continent and the inter-American system and has acquired a global hearing, while the attitude toward it has become a distinctive watershed between apologists for a policy of force and the proponents of a peaceful and legal international approach. The overwhelming majority of the states of peaceful society are for a political resolution of the conflict. And the Contadora group, whose activity at the initial stage facilitated the creation of a negotiation mechanism directed toward settling the crisis in the region, has no small merit in this.

The experience of the coalition diplomacy of the Contadora group has introduced new forms into the practice of Latin American relations. The complex and, to a certain extent, contradictory Contadora process does not fit into the accustomed framework of inter-American relations, traditionally gravitating toward exclusivity and limited by the boundaries of the Western Hemisphere. It brings with it a number of new elements. The Contadora group has demonstrated an aspiration for expanding the "zone of support" beyond the boundaries of Latin America and among the Western European states and the non-aligned movement, seeking in this way additional potential for continuing efforts for a political settlement of the Central American crisis. The expansion in the number of participants in the Contadora process testifies to the vitality of this new form of Latin American foreign relations.

An important element in the development of the Contadora process is its ideological effect on a new generation of Latin Americans, which is formulated in a climate of opposition to the aggressive policies of the White House and makes them accustomed to thinking that regional problems should be resolved by Latin Americans themselves and that issues of democracy and social and economic progress are closely tied to the struggle for peace.

An indicator of the fact that new the trends in the heart of the struggle for a new international political order are maturing and gathering strength in Latin American relations is the extraordinary session of the Latin American Parliament that was held in April of 1986 in Guatemala, the participants of which renounced the interventionist policies of the Reagan administration with regard to Nicaragua. Washington must take into account changes of this type ever more in forming its Central American policies. The United States, not without the effect from the "Contadora Four," has accelerated the pace of "democratization" of a number of countries of Central America, ridding itself of military regimes that have compromised themselves. Having seized upon the Latin American idea of democratization and the strengthening of pluralistic systems, the Reagan administration is hastily turning it inside out in accordance with current tasks, manipulating the positions of the Contadora documents. At the same time, the United States in undertaking efforts to shut down the Contadora process, to make the Contadoras a convenient "level of authority" for the approval of anti-Nicaraguan policy. From the point of view of U.S. interests, such a forum would be more effective than the United Nations, where the position of Nicaragua enjoys the support of the majority of the developing countries and the countries of the socialist system, and Nicaragua itself has become a symbol of resistance to the American policy of dictate and aggression. The White House therein takes into account the

differences in the positions on individual efforts of the countries making up the Contadora group. They have been facilitated by the corresponding foreign-policy orientation of the ruling circles of those countries which reflects the specific economic and political interests in the contiguous region.

Taking into account the new political situation on the continent and the changes that recently occurred in several Central American countries, the United States will, apparently, strive to alter the Contadora process in the future in order to rehabilitate undermined positions and to adapt it to their own policies of social revanchism and the suppression of liberation movements in the region.

As shown by the meeting of the Contadora group that took place in April of 1986 in Panama, Washington, first and foremost by using methods of economic pressure under the conditions of a "debt crisis," has succeeded in achieving a reduction in the political effect of Caraballeda. The same aims were pursued by the White House at the subsequent (May) meeting of the "Group of Nine," striving to push the Contadoras to the background and give freedom of action to their Central American partners. Their proposals were reduced in essence to a break from the spirit of Caraballeda (halting American aid to the contras) and to a requirement for the unilateral disarmament of Nicaragua and the blocking of its peaceful and constructive initiatives (a refusal to acquire offensive weapons), which in the end result again postponed the signing of the Act of Peace, which was projected by the Contadora and Lima groups for 6 Jun 86 at the meeting in Panama. Washington was once again able to bring their peace efforts to naught. On the eve of the meeting (June 5), the White House, reinforcing the subversive diplomatic actions of its Central American allies, resorted to a demonstration of force on Honduran territory (7 kilometers from the Nicaraguan border), beginning a new phase of the Cabanas-86 military exercises.

In order to neutralize the new U.S. exercises that are aimed at ensuring favorable conditions for intervention in Central America, more cohesion among the Contadora group and the countries that have entered the path of support for it and more consistent and principled follow-through on the initial aims of the Contadora process are essential. Its potential is concealed therein. The experience of the struggle of a free Nicaragua for sovereignty and the right to independent development indicates this.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

GUATEMALAN LABOR PARTY MEMBER ON NEW CIVILIAN RULE

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 26-30

[Interview with Guatemalan Labor Party Central Committee Political Commission member Manuel Bonilla: "Isolate the Reaction"]

[Excerpt] [Question] Please describe the current situation in Guatemala.

[Answer] The main thing about today's political situation is the fact that after many long years it has become possible for a civilian government to come to power. In the last three decades, Guatemala has lived through changes in power of the military carried out either through an electoral farce or through a coup d'etat, pursuing extremely specific aims and, first and foremost, the preservation of a system of rule by the most reactionary groups. In order to achieve them they did not shy away from choosing any means that hindered, suppressed and smothered any appearance of democratic or revolutionary forces. Right up until the last moment, the policies of the Guatemalan governments can be described as repression and bloody persecution, especially beginning in 1963, when the military formed in practice a ruling bloc in the resultant power structure. Under these conditions, the people entered the path of armed struggle, which was a response to the official policy of violence.

Today we understand that this policy is the first phase in the implementation of the anti-insurgency policy developed in the United States. Earlier we saw only its repressive side, but later came to realize that this is a global concept directed against an effort at democratization and liberation, embodying military aspects (basically) as well as economic, political, social, ideological, diplomatic and even psychological ones.

During the rule of Rios Montt, and then Mejia Victores, emphasis was placed on the military aspects of the anti-insurgency policy. At first, in the 1970s, the military tried to suppress the popular movement in the cities, resorting to the murder and kidnapping of people who were never held in confinement, dealing with them at once--with leaders and worker activists, the democratic and revolutionary movement, with students and teachers, with peasants and trade-union leaders and the leaders of women's organizations. Then the victims became several of the leaders of Guatemalan social democracy.

Under Rios Montt and Mejia Victores, this policy took on features of paranoia. Rios Montt, obsessed by anticommunism, brought down repression on the peasants in the so-called "conflict zones" after attempts to suppress the popular movement in the cities. Hundreds of villages were practically wiped from the face of the earth, thousands of people perished, and many were forced to seek safety in neighboring regions and, chiefly, in Mexico.

But the people created and preserved their revolutionary organizations, developed them, accumulated experience in the struggle. Three fronts are active on Guatemalan territory, making up the National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala (UNRG). The Supreme Leadership of the UNRG was recently formed.

Differences arose between the military dictatorship and the business circles, the agro-export oligarchy and the trade and industrial bourgeoisie. A powerful free-enterprise organization exists in Guatemala--the Chamber of Trade, Industry and Finance (KASIF). The dissatisfaction of the businessmen united in KASIF was caused by the fact that the ruling circles had brought the country into international isolation, and this to a significant extent hurt opportunities for development in the areas of both domestic and foreign trade.

[Question] What, in your opinion, are the factors that brought the indicated contradictions to life?

[Answer] First of all, the Guatemalan bourgeoisie needs political stability in the country, as well as an atmosphere of international trust. It needs an expansion of the domestic market, but this is impossible while the traditional oligarchy supports the existing agrarian structure without change. The situation is further aggravated with regard to the stagnation of the Central American Common Market (CACM). In the second place, most of the state funds are expended for purposes of suppression and repression, and not for the creation of the infrastructure in which the business circles have a vested interest. Also present is the expenditure of funds on non-productive expenses and their simple embezzlement. All of this facilitated the growing conception that the military was unable to propose a real way out of the crisis, not to mention to raise the prestige of Guatemala in the international arena.

And so the anti-insurgency maneuver acquires another look: as the only alternative, they resort to elections with the participation of the Christian Democrats. The latter proposed an economic plan, the implementation of which would at least make it possible to ease the crisis and improve the social situation, and in the more distant future to achieve more--to lessen the climate of confrontation in the country, the opposition of the forces of the people and the reactionary oligarchy.

Also envisaged is the conducting of negotiations on the payment of Guatemala's foreign debt...

[Question] Under what conditions?

[Answer] The government has still not solidified its approach. The new president, Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, has acknowledged that he has received a country that is on the verge of total bankruptcy. Of course, he is resorting

to a certain extent to arguments that are natural in Latin America ("We cannot pay a debt at the cost of human lives"). It must be noted, however, that all of this still sounds quite vague.

An important thrust in the policies of the Christian Democrats is raising the role of the state in the economy for the purpose of raising it. Currently the government is coming out with modest de-Sarrollist plans, especially in those regions of the country where the situation has become the worst. A ministry of development has been created for their realization. At the same time, after a new round of negotiations on the problem of foreign debt, apparently, the doors are being opened wider for foreign capital. The Christian Democrats are trying to use the indicated program to oppose the most reactionary plan of the so-called "new right," which has a neoliberalist orientation, and a policy of the re-privatization of many state enterprises that now exist in Guatemala.

Also planned is tax reform as an attempt to make clear whether this will ease the quite serious budget deficit. On this issue, the government is in opposition to the KASIF and the most powerful bourgeois groups. After all, the Christian Democrats are talking about increasing the taxes on direct private capital investment. Discussions are also being conducted on changing policy in the sphere of wages: owners are called upon to pay hired help better for the purpose of raising the buying power of the population.

It is important to note that the representatives of the new administration have adopted a policy of "international relations without ideological prejudices." The Christian Democrats speak out for the rehabilitation of the CACM and feel that Guatemala should, with the appropriate opportunities, enter CARICOM. This is an interesting moment, as this position inevitably presupposes a flexible policy with regard to the Central American conflict. It is for namely for that reason that they speak of supporting the Contadora group, of resolving Central American problems through negotiations, of supporting the meeting in Caraballeda, and of the necessity of a struggle for peace and against the isolation of Nicaragua. All of this creates certain international prospects, including the matter of establishing trade contacts with the socialist countries.

[Question] What is the reaction of the Guatemalan military to these changes?

[Answer] Among them are groups that support these policies, but those officers who are most disposed toward being reactionary regard them with hostility, mainly due to Nicaragua.

What social forces does the Christian-Democratic government represent? Its political orientation is determined by the modern industrial and trade bourgeoisie of our country. It does not play a large role in the economy and, due to its weakness, must enter into a union with trans-national capital.

Before the current administration in Guatemala is the task of stabilizing the political situation in the country. For this it is necessary first and foremost to put an end to repressions. In the last general elections among the population that had the right to a vote (1 million people), a certain activeness was noted. Many wanted to demonstrate their will in this way,

their desire for changes, although perhaps not realizing clearly exactly what changes are needed. Political consciousness among the masses does not appear suddenly, it is developed in a prolonged and difficult struggle, complicated by the illegal conditions for the activity of revolutionary organizations and the strict pressure "from above" on any democratic manifestations. And by the way, what Guatemala needs is a halt to repression, murder, kidnapping and the mass exodus of the population. Guatemalans also need freedom of trade-union associations, respect for the rights of laborers and improvement in their social situation, health care and popular education. Hope is strengthening in the country for all of these changes, which incited many to head for the polls. The people are beginning to believe that in the future, a vote cast in the elections can facilitate somewhat of an improvement in the situation, and they go to the polls already so as at least to isolate the reactionaries and ensure the victory of the Christian Democrats.

