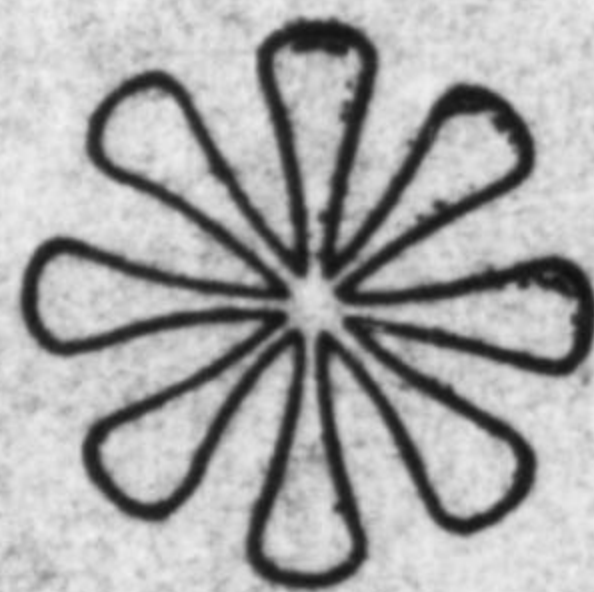


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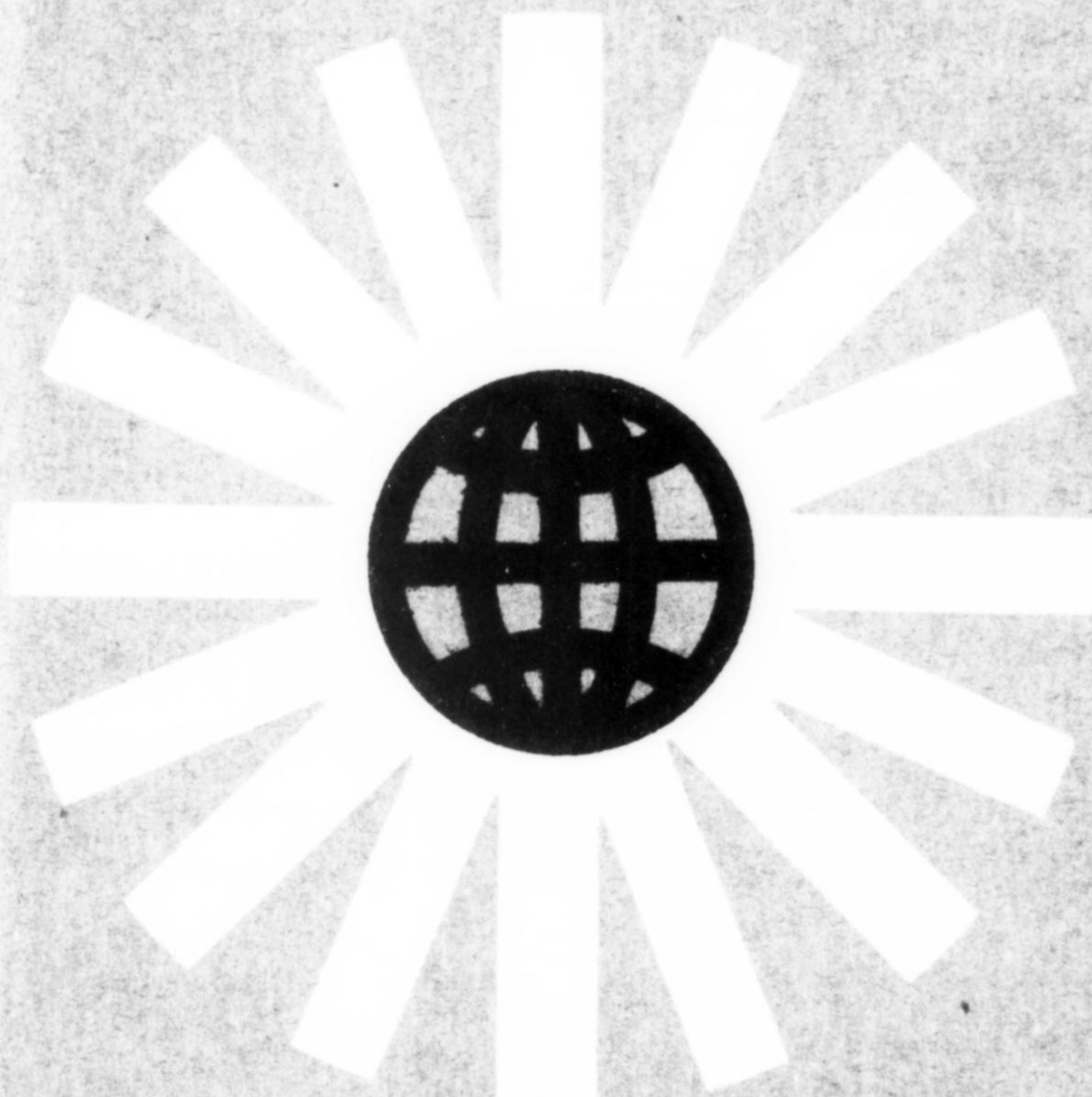
Issued by
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**CONFERENCE
OF PARTIES
OF LATIN
AMERICA AND
CARIBBEAN**