We should have differing attitudes toward the pre-election promises, on the one hand, and the political practice of government incarnating these promises into life on the other. It is only possible to speak of expectations and hopes now. But mistakes should be avoided as well: the people should be oriented toward the fact that all of the promises are easy to incorporate into deeds and it only remains to wait for the new administration to implement its program or not to take into account the new political climate in which it is essential to display especial vigilance. After all, the discussion concerns a civilian government constitutionally elected. The more so as it is advancing initiatives in the economic, political and social spheres.

As early as 1982 we made the following determination: the main enemy of the revolutionary democratic forces and all of the people are the forces of anti-insurgency. The agricultural export sector, financial capital and the military higher-ups support them, enriching themselves during their time in power and linking their fate with this sector of the economy. Taking this into account, it is essential to analyze the possibilities for the Christian Democratic administration in today's situation.

Three directions of political development could arise in the future. The first is a deep transformation, which the country needs, a halt to repression and terror against the insurgent forces and the punishment of those guilty of genocide. This is required by the broad mass of people, this corresponds to revolutionary dictates. The second direction is proceeding with pre-election slogans proclaimed for the purpose of neutralizing the insurgency movement. In essence, this would be a continuation of the earlier criminal policies of the reactionary forces. The third direction is a continuation of the armed suppression of the insurgency movement.

President Vinicio Cerezo once noted: "In our hands is 30 percent of the power, the other 70 percent remains in the hands of the right." It is hardly possible to give such a precise quantitative determination of the correlation of power, but nonetheless his meaning is clear.

We think that the "maneuvering room" of the Christian Democrats is extremely limited, that the government, due to the weakness of its social and economic



base, will hardly be able to withstand an economic crisis with a viable alternative. Furthermore, the Christian Democrats are currently unable to dismantle the whole anti-insurgency apparatus that was created and activated by the military.

In particular, there is a structure of so-called "inter-institutional coordinating centers" in the country which regulate the activity of various departments for the purpose of developing agricultural areas, where "model villages" are spreading, something like local communes under military control. The Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories are used as models.

Still another mechanism supplementing this whole structure are the "civil self-defense patrols" that today, in accordance with the latest decree of Mejia Victores signed days before the transfer of power to President Vinicio Cerezo, now bear the name of "civil defense committees." There are some 900,000 people in them. How can this machine be destroyed? Vinicio Cerezo confirms that it will be given a civilian form, for which the governors of the departments--who are for the most part civilian--will be designated in place of the military leaders of the "inter-institutional coordinating centers." The matter is not, however, just one of a change of faces.

The Christian Democrats have a vested interest in proving the viability of their plan. The United States and some other powers also have a vested interest. They understand that in countries similar to Guatemala, it is impossible to implement their dominion based on the odious and discredited military dictatorships, stuck in the quagmire of deep crisis and unable to succeed in the confrontation with the people. They would like to implement the Christian Democratic plan within the framework of the concept of so-called "limited democracy," since an open confrontation as a result of exacerbating class struggle in our countries would lead imperialism to new defeats in Central America. It is also essential to take into account that a global policy of imperialism assumes a new "democratic encirclement" of Nicaragua.

In conclusion I would like to say that we, communists, know that only the popular masses of Guatemala in a difficult struggle will create a real alternative to power, and this will permit the establishment of a really democratic regime and open up the way to the full national and social liberation of our people.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

PERU'S COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER ON COUNTRY, PARTY UNDER GARCIA

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[Interview with Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Jorge del Prado under the rubric "Peru at a Crucial Stage of Development": "The Reality of Political Struggle"]

[Text] Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Jorge del Prado discusses the attitude of the government of Alan Garcia toward the situation in Central America and the country's foreign debt, the position of the PCP [Peruvian Communist Party] on this issue and on problems in the Izquierda Unida [Unity of Leftist Forces].

[Question] What is the attitude in Peru toward the situation in Central America?

[Answer] The situation in that region provokes alarm all across Latin America and, in my opinion, cannot help but arouse uneasiness around the whole world, since one of the principal centers of imperialist aggression is located there.

The most influential political forces in Peru, which received 4/5 of the voted of the electorate in the general elections last year (these are the PAP--the ruling party (Footnote 1) (PAP is the Peruvian Aprista Party. That is what the APRA is currently called, the party created by Haya de la Torre, which has had a second name since 1945--the National Party of Peru)--and the coalition of Izquierda Unida, which is the opposition), are supporting Nicaragua and the just struggle of the peoples of Central America, as well as the people of Chile and Paraguay who are fighting against fascist dictatorships. And this position is clear and fully defined. We, the communists, share it. You are aware of the declaration of the government of Alan Garcia, the current president of Peru, in defense of Nicaragua. Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge recently visited our country. During his visit to Lima, a popular demonstration of solidarity with the Nicaraguan patriots took place.

[Question] You said that the Izquierda Unida is the second most powerful political force in the country. How was it able to achieve that?

[Answer] I will begin with the time when power was in the hands of the government of General Velasco Alvarado. The reforms that he implemented had an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical and anti-large-landowner substance. They were supported by the communist party. But, as they say, not on every point, insofar as this was a military government which had its weaknesses. We regarded his political policies, however, as patriotic and anti-imperialist.

In this period the activity of the General Workers Confederation of Peru--the GLCP--was legalized, and the National Agrarian Confederation--the first in the history of the struggle of the Peruvian peasantry--was created.

Fernando Belaunde Terry, who came to power in 1980, began to follow the policy of the IMF, the "monetary fund" policy. The dismantling of all of the gains achieved earlier began. It is natural that the laborers and the popular masses responded with strikes.

Some leftist parties, who attacked us for the fact that we, the communists, had supported the reforms of the government of Velasco Alvarado, changed their attitude toward us. That was the first factor.

Our party, from the very moment of its creation (both during the period of legal activity and in the harsh times when we had to operate underground) has not lost influence with the workers' movement. It can be said that the party stood its ground and survived thanks to this. At the same time, it became clear in the general elections of May 1980 that if the leftist parties appeared united, they could accomplish much.

In the municipal elections in November of that year, having created a unified electoral front, we were able drive back the PAP, formerly the second political force in the country, to third place and take up a position immediately behind the ruling party. This placed on the agenda the question of creating a unified front of all the leftist parties.

The movement of organized laborers in defense of their rights and needs and against "monetary fund" policies grew. The largest national strikes in the history of the Peruvian trade-union movement occurred. The first of them took place soon before the coming to power of the Belaunde government under the military administration of General Francisco Morales Bermudez. GLCP's call for a general strike found a widespread response among the working population.

This also spurred the party, which enjoyed a certain influence in various segments of it and, furthermore, among the students and intelligentsia, to change its attitude toward the communists. And we have always adhered to the opinion that a unification of leftist forces should occur on the common ground of joint struggle. All of this prepared the conditions for the creation of an alliance of leftist forces.

In the general elections of 1985, the working class and the broad popular masses proceeded under the banner of struggle against the International Monetary Fund, and the PAP grabbed this slogan. With their enormous economic and propaganda capabilities, they were able to obtain the majority of votes. But the Izquierda Unida [IU] won a "second majority." This was unprecedented

in the history of Peru. For the first time the parties of oligarchy and imperialism suffered a shattering defeat. In the 1980 elections they got 44 percent of the vote, while last year they got a little more than 8 percent. The IU has representation in parliament and heads up roughly the same number of municipalities as the PAP. Including the most important--the capital.

[Question] What are the prospects for the IU?

[Answer] We are not limited by what has been achieved. But at the same time, the threat of schism exists. The point is that not all in the IU have a vision of the future, not all correctly evaluate the current historical moment to an adequate extent, and not all are ready to subordinate party tasks to the goals of preserving and increasing our electoral and parliamentary strength.

Parties of various orientations enter the IU, for instance the so-called "petty-bourgeois left," supported and financed within the framework of the development and economic-aid programs of the Social Democrats. They have achieved some electoral successes, and sectarian tendencies dangerous to the Izquierda Unida have arisen in their midst.

The unity is becoming stronger at the lowest level, however. The significance of the GLCP is growing. The process of consolidation among the peasantry is also continuing.

[Question] Does the Sendero Luminoso movement remain a real factor in political life?

[Answer] Yes, it is an important factor and, alas, a negative one. It can be affirmed with confidence that the military strength of the Sendero Luminoso has been routed. They are in no condition to oppose regular army units, but on the other hand they possess sufficient experience and military means to carry out individual acts of sabotage and terrorism, for which they show a preference. And these are excellent cause for basing a thesis on the necessity of waging a so-called "anti-terrorist war." Under the pretext of the battle with the Sendero Luminoso and based on decree No 046 on the battle with terrorism, trade-union and peasant leaders are suffering repressions. The decree has not been rescinded.

Even though there are important changes visible in the national policies and the current government is quite different from the preceding one, the state apparatus has nonetheless not been fully cleansed of rightist forces.

[Question] What is the position of the Communist Party and the IU with regard to the foreign debt of Peru?

[Answer] The foreign debt cannot be paid. The government began with a reduction in payments to up to 10 percent of the proceeds of our exports. And this step is a positive moment. The interest, however, will increase, which will in the long run increase the amount of the debt. How will we pay it?

We therefore adhere to the following opinion--do not pay the debt, and adopt a joint resolution with the debtor nations on the impossibility of paying it. Today's administration, as I have said already, holds a different position.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the government is demanding the non-interference of the International Monetary Fund and is coming out for the establishment of new economic relations, a reduction in loans and credit and an increase repayment times. Neither the IMF nor the other creditors are going for this, and the White House is even threatening to undertake repressive measures.

Thus, the conflict with imperialism is at hand. And the situation can force the government to go further. Although we are against the payment of the debt, but taking into account that the situation of the laborers is becoming more onerous, we regard the initiatives of Alan Garcia in a positive light.

[Question] What other most important problems are the communists discussing?

[Answer] We are for a new type of government. The Aprista Party, which has always fought with us, the communists, for influence in the workers' movement, is now in power. As is well known, Jose Carlos Mariategui and Victor Raul Haya de la Torre waged a very sharp debate. For a long time, the PAP came out with attacks on the communists. Recall that after the end of the Second World War, when North American imperialism foisted the notorious Truman Doctrine on all of Latin America, the Apristas went over to the camp of unconcealed reaction. And this circumstance lives in the memory of our veterans.

What position should we take with regard to the PAP? The position of our party is clear overall. But debates arise around this issue. There are various aspects of the ideology and policies of the Apristas that we cannot accept. For example, their old theory of "historical space--time" (Footnote 2) (For more detail see the article of V. P. Nikitin in this issue), actualized later and taking the form of the theory of the "social pyramid." According to the latter, Peruvian society is divided into two basic parts. The first, 25 percent of the population, a minority, is at the top of the pyramid. These are those employed in the enterprises of the TNK [expansion unknown], the major local bourgeoisie, as well as the organized workers, insofar as they have supposedly satisfied their needs through the greater pauperization of those who are in the lower part of the pyramid--the peasantry, the inhabitants of the so-called "new towns," the craftsmen, petty traders, in other words, the non-formal part of the economy. This is a very dangerous theory. It "transforms" certain segments of the laborers into exploiters of the others.

In practice, of course, the matter is quite different. The laborers, organized within the framework of the GLCP, are now fighting for the restoration of their earlier standard of living, which declined as a result of carrying out policies tied to the IMF, and the same injustice reigns in labor relations, they are the same as the workers who do not belong to this professional center, they feel the capitalist exploitation themselves, manifested in traditional and new forms.

The current government cannot help but notice all of this, cannot help but be aware of the fact that the proletariat is the ally of the peasant and broad segments of the city workers and the villages.