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**BREZHNEV
ELECTION
SPEECH**

12-13

(292-293) • 1975



information bulletin — 12-13 (292-293) Vol. 13

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

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA
M5V 1T4

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PRINTED IN CANADA
JULY 15, 1975

PRICE: 10 CENTS



FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE AND HAPPINESS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Speech by L.I. Brezhnev
at Electoral Meeting in the Kremlin Palace
of Congresses on June 13

Dear comrades,
Esteemed Muscovites,

Allow me, first of all, to express sincere gratitude to the working people of the Baumansky Electoral District, who have again nominated me as a candidate for deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. I regard your trust as approval of the policy of the Leninist Party and the work of its Central Committee.

I sincerely thank all the comrades who have spoken here — my election campaign representative Viktor Viktorovich Pushkaryov, and also comrades Novakovsky, Sokolova, Gerasimov and Poteryakhina — for the kind words addressed to me. They impose a high responsibility upon me. I assure you, dear comrades, that serving the interests of the Soviet people, the cause of Lenin's Party and the cause of communism has been and remains the meaning of my whole life.

I am proud of the fact that I shall be running for deputy from one of the districts in our glorious capital, which to all progressive forces on the planet has come to symbolize the struggle for peace and the happiness of mankind.

I hope that our desire as to what Moscow should be like is known by everyone. The Moscow Party organization has already done a good deal to fulfill the task of turning Moscow into a model communist city. While preserving its inimitable historical features, Moscow is rapidly changing for the better. I wish to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee and the government will continue to devote the closest attention to the development of the capital.

Comrades, in the last few days, the electorate has been addressed by all members of the Politbureau, alternate members of the Politbureau and the secretaries of the Central Committee of our Party. On

the whole, they touched upon many sides of the life of our country. These speeches reflect the common line of the Central Committee both in internal and foreign policies, the line of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of our Party.

Elections to the organs of state power each time pass in our country in a unique atmosphere, and bear the imprint of the time. The present election campaign proceeding in all the Republics of the country has been launched in a year when the Five-Year Plan is drawing to an end, and when the Soviet people are preparing to mark the 25th Congress of their Communist Party.

Almost four and a half years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan have elapsed. They have been years of intensive creative work of the Party, our working class, agricultural workers, intelligentsia and the entire people in solving the historic tasks set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We have every reason to say, comrades, that considerable work has been done and major successes achieved in all the directions mapped out by the Congress. We have made a big step forward on the road of communist construction. Developments have convincingly shown the correctness of the political line drawn up by our Congress.

The scale of our industrial growth and its dynamism are seen from the fact that in the four years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the overall volume of industrial output has increased by more than one-third. And more than four-fifths of the increment of industrial production has been achieved through higher labor productivity. To this should be added that the national income, a highly significant index of economic development, has grown by 26 per cent in these years.

The fact that all our Union Republics are confidently and swiftly moving ahead is of especial importance. Their coordinated work and close cooperation reliably ensure the solution of the tasks set forth by the 24th Congress.

Industry is growing rapidly and advanced technologies are being introduced in each of our Republics. And of great importance here is the ever more rational use of the possibilities of each of the Republics for the general development of the country.

Our agriculture, too, has scored considerable successes. Though 1972 and 1974 were extremely unfavorable years because of weather conditions, the annual average production of grain in the last four years has topped that of the previous five-year plan period by 24 million tons.

The grain contribution by the Ukraine and Kazakhstan has become far more weighty in the last four years. What is particularly valuable is

that farmers in these Republics are confidently consolidating their achievements in grain production. All our cotton-growing Republics, and, first of all, Uzbekistan, year after year now obtain record cotton harvests; they are increasing the harvest of this valuable crop. This is a great achievement of our cotton growers. We cannot help rejoicing at it, and I would say, applauding it. Gardeners, vegetable growers and vine growers in the Transcaucasus and Moldavia have chalked up successes. Livestock farming is also developing quite well. Over the four years the cattle population, for instance, increased on the collective and state farms by more than 10 million, or by 14 per cent. Agriculture is doing well in Byelorussia, the Baltic and other Republics.

The fact that today large-scale land-improvement is being carried out in almost all the areas of the country is of special importance for the future. This is also being done in the Russian Federation. It is especially widespread, for instance, in the Volga area, since one-fourth of all irrigated lands in the Russian Federation are there.

As regards the situation this year, all the Republics have fulfilled the plan of sowing cereal and industrial crops. Harvesting time is nearing. It is highly important that in this responsible period the rural working people display the same energy and organization as in the past four years.

As you know, the 24th Congress of the Party devoted much attention to the task of improving the well-being of the people. In line with the Congress directives, the income of the working people has been steadily growing throughout the whole of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. There is also a noticeable increase in the quantity of commodities sold to the population. A great deal is being done in the field of housing construction. Over the four years 436 million square metres of housing have been built. This year alone, new flats will be provided or conditions improved for nearly 11 million Soviet people. We shall continue to pay the necessary attention to the development of housing construction in the country.