Thus, there are serious ideological differences between the PCP and the PAP. On the other hand, however, we should not forget that our points of view coincide on two very important positions--foreign debt and solidarity with Nicaragua. I can therefore say that discussion exists within our party on the issue of the relationship of the communists to the PAP, but it in no way threatens our unity.

[Question] What can you say about "materialism," and will it continue to play an important role in the political life of the country?

[Answer] "Materialism" in the positive treatment is the effect of ideas and the whole spiritual legacy of Jose Carlos Mariategui on the processes developing in our country. It began to acquire especial force in the 1960s with the victory of the Cuban revolution. Representatives of the petty bourgeoisie felt that revolution could easily be accomplished in any country of our continent. Notwithstanding their solidarity with Cuba, they, under the influence of social democracy and social Christianity, nonetheless continued to cultivate suspicion with regard to us and remain anti-communists. Their attitude toward the legacy of Mariategui, well known in Peru, developed differently. We have published about five million copies of his works.

What do the petty bourgeois socialists find in the works of Mariategui? That which, as they suppose, is not characteristic of us, the Peruvian communists. They do not understand that Mariategui is Marxism-Leninism! Marxism-Leninism, in its specific interpretation to Peruvian reality. The leftist parties that are arising in Peru lately take the legacy of Mariategui as an ideological banner, not understanding it, not absorbing the essence of his ideas and style of thought. The United Mariategui Party and the Mariategui Party of National Revolution are included in these parties. The Peruvian Maoists, by the way, also call themselves heirs of Mariategui.

Returning to the preceding question, it should also be emphasized that "materialism" also facilitated, to a certain extent and under specific conditions, the formation of the Izquierda Unida coalition.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

PERU'S LEFTIST COALITION, PROBLEM OF 'SENDERO LUMINOSO' VIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 36-51

[Article by T. Ye. Vorozheykina: "The Experience of the Izquierda Unida [Unity of Leftist Forces] (1980-85)"]

[Excerpts] The development of the revolutionary process in Latin America at the end of the 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s once again revealed with particular acuteness the need for a well-defined strategic orientation, a tactical policy corresponding to it and the unity of all of the forces in favor of the socialist revolutionary alternative. The practical experience in solving these problems in Peru, in all of its originality, takes on the imprint of the general features of the development of the revolutionary movement on the continent and is important from the point of view of both its positive and negative results.

All of the principal directions of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America are, in point of fact, concentrated in the development of the Peruvian revolutionary movement. The social struggle of the working class and all of those who labor and are exploited against the sharp worsening of their standard of living was organically combined with a powerful anti-imperialist movement against the policies of the trans-nationalization of the Peruvian economy and the interference of the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and with a democratic struggle against the overall slide of the country toward an authoritarian rightist regime that had begun, for which the bourgeois democratic institutes were just a front.

The chief gain of the Peruvian revolutionary movement is that the leftist forces have succeeded, over a very short period of time--the five-year rule of F. Belaunde Terry--in developing their own alternative to the rule of the pro-imperialist bloc. The rise of the workers' and mass movement, unprecedented in the history of Peru, and a qualitative growth in its political independence played a decisive role in this. "Never before," it was emphasized at a Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, "have the laborers in the cities and towns and the miners made known with such power their role as the chief agent of action in the social and political life of the country, speaking out not only in the name of their own immediate requirements, but for a more just and sovereign Peruvian society." (Footnote 1) (Jorge del Prado.

?Quien gano y quien perido el 14 de abril? Informe Politico a la XIV sesion plenaria del CC del PCP. 8-9 de junio de 1985. Lima, 1985, p 10.)

A distinguishing feature of the mass movement in Peru was the fact that it had a political slant from the very beginning. The main unifying factor and common denominator of this movement was its anti-imperialist tendency: against the oligarchical and pro-imperialist government and against IMF dictate. On the other hand, anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies began to grow rapidly in the politics of the ruling groups to the extent that the mass movement strengthened. The banning of strikes, police repression of trade unions, the use of the "law against terrorism," the systematic limitation of constitutional rights and liberties, the ever greater subordination of parliament to the executive powers and, finally, the monstrous reprisals against the peasants of the southern regions of the country and the murder and disappearance of peasant, trade-union and party activists carried out under pretext of a struggle against partisans--all of this led to the advance of this objective unity of democratic goals to the forefront. It seems that it was precisely this objective unity of the social, anti-imperialist and democratic aims of the popular movement in Peru that also caused its increasing development under conditions of economic crisis extremely unfavorable for this. Furthermore, a situation quite rare for modern Latin America took shape in the country, when the increasing political dissatisfaction found adequate expression on the political level, becoming the basis of the transformation of the leftist forces into one of the chief factors of national political life. (Footnote 7) (An example of the opposite is, apparently, Mexico, where the accumulation of social dissatisfaction of the lower classes in the 1980s, was not reflected in practice in the functioning of the political system. The only change in it was the strengthening of the rightist part of the political spectrum.) A subjective factor played a decisive role in this. The leftist forces were not only able to head this movement, but to direct it, social in origin and substance, into anti-imperialist and democratic channels, achieving the unification of its principal currents and advancing the "struggle for the establishment of popular power headed by revolutionary and progressive forces" as a strategic prospect. (Footnote 8) (!Hacia un gobierno popular!..., p 29.)

An essential condition for this was the unification of the majority of parties and organizations, as well as independent political figures, that were in favor of a socialist transformation. The need for unity became especially apparent under conditions where the political potential accumulated by the leftist and mass movements contrasted sharply with the fragmentation and dispersion of leftist parties and organizations. The state of "dispersion" in which the leftist forces in Peru found themselves in the 1970s was exceptional even by Latin American standards. There were more than 30 leftist and "ultra-leftist" parties, groups and micro-groups in the country, the majority of which were formed as the result of innumerable divisions and schisms, and many continued to split up even further. (Footnote 9) (The genealogy of the Peruvian left is a "tree" with more than twenty "branches," each of which has in turn several "leaves." H. Neira writes that the terms "obscurity," "galaxy" and the like are the most suitable for describing the fickle and centrifugal nature of some of the leftist parties (especially the Trotskyites and Maoists).--H. Neira. Op. cit., p 64.) Moreover, relations among them



were extremely hostile, "differences on political and and program issues had an almost antagonistic character," and the mutual enmity among the leftist parties was often greater than among them and the rightist parties. (Footnote 10) (A. Caballero Mendez, J. M. Salcedo. Peru 1982; Coyuntura politica y alianzas para la revolucion.--Conferencia teorica internacional. Caracteristicas generales y particulares de los procesos revolucionarios. Memorias. La Habana, 1982, p 49.)

The Izquierda Unida (IU) [Unity of Leftist Forces] coalition was created in 1980, made up of six parties and associations (PCP, PSR, UDP, UNIR, FOSEP and the Revolutionary Communist Party (Footnote 14) (In 1985, two more organizations joined the coalition: the Socialist Peoples' Action and the PADIN)) and "represented the major portion of the workers and peasants and a substantial portion of the middle strata. On a theoretical plane, it was based on the ideas of Jose Carlos Mariategui... and all of the organizations in it advanced the taking of power to build socialism as the chief strategic goal." (Footnote 15) (A. Caballero Mendez, J. M. Salcedo. Op. cit., pp 49-50.) The IU was thereby formed as a front of parties, each of which retained organizational independence. "This experience in the political unity of the leftists also had great significance for the coming into being of the political vanguard of the revolution, which in the specific conditions of the country could arise only as a result of the confluence of various revolutionary political forces." (Footnote 16) (Ibid., p 50.) Having arisen as an electoral front, the IU had to be transformed into a coalition called upon to wage and lead the struggle of the socialist revolutionary forces for power. "The IU was the product of an intensive and multi-faceted process of accumulating forces and, undoubtedly, should become not only a possible, but a necessary alternative to the government and power." (Footnote 17) (Informe politico a la XIV sesion plenaria del CC del PCP, p 11.)

The significance of the unification process in the revolutionary movement in Peru, it seems, goes beyond strictly national boundaries. Undoubtedly, the influence of general continental trends and, first of all, the corresponding experience of Central American revolutionaries had an effect. Compared to Central America, of course, the unity of leftist forces in Peru is still on a qualitatively different and lower level. The difficulties on the path of the unification process in Peru, however, are seemingly considerably greater. The very number of organizations on the revolutionary left, and the necessity of overcoming the outmoded mutual mistrust and hostility that accumulated not for years, but for decades, testify to this. Furthermore, in Peru the differences of opinion among the various leftist parties had a basically theoretical and ideological rather than simply a tactical character (as was the case, for instance, in El Salvador). This process, the result of which was a genuine increase in power, seems all the more important. And not only because the whole turned out to be much greater than the sum of the parts, but also because in the case of Peru, paramount significance was attached to the alignment of a whole series of independent political figures of leftist convictions to the unified front of leftist forces who were able to bring the masses, who in Latin America follow leaders rather than parties to a great extent, along with them. "It would have been absurd," the PCP noted, "to think that the IU includes only party organizations. We should become accustomed to the fact that a broad segment of the non-party members are

attracted precisely by the Izquierda Unida, and not by any single party or any leading force." (Footnote 18) (!Hacia un gobierno popular!..., p 19.)

At the same time, the development of the unification process in and of itself still did not guarantee the transformation of the leftist forces into a real alternative for power. No less significance was attached to the fact that the leftist forces were able, for the first time in Peruvian history, to develop their own political line that facilitated the proposed strategic aim. At the 8th PCP Congress it was emphasized that an alternative to power was inconceivable without ensuring the unity of the people and the unity of workers' and peasants' organizations and various groups of the middle strata and small producers with the political organizations of the left. (Footnote 19) (Ibid., p 6.) Therefore, the immediate guidance of the mass movement and its utmost development and mobilization for the struggle against the pro-imperialist policies of the government and cooperation with the IMF, the worsening living standard of the laborers, repression and the gradual establishment of a civilian-military dictatorship in the country was a key link in IU policies.

At the same time, it seems that opportunities for a similar course for the formation of a real revolutionary alternative and ensuring its victory were not fully utilized in the first half of the 1980s. The political line of the leftist forces both in the electoral struggle and in the mass movement was constructed chiefly as the antithesis of the policies of the rightist, pro-imperialist government. In reality, the opportunities for mobilizing the masses against the government of Belaunde Terry (IMF, imperialism) were seemingly exhausted. The struggle against the trans-nationalization of the economy, the fall in living standards, the agrarian "counter-reforms" and the like, however, did not automatically lead to the mobilization of the masses for the struggle for the socialist revolutionary alternative. This does not mean that it was necessary to advance socialist tasks and slogans. The discussion concerns the fact that in order to ensure the realization of this alternative, the political line of the leftist forces should have been constructed proceeding first and foremost from their own strategic goal, and not only depending on the line of "enemy number one." It seems, therefore, that the elections were also not utilized as a factor for mobilizing the people for the struggle for power to the extent that they were used against the government. (Footnote 24) (!Hacia un gobierno popular!..., p 35.)

Aside from this, the course implemented by the leftist forces of Peru was fraught with difficulties of another type as well. The rise of a mass revolutionary movement in the country was the result of an exacerbation in the social situation that required urgent solutions. Under these conditions, the capture of some municipalities by the leftists, which were at once deprived of financial support by the central government, contained a certain threat to the reputation of the leftist parties, which were not immediately able to resolve the urgent problems of the people that voted for them. This problem was especially acute for the municipalities of the capital, where there were not even enough funds to collect the garbage from the streets on time and to raise the wages of municipal workers, and this was actively used in the political campaign of the rightists against Lima Mayor A. Barrantes, the IU candidate for president. (Footnote 25) (Informe politico a la XIV

sesion plenaria del CC del PCP, p 17.) As a result, the percentage of voters for the IU dropped sharply in 1985 among the residents of the "young towns" (that is, precisely those whose votes ensured the victory of the left in Lima in November of 1983). (Footnote 26) (Balance de la campana electoral de 1985, p 2.) It seems that this turn of events under conditions where power and the central government were in the hands of the rightists was to a certain extent inevitable. It demonstrates that the municipalities controlled by the left could hardly be considered organs of national power.

These and other such problems could not, in turn, avoid having an effect on the interrelationships within the IU, which was natural and inevitable for a coalition that consists of organizations of various natures and psychological dispositions. At the same time, the Peruvian Communist Party noted repeatedly that "the leftist forces, in their enormous mobilizing potential, were indebted first of all to the unity among the most important leftist parties and the most well-known non-party leftist figures." (Footnote 27) (Informe politico a la XIV sesion plenaria del CC del PCP, p 18.) Therefore, any manifestations of differences of opinion were inevitably reflected in the political prestige of the coalition.

The combination of all of these factors also led to the fact that in 1985 the party, which in 1980-84 had not taken part in practice in the mass struggle and had appeared only as a parliamentary force, was able to "capitalize" to the greatest extent in its pre-election campaign on the anti-imperialist and--to a lesser extent--social and democratic potential of the popular movement. The chief advantage of the PAP [Peruvian Aprista Party] consisted of the fact that it had been able (in large part thanks to the political and personal qualities of its leader, A. Garcia) to mobilize the overwhelming majority of the marginal population of the city and the interior portions of the country to the greatest extent. The fact that the activity of the leftist forces was concentrated chiefly on the problems of the organized portion of the popular masses--the working class, urban laborers, peasants unified in trade unions, the intelligentsia--also played a large role in this. As a result, the chief strength of the IU--the root nature of its class trade-union movement and prime support for the most developed strata of the workers in a political regard--turned out to be a definite weakness in a situation where the greater portion of the population turned out to be in a marginal position.

The leftist forces in essence encountered the same problem with regard to the activity of the Sendero Luminoso partisan organization as well.

This organization, created in 1970 and tracing its origins from one of many Maoist groups (Footnote 30) (Its official name is the the "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Peru Based on the Ideas of Mao Tse-Tung." Its well-known name Sendero Luminoso ("Shining Path") is derived from the principal slogan of the organization: "Follow the Shining Path of Jose Carlos Mariategui."), began armed terrorist activities in 1980--blowing up bridges, electrical-transmission lines, mines, agricultural farms and establishments, the physical elimination of representatives

of the local powers--in Ayacucho, one of the most backward and desolate departments of the country. Over 1981-83, Sendero Luminoso expanded its activities first to the neighboring departments of Apurimac and Huancavelica, and then to Puno, Cusco and the capital, Lima.

In the "liberated zones" that it controls, Sendero Luminoso established its power in villages and towns. Alcaldes, members of commune councils, peace courts and other representatives of the rural administration were almost always executed "according to the verdict of the revolutionary tribunal." They expelled and often killed the village rich, tradesmen and money-lenders as well as local bandits and cattle thieves that had terrorized the population. Establishing in this manner an egalitarian order that was in the eyes of the peasants a resurrection of the ancient commune structure (Footnote 31) (H. Favre. Perou: "Sentier lumineux" et horizons obscurs.--Problemes d'Amerique latine, No 72, 2 trimestre 1984, p 19.), Sendero Luminoso was able to win a certain influence over the Andean peasantry, which first saw in this organization a defender from all kinds of arbitrary rule and oppression, efforts to eliminate the results of agrarian reform, the buying up of land by former landowners and the like. This influence was ambiguous from the very beginning, however, and was based to a significant extent on terror and coercion. They forced the residents to join the rural militia, which had to carry out partisan operations, and forcefully recruited 12-13-year-old schoolchildren (which ensured the support, if forced and passive, of their parents), and mercilessly persecuted the peasants who displayed any cooperation whatsoever with the government: in 1983 they executed those who violated their prohibition and took part in the elections. (Footnote 32) (Afrique--Asie. Paris, 9 Apr 84.) At the same time, they undertook an effort to "naturalize" agriculture in the controlled regions: they forbid the cultivation of crops intended for sale, and communes were ordered to go over to full self-sufficiency and to buy and sell nothing. Sendero purposefully destroyed local trade contacts, eliminating the bazaars and markets and cutting off the roads to local trade centers. As a result, Sendero Luminoso created and strengthened the schism among the agricultural population, setting the residents of the mountainous regions, the "most peasant," against the Indians in the make-up of the communes. In destroying the local markets they became dependent on the residents of the valleys, from whom they had to buy everything they needed at very high prices. (Footnote 33) (H. Favre. Op. cit., pp 19-20.)

The concepts of the Sendero Luminoso were based, they felt, on a combination of the ideas of J. C. Mariategui and Mao

Tse-Tung. The analysis of Peruvian reality is taken immediately from the works of Mariategui (Footnote 34) (Peru is considered by the Sendero Luminoso to be a dependent, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The dependence, from their point of view, hinders the development of capitalism, which in the absence of a bourgeoisie takes the form of bureaucratic capitalism. The peasantry is the most backward, oppressed and exploited segment of the population.), while the strategic concept of the winning of power is borrowed from Mao. The chief driving force of the "democratic and national, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution" is, in the opinion of Sendero Luminoso, the peasantry, "until a proletariat appears and is developed into the ruling class." "The chief and sole form of struggle for the taking of power and the building of a state of new democracy is armed struggle, a peoples' war, which develops in the villages and advances on the cities." (Footnote 35) (H. Favre. Op. cit., pp 25-26.)

Sendero Luminoso is distinguished by a fundamental ideological sectarianism: it does not regard other organizations as revolutionary and considers them to be "deviationist, revisionist and reformist." (Footnote 36) (This related fully not only to all the other Maoist groups of Peru, but was extended to the whole modern world.) The organization has no foreign ties or outside material support: it obtains arms from the army and the civil guard, dynamite from mines and money through "revolutionary taxes" exacted from the rich and the cocaine traders. Sendero Luminoso is characterized to the highest extent by a messianic self-perception, a deep "conviction that they (Sendero Luminoso--author) are the sole possessors of revolutionary truth, that it is namely in their hands, here, alongside the peaks of the Andes, that the fate of the world revolution rests." (Footnote 37) (H. Favre. Op. cit., p 16.)

The government of F. Belaunde Terry tried to fight the Sendero Luminoso through the establishment of a state of emergency, first in Ayacucho, and then--in 1983--in the whole country. Army units (more than 2,000 soldiers) and special anti-partisan formations of the Sinchis civil guard were sent to the regions where the Sendero Luminoso were operating, where they established a reign of rightist terror in Ayacucho and the adjoining regions over the course of 1983-84. Illegal arrests, robberies, torture and mass murders of peasants began which were invariably ascribed to the partisans. (Footnote 38) (In August of 1984 near the city of Huanta in the department of Ayacucho, one of many secret graves was found. Found in it were 50 corpses specially mutilated so as to be impossible to

recognize.--Granma. La Habana, 27 Aug 84.) General L. Cisneros, minister of defense until 1984, announced that the "forces of order..., so as to complete the operation successfully, have to kill both Sendero Luminoso and non-Sendero Luminoso people. They have to kill 60 civilians if there are even three Sendero Luminoso among them. In any case the version will be advanced that all 60 were insurgents." (Footnote 39) (Afrique--Asie. Paris, 24 Sep 84.) At atmosphere of violence was gradually legalized in the country and dozens of people disappeared daily. The rightist forces, the ruling party and the government tried to use the activity of the Sendero Luminoso as a pretext for spreading repression to peasant trade unions and the whole mass movement; teachers, peasant leaders and journalists began to disappear. (Footnote 40) (In June of 1984 Jesus Oropesa, a peasant leader and member of the leadership of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, was tortured at a police station.)

The principled and at the same time realistic and flexible position of the leftist forces, and the PCP in particular, with regard to the Sendero Luminoso places before them the most difficult task of seeking political forms for working among the marginal population and its more organic inclusion in the unified flow of the mass movement and presupposes the further development of and adequate and effective political policy with regard to the poorest segments of the peasant, Indian and marginal populations of the country that would correspond to the new conditions.

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The coming to power of the Aprista government in 1985 qualitatively altered the situation. Notwithstanding the ideological and political differences with the PCP, the leftist forces supported the anti-imperialist position adopted by the government of A. Garcia with regard to foreign monopolies and the IMF, as well as the policies of the United States in Central America. The IU, however, proceeds from the fact that the coalition cannot operate only as a force of support (or "critical support") of the government, that only the utmost protection and development of the conquests made by the popular movement ensures a growth of the political potential of the unified leftist forces and their preservation of strategic prospects. The IU is therefore against those aspects of the social and economic policies of the government, the aim of which is to reduce the level of mass struggle and weaken the party and trade-union organizations of the laborers. The leftist forces are therein striving to avoid a repetition of the situation of 1968-75 when they determined their political line proceeding not from their own strategic goals, but just in response to this or that action of the government of Velasco Alvarado. The IU feels that the preservation and development of the coalition of the left as a unified political force is a vital necessity, even though it is quite a difficult task due to the heterogeneity of the forces in it and inevitable disenchantment with the results of its electoral struggle. The objective basis of the unity and the main political "capital" of the IU remains as before its effective, constant and direct link with the mass organizations of struggle.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

PERU APRISTA FIGURE ADDRESSES LATIN AMERICA INSTITUTE

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 52-56

[Account of the appearance of Peruvian Aprista Party [PAP] General Secretary Senator Armando Villanueva before the Latin America Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Peace is Our Main Goal"]

[Text] A delegation from the ruling party of Peru visited the Soviet Union in December of 1985. It was headed by Peruvian Aprista Party General Secretary Senator Armando Villanueva. We offer the readers an account of his appearance at the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute.

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance--APRA--arose, as is well known, in 1924. It was founded by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. Visiting the Soviet Union and comparing what was seen there with the reality of the poorly developed countries (they were called "colonial" then), he created the concept of Aprism. Its essence he defined thus: "Aprism within the framework of Marxism is an interpretation of Latin American reality." We did not have a working class with European characteristics at that time. Our proletariat was at the initial stage of development, as were the processes of industrialization and capitalism, although the region had been drawn into the capitalist system. The peasantry had not been syndicalized. An important element of the political structure of our society was the "middle class"--that is what we called the petty bourgeoisie, the interests of which were encroached upon by imperialism. It was for that reason that the PAP arose as a popular revolutionary alliance and as a unified anti-imperialist front of various socialist forces in the struggle for liberation and economic independence.

There was a 25-year period of persecution in the history of our party. Many of the leaders were arrested, exiled or killed. Later, however--and this must be acknowledged--the party came to certain compromises. Opinions arose according to which Aprism had supposedly turned to the right. Their authors, however, poorly understood Peruvian reality. Its conditions--and this is confirmed by the experience of many countries--required the organization of broad political unions for the overthrow of tyranny. Later we returned to our earlier positions, which made it possible to see in Aprism a consistent anti-

imperialist force which participates in the movement of solidarity with all oppressed classes and peoples of the world, including revolutionary movements.