Comrades, in two days' time, all of us will be voting for the candidates to the highest organ of power of the Russian Federation. Famed for its revolutionary, labor and combat traditions, and for blazing the trail for the fraternity of various nations and nationalities, it is making a tremendous contribution to the communist transformation of our country.

The Russian Federation provides almost three-fifths of all the grain

purchased by the state, more than half of all the steel smelted and more than 80 per cent of all the oil extracted in our country.

The labor initiatives of the people of the Russian Federation — I have in mind, first of all, the working people of Moscow and Leningrad — frequently serve as an example to the rest of the country. And today, too, the Muscovites are carrying out ahead of time the assignments of the Five-Year Plan. One cannot help rejoicing at the successes and applauding the Moscow Party organization, and all the working people of Moscow and Leningrad for their work and successes.

A vivid sign of our time is the swift development of the oil-bearing areas in northwest Siberia. The mounting extraction of oil and gas gives an impetus to the creation there of large-scale oil refineries and chemical industry, and to the construction of towns, motor roads and railways. This formerly outlying region is, literally before our eyes, turning into a major industrial area of the country.

The successes of the current five-year plan period create conditions for tackling more complicated problems in the next five-year plan period and, consequently, for the further improvement of the life of our people.

An enormous task which the Soviet people are beginning to tackle is the development and, I would say, genuine enrichment of the vast agricultural areas of the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation.

Much has already been said about this zone and the relevant decision of the Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. I must, however, mention it once more owing to its great importance both economically and politically, reflecting the scale of our present achievements.

Every fourth citizen of the country lives in the non-chernozem zone: 24 per cent of Russia's arable land lies there. But the potential of this vast region, which has added many a glorious page to Russian history, was far from being made full use of. Frankly speaking, we simply had not enough strength and funds. Other needs required priority attention.

The construction of the Baikal-Amur railway (BAM) will be a great labor exploit of our people. The BAM has already become a truly national project. Once again a good tradition of the Soviet people is being confirmed — the tradition of Turksib and Magnitka, Dneproges and Komsomolsk-on-Amur — to jointly undertake great projects.

By opening access to the rich resources of this territory, its vast natural treasures, we are embarking on the economic development of

the entire zone. Years will pass, and large new cultural and industrial centers will be created in the northeast of Siberia and the northern areas of the Far East.

The scale of work on the BAM underscores with particular force the need to take a clever approach to all the problems of this grand project and to base current decisions on scientifically-grounded prospects for the comprehensive development of this vast region. Thus, very soon we shall have to define concretely what mineral and other resources should be put to use in the economy in the first place. We must decide where it is most expedient to build cities and industrial communities.

The correct solution to all these questions largely depends on the work of planning and economic bodies and designing organizations. One can safely say that in general their role and responsibility will steadily increase in the course of our communist construction.

Work has already started on the BAM. Tens of thousands of young people — and their numbers will run into hundreds of thousands soon — are being trained, are maturing and becoming tempered there. They will have to overcome many difficulties. But we are confident, comrades, that they can and will do so with honor!

On the whole, comrades, summing up the work done over the last few years, we have grounds to say that the tasks set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU are being accomplished quite successfully.

Of course, this does not mean that everything is going as smoothly as we would like. There are shortcomings, as well as difficulties. The Central Committee of the Party and the government see them and are mobilizing our cadres and the broad masses of the working people of town and country to eliminate them.

Such is life, comrades. All of us, while working to fulfill the decisions of the 24th Congress, have learned a lot over these years. We have begun to analyze more deeply the specifics and prospects for industrial and agricultural development, and taken up in earnest such major problems of our time as labor productivity, returns on capital and increase in production efficiency. And though we have already discussed these subjects at three plenary meetings of the Central Committee, they are so important that I am not afraid to repeat myself. For this concerns not only the present, but also the future of our country. A rational solution to the current problems will give us additional rich resources to be used for the benefit and happiness of our people.

The enormous scope and complexity of the problems facing us are

making ever higher demands on our cadres. Today every member of society must be more exacting of himself and his work, whether he operates a machine tool or a combine harvester, is engaged in scientific activity or heads a ministry.

Enhancing the quality of our work has become a key problem for the development of our national economy. This concerns the quality of our plans, that is, how well substantiated and balanced they are. This concerns the quality of managerial activity — from the primary links of production to central economic agencies. It also concerns the strengthening of labor discipline and the improvement of output quality.

We must learn to look ahead, concentrate financial and material resources on the development of the most promising production sectors which give maximum returns, and we will learn to do so without fail. We must make fuller use of existing production capacities, reduce the expenditure of raw materials, and introduce more rapidly new, more progressive technology in production. Understandably, all this is a difficult matter, but it must be done. Thus we will make proper use of our experienced cadres and our tremendous material riches. Without this, any talk about economic effectiveness will be of little value.

Comrades, the decision of the Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee, the addresses of the Central Committee to the Party and the people, and the appeal to mobilize all efforts to fulfill and overfulfill the plans of 1975 and the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and raise the quality and effectiveness of all our work — all this has evoked a great political and labor upsurge in the country.

The socialist emulation drive has developed with special force in the current five-year plan period. Both its forms and content are now new in many respects, and they meet the level of the country's development and our future requirements. At the present time the motto of the emulation participants is not just to increase output, but to do this even better and cheaper.

The splendid, noble movement for a communist attitude to work, which has been initiated by the Muscovites, and, of course, by the working people of the Baumansky District, is growing in scope.

As is known, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin attached great importance to the fostering of a communist attitude to work. He persistently demanded: "More attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are *actually* building *the new* in their everyday work, and more *verification* so as to ascertain the extent to which the new is

communistic." We remember this behest of Lenin's and follow it. Our Party regards it as its prime duty to encourage, support and spread in every way the genuinely effective and useful initiatives of advanced workers, aimed at improving the quality of our work.

The new generation of the Soviet working people is carrying aloft the banner raised by the heroes of the first five-year plans.

Characteristic of this is the splendid movement of our foremost miners — the movement to daily produce a thousand and more tons of coal from one mechanized stoping face. The decision of the Party Central Committee noted that the participants in this movement strictly observe technological and labor discipline and display genuine labor heroism, efficiency and resourcefulness in tapping production reserves.

The teams of Heroes of Socialist Labor comrades Smirnov in Kuzbas, and Murzenko, Chikh and Tatsenko in Donbas produced in a year more than a million tons of coal each — something which in the past could only have been achieved by the personnel of large mines.

The front-rankers' initiative has been taken up in all the coal fields of the Country. Last year over 400 teams involved in this new form of emulation supplied the national economy with more than a quarter of all deep-mined coal and shale. The number of such teams is increasing, and the movement is increasing in scale.

This, comrades, is the communist attitude to work in practice! Certainly, the experience of the foremost miners can and should be used by workers in other sectors of our industry and the national economy as a whole.

Our youth is in the vanguard of the front-rank workers of the five-year plan period. A total of 400,000 Komsomol members, young workers, 12,000 Komsomol and youth collectives have already fulfilled the assignments of the Five-Year Plan. Many good initiatives come from Komsomol members, the youth of Moscow, including those of the Baumansky District. Forty-eight million participants in the All-Union Komsomol Meeting enthusiastically supported the pledge given by the Moscow Komsomol — a pledge to work in a Stakhanovite, communist way. Let us wish, comrades, further great successes to our splendid youth!

Dear comrades, in everyday cares, in the hustle and bustle of our day-to-day life, we do not always have time to generalize individual facts and the phenomena surrounding us. In our time there are hundreds and thousands of models of social activity of the Soviet people. Today our workers, Soviet collective farmers, and Soviet intellec-

tuals are people who not only work consciously but, in general, act in the broad interests of their collectives, districts, regions, Republics, and the country as a whole.

We regard this as a concrete result of the extensive and persistent effort of our Party in the ideological and political education of the masses. In the final analysis, it is precisely the growth of the ideological conviction and the political consciousness of the working people that determines our advance in all directions.

To be a highly principled man means to be aware that your work is part of the great common cause, that of the upbuilding of communism, and to school yourself to realize and feel, in the words of a poet, that "my work merges with the work of my Republic."

It means to be irreconcilable toward egoism and inertness, toward laxity and slipshodness, toward Philistine and self-seeking attitudes.

It means to demand of yourself and others strict observance of labor discipline, to work with full energy and to display initiative.

It means to ardently love your great socialist Motherland and to realize that our successes are our contribution to the common struggle of all nations for a lasting peace, freedom and socialism.

In other words, comrades, to be a highly principled man means to be an active and conscious champion of communism and of the triumph of its great ideals.

The more mature our socialist society grows, and the further it advances to the highest stage of its development — communism the greater becomes the social activity of our citizens, work collectives, and the people as a whole, the more broadly and deeply are the working people involved in the running of state affairs. Herein lies one of the major laws of social development. This signifies the development and improvement of socialist democracy, to which our Party attaches paramount significance.

One of the most important forms of the socio-political activity of the citizens is the work of the Soviets.

Our Party has always devoted and continues to devote great attention to the improvement of the work of the Soviets and to the consolidation of their ties with the people. A number of new laws, aimed at improving the work of the Soviets, have been adopted in recent years. They are now being translated into life, and we should work persistently to further enhance the role and responsibility of the Soviet organs of power, and to develop and deepen the democratic principles of their work.

Naturally, success in the work of the Soviets, to a decisive degree, depends on how the deputies themselves carry out their duties.

To be a deputy to the Soviet signifies honorable but also highly responsible and complicated work. A deputy in our country expresses both the interests of the working people of his constituency in the organs of state power and is a representative of the state's interests in the localities, showing care for the consistent implementation of the Party's policy in the interests of the Soviet people as a whole.

The deputies in our country are vested with great powers. Giving attention to the interpolations and proposals of the deputies, and lending them assistance in the performance of their duties is demanded by law. And this should be strictly observed.