Haya de la Torre, who passed away several years ago (whom the Nicaraguan education minister called the "first Sandinista of Latin America") emphasized not accidentally that the government of this country will always receive our full support. I attested to that same fact during my visit, passing along a statement from President Alan Garcia Perez from 28 Jul 85 in which it is affirmed that Peru and its government support the position of Nicaragua.

In accordance with Aprista concepts we also feel, and this is sometimes consigned to oblivion, that Cuba is not only a socialist bastion that must be defended, but that the very fact of the economic blockade of Cuba (of which little, unfortunately, is said), like the anti-Nicaraguan campaign, is an insult to all of Latin America.

As is well known, the PAP came to power on 28 Jul 85 for the first time after 60 years of existence. Some 108 of the 180 members of the National Congress in the Chamber of Deputies are Apristas, and 32 of the 60 senators are representatives of our party. Of the 18 ministers of the new cabinet, only three have crossed the half-century mark and the leadership personnel of the party is appreciably younger, but nonetheless has adequate political and party experience. The chairman of the PAP, a representative of the younger generation, 36-year-old Alan Garcia, became the president of Peru.

The purpose of our mission to the USSR is to strengthen relations between the Soviet Union and Peru. It should be implemented with an accent on existing contacts between the two countries in such spheres as culture, science and technology. We are extremely satisfied by the fact that these relations are expanding under conditions exceedingly favorable to Peru. And we logically intend to intensify trade exchange.

We have recently been forced to make important decisions with regard to the problem of foreign debt. Although Peru is not among the largest debtors, the debt is nonetheless 14 billion dollars--a large sum for the country. In order to extinguish it in accordance with the recommendations of the IMF and the IBRD, the Peruvian people must be doomed to a half-starved existence. The PAP and its chairman have announced that this problem will be resolved using 10 percent of the income from our exports (about 300 million dollars). I would like to mention the position of the USSR. We have the opportunity of paying with the Soviet Union with goods, and textiles in particular. And this makes it possible to develop national industry. I would like to hope that the other creditor nations of Peru will consider the possibility of a similar approach. It should be noted that we are not refusing to pay the debt, but before we fulfill the requirements of the IMF we must feed the people. Our position has provoked, as is well known, certain economic sanctions on the part of the United States. Notwithstanding this we severed three petroleum contracts concluded by the preceding government that did not correspond to the needs and capabilities of independent development.

The state is waging an active struggle against narcotics contraband. Narcotics addiction is one of the major social plagues of the United States.



The narcotics-supplying countries, losing their international prestige due to this, were and, unfortunately, remain Bolivia, Columbia and Peru. As long as the North American administration does not battle the Mafia, it is impossible to do away with the underground production of narcotics in our countries. The Peruvian peasant, by way of example, receives 20,000 sols for a day's work, but if he goes to a field where coca is grown, he can get 200,000 sols. It is easy to understand why there are those among the poverty-stricken people who are prepared to work at the coca plantations. Nonetheless, we are doing everything that depends on us. Some 22 underground airports were uncovered in the mountainous regions of Peru with "mills" lined up alongside them. Some of these areas were equipped with concrete runways 25 meters wide and 900 meters long. They were destroyed with the help of aircraft. The others were put out of commission by the police.

There is still another problem before us--terrorism. It is, as is well known, a weapon that has not achieved victory in a single revolution. Nonetheless there has existed in the country for over a decade and a half a movement that calls itself "Maoist" which has lately slid into banditry. With the coming to power of the new government, the number of terrorist acts has declined appreciably. We have also taken steps against excesses on the part of the armed forces. At the end of August and the beginning of September in 1985, graves of people--men, women and even children--killed in the course of operations against the terrorists were discovered. The president of the republic dismissed from their posts a number of the highest military commanders in the country who were responsible for the actions of army subunits in this region, since the problem of the struggle against terrorism is not solved not through committing acts against the peaceful population, but basically in the course of the "treatment" of a "forgotten society"--the Indian population of the mountains. Now our soldiers do not "dispense" bullets, but rather distribute provisions and medical supplies among the local population.

We are trying to find the way to mutual understanding with our neighbors on the continent on the issue of the necessity of reducing expenditures on arms. Certain countries in Latin America are being transformed into military-industrial powers, and the expenses for military needs are swallowing up an enormous portion of the funds that could be directed toward solving social problems.

President Garcia announced on 28 Jul 85 that it was impossible to move on to disarmament when everyone wants the other to disarm first. We are, however, prepared to set an example. We have renounced the contract concluded by the previous government for the acquisition of 26 modern Mirage fighters. We have also refrained from the modernization of four naval vessels. Some of the planes have already been paid for, however, as has some of the work on re-equipping one military vessel in Italy. The problem is how to get back the funds spent.

It must be said that Peru has two zones of possible military conflict with its neighbors--Ecuador and Chile. We, the Apristas, are trying to avoid this, insofar as all of the peoples of Latin America make up a unified whole, and wars and conflicts are inspired and inflamed by imperialism and dictatorial

regimes. In the course of the recent meeting of the foreign ministers of Peru and Ecuador, and exceptionally fruitful and constructive dialogue took place. And although the existing problem of territorial demarcation between the two countries has not yet been resolved, we negotiated a close economic cooperation in the zone of conflict. Our foreign minister met with his Chilean colleague in Arica and an understanding regarding the withdrawal of military units from the border was achieved for the purpose of creating conditions that guarantee peace. It should be emphasized, however, that we have not thereby altered our political relationship with the current government of Chile. The very same day that the foreign ministers of both countries met in Arica, a breakfast was given in the presidential palace in Lima in honor of the Chilean democratic forces. We have openly demonstrated on whose side our sympathies and solidarity are.

We think that the struggle for peace on our continent should be a global one. That is why the situation in Puerto Rico and around Nicaragua concerns us greatly. The agitation due to Puerto Rico is of a special sort. As for Nicaragua, we have held direct negotiations with Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra for the purpose of ensuring peace on the border between those two countries. If it is possible to neutralize the aggressiveness of certain circles in the United States and resolve the chief question in the struggle for peace in the region--its preservation in Central America--then we can be confident of future progress in our society. In the opposite case, a war could spread not only to the Caribbean basin, but further to the south, insofar as it is extremely difficult to assume that our country would remain on the sidelines of a conflict. We have adopted a resolution to defend Nicaragua.

Making use of the opportunity presented, I would like to emphasize that the struggle for peace is the main goal of the Aprista Party and our government. We make common cause with the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace and the announced moratorium on nuclear tests. The Soviet Union has unilaterally taken this step, demonstrating its aspiration for peace and the desire that the moratorium be joined by the United States. Within the framework of the non-aligned movement, we intend to support actively the policy of banning nuclear testing.

We have the mission of transforming the social and economic reality of Peru. We belong to the world capitalist system, but we manifest the desire and aspiration to move forward within the framework of nationalist policies and continental integration. The government of our country has taken a number of steps in the sphere of domestic policy, both economic and social. The economic measures are aimed basically at decentralization and the development of production along with the stimulation of industrial development and the execution of new policies in the agricultural sphere. Preference is given to the development of agriculture. In the sphere of industry, especial attention is devoted to uplifting the mining industry. The domestic policies are based overall on four principal criteria: work, housing, health and education.

In conclusion I would like to note that during our visit to the Soviet Union, we have had the opportunity more than once to ascertain that your country is pursuing a genuine policy of peace and mutually advantageous collaboration

with all of the peoples of the earth, including the Peruvian people. I hope that we will be able to extract positive lessons from all that we have been able to see in the USSR.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

FOREIGN POLICY COURSE OF PERU DESCRIBED

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[Article by V. P. Sudarev: "The Evolution of Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Peru is among those Latin American countries whose foreign policies attracted increased attention in the 1960s-80s. Several specific features of the governments of progressive orientation and the possibilities and limits of an independent course of development were uniquely reflected in the complex and contradictory history of this state in the last two decades. The process of progressive transformations begun by the military revolutionary democrats gave original and "non-standard" features to the foreign policy of Peru at the end of the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s and led to the overcoming of lasting stereotypes and a sharp activation of the country's international policies. The establishment and rapid development of relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, the struggle to eliminate the boycott of Cuba in the OAS and for reform in the inter-American system, a policy of Latin-American unity, the entry into and leading position in the non-aligned movement--these areas greatly determined the substance of the foreign-policy activity of the government in those years and visibly testified to its anti-imperialist and independent course, which in turn facilitated an appreciably enhanced international reputation for the country.

The internal vulnerability of the regime that was revealed in the middle of the 1970s under conditions of increasing financial and economic difficulties predetermined a shift to the right, which has an effect on foreign policy as well. And although the foreign-policy sphere seemed objectively to present a large area for maneuvering, the result of this shift, as in domestic policy, was a retreat from the positions attained.

The trend toward returning foreign policy into its "traditional channels" and limiting its anti-imperialist thrust was further developed after the coming to power of the government of F. Belaunde Terry in 1980. The neoconservative ideas adopted by the rightist circles were reflected in the foreign-policy sphere in the well-known departure from the principles of "Tersermundism" and non-alignment. In practice the diplomacy of the government of F. Belaunde Terry was characterized by an absence of any long-term directions, a narrowness of approach and passivity. It was actually reduced to attempts to solve the chief problem that troubled the rightist circles--the problem of

foreign debt, which in the 1980s has turned into one of the central issues in the life of the country. The government policy, however, was limited basically to trying to obtain new loans without any serious efforts to develop a long-term program for surmounting the financial and economic crisis. As a result, the "spiral of indebtedness" twisted ever tighter.

Under these conditions, the dialogue with the IMF and the efforts to achieve indulgence in the payment of debt obligations turned out to be at the center of all of the diplomatic activity of the country and pushed other foreign-policy issues to the background. The orientation of the Western capitals and the compliant position of the government caused the Reagan administration to single out Peru as a "model" debtor among Latin American states that fulfilled all of the requirements of the IMF. Not accidentally, the country therefore occupied first place among South American states in the amount of American economic aid: 500 million dollars in the first half of the 1980s. The United States repeatedly appeared in the role of "guarantor" for Peru before the IMF and private American banks.

Several privileges compared to other Latin American countries, however, did not solve the problem of getting out of the crisis. To the extent that the financial and economic situation of Peru worsened further, the more rigid the position of the IMF and the less favorable the position of Washington became. Thus, in the summer of 1984 the country once again defaulted on its debt obligations, and the request to obtain emergency economic aid was politely declined. (Footnote 1) (El Nacional. Mexico, 28 Sep 84.) Then President Reagan spoke much and extensively about supporting "Peruvian democracy." And in reality, as in the period of the first president, F. Belaunde Terry (1963-68), collaboration with the United States in the sphere of conducting an "anti-insurgency struggle" expanded appreciably once again at the beginning of the 1980s. American military "specialists" were invited to Peru, and military aid grew from 9 to 20 million dollars. The regular conducting of joint exercises in which large U.S. Army subunits took part, began in 1984 in the Peruvian Amazon.

Close collaboration in the military sphere contrasted sharply with worsening Peruvian-American relations on economic issues. A twisted knot of contradictions was bound around problems of foreign trade. Thus, the U.S. Commerce Department announced the intention of imposing sanctions on the import of Peruvian textile products on the basis that their production was subsidized by the government. This provoked such a powerful wave of protest on the part of Peruvian business circles that the government was forced to announce the intention of adopting corresponding measures with regard to American exports. A new worsening of relations between Washington and Lima occurred in May of 1984, when in response to diplomatic activities against the Peruvian airline, flights of the aircraft of the American company Eastern Airlines to the country were canceled.