It is necessary to speak in particular about the role of the Communist deputies, about the significance of their prestige and their example. Great responsibility always rests upon a Communist for our common cause. This responsibility, I would say, is redoubled for a Communist deputy. I do not doubt, comrades, that each Communist now being put up for nomination as deputy, will always remember this, and will make a real contribution to the great cause of the development of socialist democracy and the further strengthening of our people's power.

Dear comrades, I cannot but say a few words about our glorious army. Our army is an army of peace, it protects, together with the armies of fraternal countries, our security and our peaceful labor. It is for this that our people love their Armed Forces.

Comrades, a correct foreign policy is called upon to provide favorable peaceful conditions for our communist construction. Quite understandably, foreign-policy issues, just as the problems of our internal development, are of great interest to the electors.

The line of our Party and state in international affairs is well known. It stems from the very nature of socialism and is wholly subordinated to the interests of the peaceful constructive labor of the Soviet people and our brothers in the socialist countries. A consistently class policy, it serves the cause of peace, freedom and security of all peoples, the cause of their national independence and social progress, and meets the interests of the broadest masses throughout the world. The Soviet people enthusiastically and unanimously support this policy. We shall continue to pursue it vigorously and persistently in future as well.

Over the last few years belief in the possibility of and, moreover, the need for peaceful coexistence has taken root among both the

broad popular masses and the ruling circles of the majority of countries. International détente has become possible because a new relationship of forces now exists on the world scene. Today the leaders of the bourgeois world can no longer seriously hope to decide the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by force of arms. The senselessness and the extreme danger of the further fanning up of tensions are becoming increasingly obvious in conditions when both sides possess weapons of enormous destructive power.

The norms of peaceful coexistence between states have already been recorded in many binding official documents of a bilateral and multilateral character, as well as in political declarations. Of course, all this did not come about of itself. An enormous amount of political work had to be done to do away with the cold war and reduce the threat of a new world war. And it may be said that a decisive significance in attaining détente was the joint activity of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, their consistent struggle against the forces of aggression and war.

Now the world is entering a period when the task of translating the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation into daily practical actions is coming to the fore.

This is a crucial period. Those to whom the destinies of states and people have been entrusted should show that their deeds match their words. For politicians can be found who, using the slogan of peace and paying lip service to the principles of peaceful coexistence and détente, are doing so to distract attention, while actually hoping to return to the policy of the cold war period, calling for a build-up of the arms race and displaying open animosity toward the socialist countries.

The efforts of these politicians run counter to the aspirations of the peoples. For, in fact, they can offer nothing but new economic burdens and a revival of the threat of a new world war. But they are capable of impeding the consolidation of universal security and the development of peaceful cooperation between peoples unless they are given a timely rebuff.

Experience teaches us that for peace to become genuinely durable, it is necessary for statesmen and politicians to make consistent and purposeful efforts, to be able to counter the enemies of détente and, of course, not to be led along by them.

One can only be surprised at hearing certain seemingly responsible Western leaders speculating on whether détente is useful or harmful,

that is, whether it is useful or harmful to live in conditions of a strengthening peace and a reduced threat of war.

We are sometimes told that attempts to question the benefit of détente are being made for purely internal political, tactical considerations, in order to win the sympathies of the right-wing circles in a corresponding country. But, frankly speaking, we are convinced that the strengthening of peace is too serious a matter for the present and future generations for it to be subordinated to considerations of expediency or to somebody's mood.

Of course, we have our own ideology, our own convictions, but we proceed from the assumption that peace is equally needed by all peoples and that all states have a stake in removing the threat of a world nuclear war. Herein lies the main foundation for joint efforts to strengthen peace and security. Speaking of Soviet-American relations, U.S. President Ford stressed recently that détente is advantageous to both sides. One, it seems to me, cannot but agree with this.

We firmly adhere to the view that détente can and must be further deepened. For this is necessary that states should take due account of mutual, notably mutual and not unilateral interests, and assume treaty obligations on a basis of reciprocity. Properly speaking, it was on this basis that international détente started, and on this basis it continues to develop.

Permit me, comrades, once again to declare from this rostrum in no uncertain terms that the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and the entire Soviet people are firmly and consistently coming out and will continue to come out for the normalization of the international climate, for the strengthening of peaceful relations between states, for the consolidation of security in Europe, for the further improvement of relations with France, the United States, the FRG, Britain, Italy, Japan and indeed all countries which reciprocate in this matter.

We consider that in the nearest future it is quite possible to make further big and practical steps toward a more stable and sound peace in Europe and elsewhere on the planet.

This concerns the All-European Conference where the overwhelming part of the work has already been done and its completion is within sight.

This also concerns the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe — if they are approached honestly and objectively without trying to use them as an instrument for strengthening one's military positions with regard to the other side, as the NATO countries are still trying to do.

This also concerns the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The steps for their further development, which are now being mapped out in connection with the new Soviet-American summit meeting, which is to take place this year, including the signing of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic arms on the basis of the Vladivostok accord — all these are very necessary and important steps. We, however, by no means think that this is all that can be done in the struggle against the arms race.

It is well known that, as a result of the agreements concluded in recent years, we have succeeded in checking to some extent, the arms race in certain sectors, and that the socialist states play a very important part in this matter.

Unfortunately, however, we cannot say that an end has been put to the build-up of armaments.

Some Western powers are actively expanding their military budgets. Their military establishments are at pains to push ever new appropriations through legislative bodies. The Soviet Union considers that things should proceed in a different direction. We stand for the reduction of military budgets and we urge other powers to do the same. Our country has been and remains a staunch champion of the limitation and reduction of armaments, a champion of disarmament. Nor shall we in future slacken our efforts in this field.

In this connection I should like to emphasize the significance of one important question. It has not yet found reflection in agreements between states, but, we believe, it is becoming more acute and urgent every day. What is needed is that states, the major powers in the first place, conclude an agreement banning the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction, new systems of such weapons.

The level of contemporary science and technology is such that there is a serious danger of the development of even more awesome weapons than the nuclear ones. The common sense and conscience of mankind dictate the necessity of putting up an insurmountable barrier in the way of the emergence of such weaponry.

Of course, this task requires the efforts of a broad circle of states, the major powers in the first place. However, acting in one direction, the Soviet Union and the United States could, as we see it, make their weighty contribution to this cause as well.

Comrades, everything that our Party is doing in the field of foreign policy is directed to ensure the peace and security of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist states and to strength-

en universal peace. All our Party is doing in the field of domestic policy is directed, in the final analysis, to improve the life of the Soviet people.

The 25th Congress of our Party is already not far off. The life of the Soviet people is now keynoted by preparations for this very important event. It can be said with confidence that the forthcoming Congress will map out new important landmarks on the road toward the great aims for which our Party is working, and to which we devote all our energies.

The Central Committee of the Party daily receives thousands of letters in which Soviet people express their gratitude for the correct policy and concern for the people's well-being. We highly value this support; it inspires and imposes a responsibility upon us. We regard it as another confirmation of the fact that we are following the correct course and on the whole successfully tackling the spectacular tasks of the construction of communism, in the name of peace and happiness of the Soviet people.

Dear comrades, the day after tomorrow, on June 15, the citizens of the USSR will again demonstrate the unity of our people and their cohesion around their Leninist Party by voting for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. The Central Committee of the Party is confident that the people's choice, the deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Republics and to local Soviets, will be worthy of the trust shown in them and will fulfill their duty to the people with honor. As a candidate for deputy, I also give you such a promise.

I thank you, comrades, once again for your great trust. (*L.I. Brezhnev's speech was heard with keen attention and repeatedly punctuated with applause. When he finished, the applause was tumultuous. All rose. There were calls in honor of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee, in honor of the Soviet people — the builders of communism*).

Pravda, June 14, 1975

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

LATIN AMERICA IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, PEOPLE'S WELFARE, PEACE AND SOCIALISM

I

One hundred and fifty years after the Ayacucho battle, which spelled the decline of Spanish colonialism on the continent, the strong and unconditional independence of our America fought for by the heroes of the liberation struggle, has not yet become a reality.

Since the turn of the century, the commercial domination of the old European powers began to be rapidly replaced by imperialism's increasing penetration of the economy. The weak economy of the Latin American countries was subjugated by the powerful finance capital of Britain, Germany and France, and later fell under the dominance of U.S. imperialism. Some territories are virtually colonies to this day.

Imperialism interrupted Latin America's independent economic development. The same is true of Asia and Africa, where for decades it impeded any appearance of such a development. Economic, social and political interference increased and acquired a new character, making the Latin American states an easy prey of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism. Thus, Latin America, not having achieved full liberation and not having developed all its potentialities, fell into the hands of new masters. The sovereignty of the Latin American countries was infringed upon. This dependence signified the beginning of a new dramatic period. Though capitalism became — to one degree or another — the dominant economic system, and a number of Latin American countries attained a medium level of capitalist growth, and in some of them features of monopoly capitalism are appearing, economic dependence determines, on the one hand, the

preservation of the old structures, and on the other hand, lays its imprint on the capitalist process.

Most of Latin America is characterized by poverty, economic backwardness, illiteracy, lack of health care, absence of civil rights and arbitrary restriction of national sovereignty, from which the majority of the population in the economically more developed countries suffers as well.

With a population of 320 million and immense natural wealth, Latin America could be one of the most developed regions in the world.

Actually, more than 100 million Latin Americans suffer from malnutrition and 36 million, including 15 million children, are in an advanced state of emaciation. More than one-fifth of the population lives in countries where the average consumption of calories and proteins is below the necessary minimum. While in the developed capitalist countries 20 children out of 1,000 die during their first year, in Haiti this figure is 230, in some regions of Brazil, 180, and in the important industrial center Sao Paulo it is 90. In Chile, out of every thousand children born 79 died, and now this number is growing. For Latin America as a whole, with the exception of Cuba, the average figure is 66.