Notwithstanding all of these complications, the foreign policy of Peru followed the lead of the White House. The vested interest in privileged relations with the United States and the desire to solve the problem of our debt on a bilateral basis predetermined the fact that in these years Peru was

actually a bystander to the efforts of the Latin American countries to develop a joint position on this problem.

The country also took a passive position with regard to Andean integration, which in the 1980s has entered the next phase of stagnation. Great difficulties arose in relations with Ecuador: border problems, due to which tension was preserved in this region in the post-war years and became the cause of armed conflict between the two countries which erupted in January of 1981. As for such major international questions as the struggle for a new economic order, disarmament and the Central American crisis, the government limited itself to declarations of a general nature, which were frequently dictated by pragmatic considerations of internal political order. Only during the Malvinas crisis did an activation of foreign policy take shape, when Peru came out with positive initiatives. Along with Cuba, Venezuela and other states, this country also announced its readiness to render military aid to Argentina during the period of military action.

Mass demonstrations of Peruvian society with a clearly anti-imperialist character had a powerful influence on the position of the ruling circles on this issue. On 12 May 82, a 100,000-strong street demonstration took place in Lima in support of Argentina, becoming the largest demonstration of that type in Latin America. As a sign of solidarity with the Argentine people, the workers at the Lima Airport refused to service British aircraft.

The foreign policy of the government overall in these years has a negative influence on the state of the country. The unpopularity of the foreign policy of the Popular Action Party, along with the apparent bankruptcy of social and economic policies, played a role in the shattering defeat suffered by the party in the general elections of May 1985.

The coming to power of the government of A. Garcia laid the basis for a new beginning in the country's foreign policy. The anti-imperialist and democratic thrust of Aprism, appreciably strengthened in the 1980s, was reflected in the foreign-policy sphere in the advance to the forefront of issues of sovereignty and regional cooperation and the struggle for peace and disarmament. Less than a year after coming to power, the new government was able to do more than the previous government over a five-year period. The overall thrust of the country's foreign policy, as well as a whole series of specific measures, were, within limits of comparison, reminiscent of the diplomacy of the 1968-75 period.

The government of A. Garcia has begun its activity with an important measure that has found a large international response and appreciably strengthened the foreign-policy position of the country. Proceeding from the basis that, first of all, that "belt-tightening" according to the "prescriptions" of the IMF has reached its extreme limits and, secondly, the very adoption of the practice is fallacious, it was decided to limit the foreign-debt payments to 10 percent of export proceeds. Along with this, the new leadership has come out in favor of a search for a solution to the debt problem bypassing the IMF channels and the long years of "collaboration" which convincingly demonstrated its incompatibility with the national interests of the country.

This action, as well as a number of speeches and declarations of President A. Garcia, and, in particular, at the 40th anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly, from the rostrum of which he subjected United States policies to criticism on issues of international security, foreign debt and the Central American crisis, cannot help but provoke irritation in Washington. The danger of the latter, that "10-Percent Alan Garcia" can serve as an example for the other states of the region under conditions where the problem of foreign debt has moved to the forefront in inter-American relations, has found specific expression in a group of measures adopted against Peru. Thus, at the beginning of August 1985 (that is, in the first days of President A. Garcia), the "Brooks--Alexander Amendment" was adopted, which stipulates a halt in economic and military aid to a country that has not met its debt obligations to the financial organs of the United States. And although formally these debt obligations were not met by the preceding government, this act overall had a clearly threatening character. (Footnote 2) (The sum was paid by Peru in advance and the action of the "amendment" was correspondingly halted.)

Soon new and more serious measures followed. In November the Federal Interdepartmental Committee on Finance and Economic Resources, coordinating the activities of Western creditors with regard to the developing countries, declared Peru an "country with very low solvency," which was equivalent to refusing to allow American banks to extend credit to the country. At the end of December 1985, after the Peruvian powers took control of the assets of the Belco Petroleum Company, which on the expiration of the allotted time period did not undertake the conditions of the contract proposed to the government, the threat of the use of the not-unknown "Hickenlooper and Gonzalez Amendments" hung over Peru as it had in 1969. At the beginning of 1986, the United States abrogated the Peruvian sugar quota on the American market under the pretext that the country was not a "pure" exporter of this product. This measure meant the loss of 30-40 million dollars to Peru and a further worsening of the crisis in the sugar industry. Furthermore, the 128 million dollars of aid to Peru initially requested by the White House for the 1986 fiscal year was reduced to 57.7 million dollars by Congress.

This is far from a complete list of the actions undertaken with regard to Peru over practically the entire six-month period of the rule of the government of A. Garcia. As a result, Peruvian-American relations have seriously worsened. The anti-imperialist approach of the Aprista government to major international problems also played a large role in this.

One of the most important directions of Peruvian foreign policy became the struggle for limiting arms purchases in the region. This issue is closely tied to the problem of development, overcoming the difficult financial crisis and paying off foreign indebtedness. Appeals to limit the purchase of weapons in Latin America and for disarmament have been voiced persistently in the speeches of Peruvian representatives from the rostrums of the United Nations, the OAS and the forums of the non-aligned states. Thus, for example, Peru along with a number of other countries on the continent presented to the United Nations a draft resolution calling for an end to the arms race that is so expensive for Latin America. President A. Garcia has also advanced a proposal to conclude a regional agreement on a substantial reduction in

military expenditures. At a conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned nations in Luanda in September of 1985, at the initiative of Peru a clause was inserted in the Final Accord on the necessity of regional efforts and support for unilateral initiatives to limit conventional weapons. The Peruvian government has moreover undertaken specific steps in this direction, based on the difficult financial and economic state of the country and striving to advance the issue of limiting weapons in the Andean subregion from a standstill.

Thus, it was resolved to reduce by half the purchase of French Mirages according to a contract concluded by the government of F. Belaunde Terry in the total amount of 700 million dollars, of which 200 million dollars has already been spent. At the same time, the Peruvian leaders proposed to the countries of the Andean subregion that they hold talks for signing an agreement on reducing military expenditures. This proposal was directed first and foremost toward Chile and Ecuador, the conflicts with which repeatedly "spurred" the arms race in this region. In order to achieve a practical understanding, Peruvian Foreign Minister A. Wagner visited Ecuador in October of 1985. (This was the first official visit since the Peruvian-Ecuadorean armed conflict of 1941.) As a result, a resolution was adopted on holding permanent bilateral consultations with the aim of developing conditions for reducing weapons purchases. This same theme was a central one in the course of two meetings of the foreign ministers of Peru and Chile in November of 1985. And although the Peruvian initiatives directed toward its neighboring states were just the first steps on a path filled with difficulties and obstacles toward limiting the arms race, they had a positive effect on the climate in the region.

The efforts of Peruvian diplomacy directed toward a political settlement of the crisis in Central America have been made appreciably more active. The leadership of the country has emphasized repeatedly that any aggressive action against Nicaragua is objectively directed against all of Latin America and that the defense of the sovereignty of this state is a defense of the sovereignty of the whole continent. (Footnote 3) (Caretas. Lima, 1985, No 880, p 42.) In a speech to the 14th Special Session of the OAS in Cartagena in December of 1985, A. Wagner subjected the subversive activities of Washington against the Sandinista revolution to sharp criticism. At this session, Peru was one of the authors of a draft resolution demanding the immediate removal of the U.S. trade embargo with respect to Nicaragua.

Peru was the initiator of the creation of the Contadora support group which has received the name of the Lima Group. In evaluating the prospects for settling the Central American crisis, the leadership of the country noted that the United States should not only support the efforts of the Contadora group with words, but should cooperate with its activity in practice. American aid to the contras, the economic blockade and other actions of Washington against a sovereign government only hinder the search for a peaceful settlement. (Footnote 4) (Caretas, 1985, No 881, p 50.)

Important attention in the foreign-policy sphere is allotted to making integration processes in Latin America more active, including the Andean Pact, to the creation of a system for collective economic security, strengthening



the LAES [Latin American Economic System] and transforming it into an effective mechanism for consultations and cooperation on foreign-debt issues, the struggle against the trade protectionism of Western powers etc. Peru came forward with a number of initiatives aimed at developing an overall approach to the issue of foreign debt by Latin American countries. In the course of his visit to Argentina in March of 1986, A. Garcia proposed the creation of a Latin American Monetary Fund, based on the principle of the Andean Reserve Fund that already exists, with an initial capitalization of 1.6 million dollars for solving short-term problems in the balance of payments of the states in the region.

The normalization of relations with Cuba, which was practically curtailed by Lima after the incidents at the Peruvian embassy in Havana in April of 1980, was advanced as one of the specific tasks of the government's foreign-policy program. In the middle of December 1985, a delegation headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs U. Wayland Alsamora arrived in Cuba to participate in a session of the Intergovernmental Peruvian-Cuban Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Collaboration. At the end of the same month, Peruvian Council of Ministers Chairman L. J. Alva Castro visited Havana. As a result of this visit, an agreement was concluded on collaboration in the areas of science, technology and culture.

The efforts of Peru aimed at achieving a new world economic order have become more active. In resolving the task voiced by the government of A. Garcia of returning the country to the visible role in the non-aligned movement that it played in the first half of the 1970s, Peruvian diplomacy, at the conference of foreign ministers of this organization in September 1985 already mentioned, occupied a constructive position. At its initiative, a resolution was adopted on the issue of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries which received the support of the overwhelming majority of the delegations. It contained an appeal for a global review of this problem, keeping in mind the mutual responsibility of debtors and creditors, as well as international financial organizations. Furthermore, the necessity of limiting foreign debt payments in developing countries to that share of export proceeds that would not undermine the foundations of the national economy was noted. (Footnote 5) (Latin America Weekly Report. London, 1985, No WR-85-38, pp 6-7.)

During the presidency of A. Garcia, Peru has come out actively against apartheid and race discrimination. At the end of 1985, the embassy in South Africa was closed, and the South African consul was ordered to leave Lima.

In striving to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the Near East conflict, the government has advanced a proposal to create a Latin American Peace Support Group in this region. In receiving United Nations representative Yu. Kaddumi in December of 1985, President A. Garcia expressed support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of their own state.

With the coming to power of the PAP, the country's foreign policy has emerged from a prolonged standstill. It can become an important factor in international relations in the region in the future. The actions undertaken by Peru in a relatively short period of time testify to the strengthening of

independent trends in the foreign-policy activity of this state. How much these policies are further developed will depend greatly not on the practical realization of positive purposes with which the government of A. Garcia comes forth in the world arena alone. The experience of the 1970s demonstrates convincingly that a strengthening of independence is indissolubly linked with opposition to imperialism in all areas and, first and foremost, with the carrying out of progressive internal transformations, without which it is impossible to create a solid basis for an independent foreign policy.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

60TH ANNIVERSARY OF USSR-URUGUAY RELATIONS MARKED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 94-96

[Article by A. I. Sizonenko: "USSR--Uruguay: 60 Years of Diplomatic Relations"]

[Text] August is a noteworthy month in the history of Soviet-Uruguayan relations. At the end of August 1926, a large group of tourists from Uruguay arrived in Leningrad for the first time on the steamship Cap-Polonio. The Yuzhamtorg [South American Trade] joint-stock company was transferred from Buenos Aires to Montevideo in August of 1931. In August of 1946, a treaty on friendship, trade and navigation was signed between the USSR and Uruguay in Moscow. August 21 and 22 of 1926, however, occupy a special place. It was then that Uruguayan Foreign Minister A. Saralegui and USSR Deputy Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs M. M. Litvinov exchanged telegrams establishing diplomatic relations between Uruguay and the USSR.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the USSR was widely greeted in Uruguay. It was supported by many trade unions of the country, the influential Cultural University Association and business circles. The pre-war period demonstrated that Soviet-Uruguayan relations have a real foundation for development. In 1931, more than 20 percent of the USSR trade turnover with the Latin American states went to Uruguay. (Footnote 2) (Calculated from: Foreign Trade of the USSR for 1918-40. Moscow, 1960, p 1,102.) The first state oil refinery in the country, opened in September of 1932, began operations using Soviet oil.