In some countries the level of registered illiteracy averages 27 per cent, but the actual number is much higher, especially where even approximate figures are unobtainable. It has been calculated that at present not less than 12 million children of school age have no chance of going to school, and the dropout rate among primary school pupils ranges from 50 to 80 per cent. Only one-third of the primary school pupils continue studies in secondary schools and only 9 per cent in the 20-24 age group enter universities. Many university graduates, unable to find work or because of low salaries, tend to look for work in the Metropolis, or go to the United States, which is nothing but a brain drain.

Full or partial unemployment is one of the most serious social ills. According to official data, it involves from 10 to 25 per cent of the potentially active population. But this figure does not include tens of millions of women capable of productive labor and who need it for economic reasons; nor does it include the several million Latin Americans engaged in farming in wretched conditions, and who are virtually unemployed.

Latin America remains a region producing mainly agricultural and mineral raw materials. In 20 years, up to 1970, the share of industry in the gross national product increased from 18.7 to 25.2 per cent. But

these figures do not reflect the real situation in most countries, because this index is influenced by the level of industrial output in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, which is above the continent's average. In most cases industry is characterized by considerable technical backwardness, low level of production, low labor productivity and inadequate use of resources. In some countries, especially those belonging to the Central American Common Market, and also the Caribbean countries, most of the installed industrial capacities are in the hands of subsidiaries of imperialist monopolies, engaged mainly in the final stage of production. Moreover, many enterprises are set up with the sole purpose of utilizing the cheap labor power and exporting products to the U.S.; this is another factor increasing the dependence and warped character of the Latin American economies.

The penetration of some branches of agriculture by transnational companies is coupled with the introduction of modern forms of exploitation, representing a new method of seizing our natural resources and increasing our dependence on U.S. monopoly capital.

The socio-economic structure of the Latin American countryside is characterized by uneven and contradictory development. On the one hand, farm output for export has increased and the technical level of production has risen. On the other hand, backward forms of land tenure persist. Millions of farm workers suffer from poverty and exploitation. A major cause is that the latifundists and the local and foreign capitalist companies own most of the land. Besides, there is a large number of unproductive "minifundia," with weak market ties.

The system of land ownership, with a few exceptions, is characterized by its inequality, dating back to the early years of our independence struggle. In a number of cases this inequality has increased. The latifundists, who comprise less than eight per cent of the landowners, possess 85 per cent of the agriculture area.

The existence of millions of landless peasants, who are compelled to search for temporary earnings or move to the cities, aggravates the plight of the broad rural masses. Monopoly penetration sharpens the agrarian crisis still more. It is this, and not the "demographic explosion," that is the principal cause of the food shortage.

The situation is even worse in countries with a large indigenous population. More than 30 million Indians of diverse ethnic and language groups are subjected to the most infamous exploitation and suffer from the policy of forced assimilation and national and cultural discrimination by the imperialists and the oligarchy. As is known, the colonialists and their followers engaged in the systematic extermina-

tion of the indigenous population, who fought heroically for their freedom and cultural identity. This struggle is today a part of the general battle of our peoples. The acts of genocide against the indigenous population of Brazil, Paraguay and other countries are continuing to this day.

The ideologues of imperialism and its local servitors claim that private foreign investment is a major source of external funds necessary for developing Latin America. Past experience and recent history, however, prove that foreign investments, especially North American, served only the purpose of robbing our countries. The annual profit from investments in the oil industry is 20-30 per cent and the profit from mining and other branches of industry is not much less. Capital investment by U.S. imperialists in Latin America pays off in a few years, after which their entire activity boils down to amassing profits without any further expenditure.

This super-exploitation is best expressed by the data on the movement of capital. In 1950 the foreign companies' returns were 700 million dollars, and in 1974 they were 9,200 million dollars (including interest). In 1960-1969 profits exported by the subsidiaries of U.S. monopolies in Latin America exceeded by 6,745 million dollars the amount of capital entering our countries.

In the initial period of imperialist penetration of our continent, a typical form of exploitation was the investment of capital in the mining industry and in agricultural activities where relatively little mechanization was needed, such as sugar cane and banana production, meat-packing plants, transport, and in the form of loans to governments. Later, the imperialists took over control of the public services, particularly electricity and telephones and the major financial establishments. Finally, they seized the key positions in industry, domestic and foreign trade, control over the most important mass information media. Exploiting their monopoly of advanced technology and the basic raw materials, the big transnational companies, in league with the powerful groups of the local oligarchy, make the Latin American countries even more dependent.

Under the impact of the profound changes in the world today, which continue to be influenced by the struggle of the peoples of our continent, imperialism is masking its use of force by more subtle forms of penetration and domination. The alignment of local with imperialist capital, as evidenced by the creation of mixed enterprises, corresponds to imperialist interests, because it helps to avoid nationalization and allows monopolies, especially North American

ones, to increase their profits, using the local resources and local legislation, grossly violating regulations that protect the national economy, and subordinating these mixed enterprises. Monopolies control companies which are formally national enterprises, receiving most of the profit by supplying patents, in the form of various deductions and "royalties," etc.; by manipulating accounts, overstating prices for raw materials and equipment supplied by their paternal companies, and by lowering prices on goods sold to these enterprises.