The first steps in cultural and scientific collaboration were made. In 1928, a Uruguayan workers' soccer team took part in the first Sports Meet of the Peoples of the USSR. The Moscow Chamber Theater toured successfully in Montevideo in 1930. At the end of 1932, the noted Soviet scientist Academician N. I. Vavilov visited Uruguay.

During the last war, a campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the Soviet Union with fascist Germany developed, and money was collected and sent to the Soviet Army Fund. The National Democratic Front to Assist the USSR was very active. The general society of the country followed the gigantic confrontation that was unfolding on the battlefields of Europe with attention and sympathy. Recalling his stay in Moscow during the war years, E. Frugoni,

the former Uruguayan ambassador to the USSR, noted the fighting spirit, firm confidence in victory and selfless labor of the Soviet people. (Footnote 3) (E. Frugoni. De Montevideo a Moscu. Buenos Aires, 1945, p 217.) Among the greetings sent by the statesmen of Latin America to the Soviet leadership in connection with the victory over fascist Germany was a telegram from Uruguayan President Juan Jose Amesagui, who wrote that the people and government of his country "hail your triumph with full understanding of the self-sacrifice that was borne in the name of victory." (Footnote 4) ("Vneshnyaya politika Sovetskogo Soyuza v period Otechestvennoy voyny" [Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union During the Patriotic War]. Vol 3. Moscow, 1947, p 533.)

Immediately after the conclusion of the war, favorable conditions took shape for the development of Soviet-Uruguayan trade: it totaled 6 million rubles in 1946 versus 300,000 rubles in 1938. A great help in this regard was the Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Navigation that was signed on 9 Aug 46 in Moscow.

In the post-war period, Soviet-Uruguayan relations experienced rises and falls, successes and difficulties. In 1958 about 12 percent of all Uruguayan exports went to the USSR. (Footnote 5) (Z. I. Romanova. "Urugvay" [Uruguay]. Moscow, 1962, p 132.) The newspaper EL POPULAR testified to the profitability for Uruguay of trade with the USSR, noting that during a period of crisis for Uruguay the Soviet Union saved the economy of the country not only through its purchases, but through supplies as well. (Footnote 6) (El Popular. Montevideo, 3 Apr 60.)

An important milestone in Soviet-Uruguayan relations was the official visit of Uruguayan Vice President A. Abdala to the USSR in February-March 1969. A trade agreement between both countries and an agreement on the supply of machinery and equipment to Uruguay were signed in the course of it. In the final communique, the parties noted with satisfaction the development of friendly relations in a spirit of mutual collaboration. (Footnote 7) ("Vneshnyaya politika Sovetskogo Soyuza. Sbornik dokumentov. 1969" [Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. Anthology of Documents. 1969]. Moscow, 1970, pp 41-43.)

Cultural contacts between the USSR and Uruguay were also successfully developed in the 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s. Uruguayan spectators warmly applauded the ensembles of I. Moiseyev and Berezka, the Moscow Circus and Soviet sportsmen.

The military coup of 1973, casting Uruguay into one of the gloomiest periods of its history, had an extremely negative effect on Soviet-Uruguayan political relations. Only after the fall of the military regime in November of 1984 and the coming to power of the civilian government headed by Julio Maria Sanguinetti did conditions arise for reviving them. A Soviet delegation attended the presidential inauguration ceremony. On 2 Mar 85 its head, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman B. Yazkuliyeu, was received by the new president. The mutual aspirations for and expansion and deepening of all-round contacts between the two states were expressed in the discussion that was held.

What transpired in 1985 has demonstrated that Soviet-Uruguayan contacts are entering a new phase of development. A bilateral consultation on the principal issues on the agenda of the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly and on bilateral relations was held in Montevideo on 11-12 Jun 85. During the work in this session, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E. A. Shevardnadze met with President J. M. Sanguinetti and Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Iglesias. Both sides spoke in favor of preserving and strengthening peace and confirmed the mutual vested interest in the development of collaboration, including in the political sphere.

In November of 1985 a delegation from the Uruguayan Broad Front visited the Soviet Union. Socialist Party Chairman M. J. Kuper, a member of the delegation, noting the recent growth in Soviet-Uruguayan contacts, declared that they have enormous significance for Uruguay, "since they present the possibility of becoming acquainted with Soviet reality and with the successes of the Soviet people in building a new society." (Footnote 8) (See: IZVESTIYA, 22 Nov 85.)

Trade between the two countries is continuing to develop. It totaled 65.9 million rubles in 1985. The Soviet Union supplies Uruguay with various machinery and equipment and buys wool, leather, butter and other products.

Thus, the 61st year of relations between the USSR and Uruguay is beginning in a favorable atmosphere of the aspirations of both states to strengthen mutual understanding and develop bilateral collaboration in all areas.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

USSR COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICA HOLDS PLENUM

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 97-98

[Article by A. V. Grishin: "A Voice of Solidarity"]

[Text] Plenums of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America (SKSNLA) are held each year in accordance with the charter of this social organization. The last one, held in April, however, cannot simply be called regular. It was held after the 27th CPSU Congress. The results of all that has been done and the immediate and future tasks were considered taking into account the deep theoretical analysis of the modern international climate contained in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the new version of the Party Program adopted by the congress, in which it is stated most definitely that "the Soviet Union is on the side of states and peoples that are repulsing the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them is an important part of the general struggle for peace and international security in our time."

The most alarm, as noted by SKSNLA Chairman and famous Soviet writer A. B. Chakovskiy, continues to be provoked by the armed conflict in Central America. Through the fault of Washington, over the last five years 11,000 citizens of Nicaragua have perished, 5,000 have been wounded and 250,000 have been forced to leave their native lands and resettle in the heart of the territory.

Solidarity with the Nicaraguan people is one of the priority areas of the committee's activity. Twice it has sent, in conjunction with the Soviet Peace Fund, free material assistance to this country.

The SKSNLA renders support to the Chilean patriots. Its representatives take part in the activity of the International Commission to investigate the crimes of the military junta in Chile.

The committee has repeatedly demonstrated its solidarity with the struggle for human rights and the elimination of the military bases of the United States and other NATO powers in the region. Over the less than two and a half years of its existence, it has established contacts with kindred organizations of Latin America, as well as contacts with political parties of social-democratic and liberal-bourgeois orientations (for example, the PAP [Peruvian Aprista

Party] in Peru, the Civilian Radical Union in Argentina, the Colorado in Uruguay and the Democratic Action Party of Venezuela), which hold similar or close positions on the topical international problems, are against the neo-colonial policies of the United States and are for the resolution of the conflicts in Central America through peaceful means and respect for the sovereignty of Nicaragua.

The execution of a number of measures was facilitated to a great extent by the fact that genuine enthusiasts of internationalist solidarity with the peoples of Latin America took part in them in Komsomol and student organizations of Moscow, Novosibirsk, Novokuznetsk, Kuybyshev and other cities of the country. At the same time, as was noted at the plenum, it is essential to improve the forms of collaboration with the solidarity clubs and other mass organizations that are against the policies of imperialism in Latin America.

The plenum resolved:

--to elucidate and propagandize the peace-loving nature of the foreign policy of the USSR among the societies of the Latin American countries and to expose the indissoluble link of the struggle for peace with the struggle for national independence and social justice;

--to expand and deepen contacts with progressive political and social organizations of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, with the parties with a social-democratic and liberal slant and with all democrats, regardless of their philosophical views and religious convictions, that are demanding an end to the arms race and a halt to the nuclear testing and censure the neo-globalism of the United States;

--to come out in support of the struggle of the peoples of the region against imperialism and the yoke of multinational corporations, for the affirmation of the sovereign right of peoples to control their own resources, for a restructuring of international economic relations on an egalitarian and democratic basis, for the creation of a new international economic order and for getting rid of all of the debt bondage foisted by imperialism.

The committee adopted a declaration in which it called upon the political and social organizations of the world and all people of good will to strengthen solidarity with Nicaragua, strive to halt U.S. aggression against this country and demand a normalization of the atmosphere in Central America through political negotiation.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ILA, FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY HOST FOREIGN DEBT CONFERENCE

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 8, Aug 86 pp 133-137

[Article by V. N. Grishin: "International Conference on Problems of Foreign Indebtedness"]

[Text] In March of this year in the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Foreign Countries, the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute [ILA], in conjunction with the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Collaboration with the Countries of Latin America, organized an international conference on "The Overall Crisis of Capitalism, Foreign Debt and the Liberation Struggle in Latin America."

Participants in its work included these guests of the 27th CPSU Congress: Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Deputy Chairman of the Councils of State and Ministers Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Argentine Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission member Jorge Pereira, Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Giocondo Diaz, Bolivian Communist Party [KPB] Central Committee First Secretary Simon Reyes and KPB Central Committee Political Commission member Jorge Ibanes, Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Alonso Ojeda, Guatemalan Labor Party Central Committee Political Commission member Manuel Bonilla, Honduran Communist Party General Secretary Rigoberto Padilla Rush, Columbian Communist Party Central Committee member Carlos Losano, Mexican United Socialist Party Central Committee Political Commission member Manuel Stefens Garcia, Costa Rican Peoples' Vanguard Party General Secretary Umberto Vargas and Costa Rican Peoples' Party Central Committee Deputy General Secretary Eduardo Mora, Paraguayan Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission member and Secretary Ananias Maydana, Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Jorge del Prado, Uruguayan Socialist Party Central Committee Jose Diaz and Chilean Socialist Party General Secretary Clodomiro Almeida. Aside from ILA associates, participants in the conference included scientists from the IOL [Social Sciences Institute] of the CPSU Central Committee, the IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations] and IVI [Institute of General History] of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the MGU [Moscow State University] imeni M. V. Lomonosov, representatives of the journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, the NOVOSTI Press Agency, TASS, USSR Gostelradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and others.



The conference was opened by ILA Director and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V. V. Volskiy, who noted in his introductory remarks that the 27th CPSU Congress has a special and epochal significance. It opens up new prospects for strengthening the forces of socialism and progress in the whole world and orients Soviet Latin-American specialists to an even deeper study of the problems of the continent.

The speech of C. R. Rodriguez analyzed several trends in the development of Latin American countries. (Footnote 1) (For the text of the speech of Carlos Rafael Rodriguez see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1986, No 7.)

In his report "The Overall Crisis of Capitalism and Latin America," V. V. Volskiy indicated the sharp worsening of the global contradictions of modern capitalism, which has led to a deepening of its overall crisis in the 1980s. Transnational corporations and transnational banks have not only ensured the "equal" participation of Latin America in the crisis, but have also inflicted a great burden on the countries of the continent. The current crisis is the consistent result of that path of development along which Latin America has proceeded in recent decades.

In the economic sphere, the crisis appears deeper and more acute than in the 1930s. It has revealed with unusual clarity the expansion of the bases of exploitation that actually opposed the Latin American nations with "internalized" imperialism. In the social and political sphere, it is becoming ever more apparent that a fundamental watershed in the struggle between imperialist and anti-imperialist forces is occurring. At the same time, the crisis has routed the most reactionary circles of local capital most closely tied to imperialism, which has created a favorable climate for strengthening the struggle of progressive forces and seeking democratic and anti-imperialist alternative ways out of the crisis. The most important and difficult problem on this path is overcoming the diversity of interests of the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces both on a national and on a regional scale.

The Soviet people, as emphasized by V. V. Volskiy, support the just struggle of the progressive forces of Latin America against imperialism and the yoke of multinational monopolies and for the restructuring of international relations on an egalitarian and democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order and getting rid of the debt bondage foisted by the imperialists on the developing countries. As the historical experience of the Latin American states demonstrates, the political and economic ties of the Soviet Union facilitate a strengthening of their independence.

J. del Prado noted the enormous significance of the 27th CPSU Congress for the struggle of the Latin American peoples. He indicated that the imperialism of the United States is conducting a dual offensive against Latin America: an economic one, making use of the colossal foreign debt, and a military one, carrying out aggression against Nicaragua, suppressing the liberation movement in El Salvador and threatening Cuba. The strategic task of the leftist forces is to ruin these reactionary plans. This postulation of the issue determines the approach of the communists to the problem of selecting allies. The PCP

[Peruvian Communist Party] and other leftist organizations of Peru are in solidarity with the current policies of the Aprista government with regard to Nicaragua. The PCP also supports the PAP [Peruvian Aprista Party] in its efforts to oppose the financial and credit policies of U.S. imperialism. J. del Prado emphasized that as opposed to many Latin American countries, the leftist parties in Peru have achieved unity. This became possible, first of all, thanks to the presence of the strong links of the PCP with the organized workers' movement, and in the second place, through the fact that the majority of the leftist organizations rose to the defense of the anti-imperialist reforms that were conducted by the government of Velasco Alvarado. As a result, the rightist forces and the parties of oligarchy were squeezed out of the political arena.

In the report of M. Stefens Garcia "Crisis, Foreign Debt and the New Economic Order," it was emphasized that in order to solve the problem of the foreign debt of the developing countries, the support of the Soviet Union for the debtor nations in their struggle with financial and credit neo-colonialism has great significance. The way out of the crisis being borne by the countries of Latin America also assumes a radical review of relations with the United States. As the examples of Peru and Bolivia demonstrate, this cannot be achieved acting alone.

The speech of A. Ojeda noted that notwithstanding the colossal funds that Venezuela received after the nationalization of petroleum, it was unable to avoid the occurrence of crises. Its foreign debt exceeds 35 billion dollars. The Lusinchi government does not acknowledge the IMF conditions in words, but in practice it conducts policies that correspond to the directives of this organization. In 1986 the country must pay 6 billion dollars, and this cannot be done due to the fall in oil prices.

Under these conditions, the CPV [Venezuelan Communist Party] is waging a struggle for the creation of a broad movement against the payment of foreign debt which has been formed through the fault of imperialism. The broadest segments of the population--from the working class to the representatives of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie--should take part in this movement.

J. Pereira emphasized that the need to declare a moratorium on the payment of foreign debt enjoys support not only on the part of the KPA [Communist Party of Argentina]--it has struck a chord in the workers' and popular movement in Argentina. On 24 Jan 86, a strike was held at the request of the General Confederation of Labor in which the overwhelming majority of the laborers of the country took part. The Alfonsin government has paid 7 billion dollars over the two years it has been in power, but notwithstanding that, the indebtedness of the country has grown from 43 to 52 billion dollars.

G. Diaz welcomed the initiative of holding the conference. The issue of foreign debt, he noted, has ceased to be a theoretical problem and has acquired a political character, and broad social and political circles have a vested interest in its resolution. In Brazil, however, the struggle on the issue of foreign debt has not yet become a mass one. The communists, therefore, are are striving to attract the attention of political, trade-union

and social organizations to this problem. It is important in this, emphasized J. Diaz, not to allow the isolation of Brazil from the other debtor nations, which U.S. imperialism is striving for.

The report of C. Almeida noted that the acuteness with which the problem of foreign debt is being manifested in Latin America reinforces the necessity of the economic integration of the countries of the region and the unification of their political activities. The meetings and conferences of Latin American political, democratic and progressive forces play an especially important role in this. At the last meeting of this type (in Managua), the question was posed of creating a permanent institutional coordinating mechanism for the democratic and progressive forces for the resolution of economic and political problems common to Latin America. At the same time, emphasized C. Almeida, it is essential to apply every effort to weaken the position of the OAS, insofar as the activity of this organization does not correspond to the new stage that Latin American society is entering today. It can be replaced, for example, by a Latin American parliament in which the interests of all of the political forces of the continent would be reflected. Thus, it is essential to reinforce institutionally the new conception of Latin American community with the aim of overcoming outmoded Pan-Americanism.

J. Diaz dwelled on the political aspects of the crisis of the neo-liberal authoritarian development "model" in the countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Before us, he noted, is the task of renewing and strengthening democracy. The socialist current has deep roots in the countries of the continent and it is a part of the international socialist and national-liberation movement. The socialists of Latin America will try to develop a program of joint activity at the first political conference of the socialist parties of the continent, which will soon take place in Montevideo.

E. Mora reviewed the problem of the foreign debt of Costa Rica and emphasized the interconnection of the issue of declaring a moratorium on the payment of indebtedness with the establishment of a new international economic order.

S. Reyes noted in particular that the struggle for refusing to pay foreign debt cannot solve the principal problems of the Latin American countries. This struggle is a component part of the wider struggle for economic and political independence.

C. Losano emphasized that a favorable climate is now taking shape in Latin America for the struggle of anti-imperialist and democratic forces. The position of revolutionary Cuba has been strengthened; notwithstanding the criminal actions of the contras, the Nicaraguan revolution is developing successfully; dictatorships have fallen in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina; a strengthening of trends toward unifying the activities of leftist forces is being observed in Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Columbia; and, the democratic revolutionary struggle is growing in El Salvador, Chile and Paraguay. The anti-imperialist unity is expanding, which includes individual segments of the bourgeoisie who are for a constructive solution to the problem of foreign debt and against the policies of the IMF.

R. Padilla Rush reviewed the development "model" that has led to such growth in the dependence of the country on the United States and that the Kissinger Commission on Central America has proposed turning Honduras into a protectorate along the lines of South Korea or a "freely associated state" of the Puerto-Rican type. The PCH [Honduran Communist Party] sees its duty in the struggle against military occupation and for a democratic and neutral Honduras.

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CSO: 1807/22

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

LAOTIAN, CAMBODIAN DELEGATIONS VISIT--A delegation from the Laotian Popular-Democratic Republic arrived in Dushanbe on 27 September to participate in the Days of Soviet-Laotian Friendship. Deputy chairman of the LPDR Committee for News Agencies, Newspapers, Radio and Television and representative of the presidium of the Laotian-Soviet Friendship Society (Tkhongsavat Nyamani) headed the delegation. Also on 27 September a delegation arrived in Dushanbe from the People's Republic of Kampuchea. It was headed by the first deputy minister of Education and Science of the PRK, chairman of the Cambodian section of the Standing Subcommittee on Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the Intergovernmental Commission on Trade-Economic and Scientific-Technical cooperation between the USSR and the PRK Hang Chun. [Excerpts] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 28 Sep 86 p 4]

CSO: 1807/49

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ALLEGED ISRAELI-IRANIAN MILITARY COOPERATION ASSAILED

NC191208 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 18 Oct 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] AFP has reported that Ari'el Sharon, Israel's minister of industry and trade, paid a secret visit to Tehran and conveyed a message from Yitzhaq Shamir to Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i.

At first glance, this information, which reflects the growth of Iranian-Israeli relations, could appear surprising. One of the first things Iran's Islamic leaders did was break ties with Israel. Many quarrelsome words aimed at Israel were and are heard, and the open call for the destruction of the Jewish state is among them. Despite this, the Israeli leadership continues its military cooperation with Iran.

As an example, we could note the scandal that drew the attention of the American press early this year. Members of a group which secretly delivered arms from the United State to Iran were arrested in the Bahamas. A retired Israeli general and two Israeli merchants were among those taken into custody. Investigations revealed that these men were involved in a clandestine weapons trade that was in no way a private business affair. Rather, it was carried on with the Israeli Government's knowledge and blessing. Danish soldiers who took part in these deliveries also gave evidence. In addition, there are signs that Israeli officers have a hand in the training of technicians for the Iranian Armed Forces and of employees for the Iranian information organization. Of course, there may be those who would refute these facts or justify these activities in one way or another. However, when taken as a whole, these scattered reports prove the existence of extensive cooperation, primarily military, between Israel and Iran.

The obvious question is this: What is the intention here? The answer should be sought in Israel's policy and in the aggressive line followed by its leaders, regardless of their political beliefs. Despite all the lip service that Israel pays to peace, it actually continues to heighten tension in the Near East. It also stubbornly refuses to begin talks on a peaceful solution as part of an international conference with all interested parties participating. It is interesting to note that the Israeli leadership's yardstick is the trite notion that the worse the situation is in the Arab countries, the more Israel benefits.

The Israeli Government's approach to the Iran-Iraq war stems from this same way of thinking. The Israelis are well aware that the prolongation of such bloody conflicts further complicates matters in the Near East and prevents the solution of regional problems, and of those related to the Arab-Israeli dispute in particular. It is primarily for this reason that they are prepared to supply arms to Khomeyni.

However, there is yet another condition of equal importance. Many observers have concluded that Israel is implementing some special orders from its special strategic ally, the United States. Washington clearly benefits from the protraction of the Iran-Iraq war, which allows it to strengthen its position in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. For obvious reasons, the United States does not dare to assist Iran directly, but gives this job to Israel instead. After all, it is naive to think that Israel could secretly sell U.S. arms to Khomeyni's Iran without the Americans knowing it.

The cooperation between Israel and Iran can only be described as collaboration for the sake of war. Its objective is to further complicate the regional situation, which is very explosive as is. This is tantamount to the further postponement of peace, which, in turn, poses dangerous threats to international security.

In light of the Iranian leadership's position on Israel, it should be concluded that the Israeli Government's efforts to exploit the Iran-Iraq war can, above all else, have the most regrettable repercussions on the Israeli people themselves.

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CSO: 4640/15

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

Briefs

AFGHANIS VISIT TAJIKISTAN--A delegation of representatives of the intelligentsia and private capital from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan arrived in Dushanbe from Leninabad and continued their acquaintance with the economic and cultural life of the republic. On 16 September, A.G. Gazibekov, the chairman of the Tajik Union of Consumer Cooperatives received the guests. He told them about the development of consumer cooperatives in the republic and answered their questions. The guests also met with the republic Minister of Education R. D. Dadaboyev and with the chairman of the Tajik SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education B.A. Vasilyev. [Excerpts] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 18 Sep 86 p 3]

GUESTS FROM NEPAL--A delegation from the Friends of the USSR Club of Nepal is visiting Tajikistana within the framework of the international relations of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. The delegation includes public figures of Nepal Upadkhaya Katlesh and Sherchand Batzhaya. The guests learned about the economic and social achievements of the republic. [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 Sep 86 p 2]

DRA AMBASSADOR VISITS TAJIK SSR--The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR Habib Mangal is visiting Tajikistan. On 14 October he visited the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Tajik SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs U.G. Usmanov. On the same day the ambassador had talks in the Ministries of Higher and Secondary Special Education and Education of the republic and met with Afghan students studying at educational institutions in Dushanbe. The ambassador of the DRA is continuing his acquaintance with the life of the republic. [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 15 Oct 86 p 3]

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