Imperialism also uses credits granted by the Inter-American Development Bank, International Bank and International Monetary Fund primarily to state-owned enterprises (electricity, telephones, railroads, waterworks, etc.) on condition that they are repaid out of the profits received, among other things, by the continued raising of tariffs. All this increases the foreign debt, stimulates inflation and prices, and means new taxes and lower real wages. In sum, this could lead to the denationalization of these enterprises and the loss of independence by them.

A case in point are Mexico and Argentina, though the most typical case of imperialism's new forms of penetration is, undoubtedly, that of Brazil. The "Brazilian miracle" has already been debunked, and its failure is admitted even by its chief advocates. The economic growth of Brazil during the past few years has been quite different from what its apologists attributed to it. It should be remembered, above all, how this growth was achieved and who benefited by it.

The fascization process, which began after the 1964 coup by the rightists, created the necessary political prerequisites for the "economic miracle." The brutal suppression of the workers' trade-union movement, democratic and anti-imperialist forces reflected the ultra-reactionary nature of the Brazilian regime and was used as a powerful means to impose on the country a type of economic development even more dependent on and subordinate to U.S. imperialism.

This economic growth was achieved primarily by lowering wages to the minimum, sufficient only for biological existence, in order to increase accumulations and investments; by maintaining the annual rate of inflation at approximately 20 per cent (up to 1973); by encouraging massive foreign capital investments and setting up transnational companies; through government measures for a considerable expansion of the monopoly sector of the economy; support for latifundism and transfer of natural resources, including extensive

agricultural areas, to big imperialist companies; by stimulating exports to the detriment of the domestic market.

Interfering, in cahoots with U.S. imperialism, in the political and economic affairs of neighboring states (especially Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile) and conducting an expansionist policy, the architects of the pseudo-miracle — the Brazilian oligarchy and military — encroach on the interests of all the peoples of the region, converting Brazil into a dangerous imperialist stronghold in South America.

The results of the "Brazilian miracle" show that this economic growth is not advantageous to the people, leads to even greater infringement of national sovereignty, and is attained at the cost of unbearable social privations. For this reason, contrary to the assertions of the advocates of imperialism, the "Brazilian miracle" cannot be an alternative for the Latin American peoples who are fighting for national and social liberation.

The situation in Latin America dictates other ways.

II

The peoples of Latin America have never ceased the struggle against the mounting appropriation of their countries' resources by North American imperialism, against the fierce exploitation by that imperialism and the oligarchy. The structural crisis in Latin America and the existence of an insoluble contradiction between the interests of Latin American countries and the claims of imperialism became apparent during the great economic depression of 1929, that manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism. It demonstrated the growing awareness of the working class, which had given rise to socialist currents back in the 19th century and subsequently, under the impact of the October Revolution, led to the formation of most Latin American Communist parties.

The popular anti-imperialist movement and struggles of the workers, peasants and students for changing the socio-economic structure acquired a wide scope. Events of great importance took place, such as the march of the Invincible Column led by Luis Carlos Prestes, the worker-peasant uprising of 1932 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Ecuador, the overthrow of the Gerardo Machado tyranny in Cuba as a result of the 1933 general strike, the heroic actions under the leadership of Augusto Cesar Sandino, and the mighty wave of solidarity with the Spanish people's fight against fascist aggression. The nationalization of the oil industry and other reforms during the Lazaro Cardenas administration in Mexico and the

formation of the Popular Front government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda in Chile in a way marked the conclusion of a fruitful stage of accumulation of strength and experience. The scope of the struggle against fascism, against aggressive wars and imperialist plunder expanded.

The Second World War, which later developed into a war of peoples against fascist slavery, introduced certain changes in the situation in Latin America. The peoples of the world closed their ranks in the face of the brazen challenge of the fascist tyranny striving for world domination and the enslavement of nations in the interests of the most reactionary circles of imperialism. The anti-Hitler coalition was formed, bringing together in the war against fascism major imperialist powers and the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, which bore the brunt of the war.

As in the preceding period, so during the war, the Communist parties of Latin America strove, more or less successfully, to set up anti-fascist and anti-imperialist national fronts. An important part in this respect was played by the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. During the war, which ended in the peoples' impressive victory, to which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution, as well as in the postwar period, with the formation of the world socialist camp, important changes took place in many Latin American countries, facilitating the development of the labor movement and Communist parties, and the realization of important social reforms.

At the same time, North American imperialism used the wartime conditions to squeeze out its rivals and penetrate further into the southern part of Latin America, resorting to more subtle means. In 1947, it imposed the Rio de Janeiro Treaty, seeking to strengthen its political and military domination under cover of so-called pan-Americanism. Still, it was unable to prevent the aggravation of contradictions between imperialist monopolies and the interests of Latin American countries and their peoples at a time of growth of the local bourgeois sections interested in a policy of restricting imports, which resulted in relative industrialization.

After the war, U.S. imperialism began to impose its domination by increasingly brutal means. Relying on its economic strength and using atomic blackmail, it sought to establish its undivided rule over the world, thus bringing its interests in confrontation with those of the peoples of the whole world, and notably of the American continent. In 1947, U.S. imperialism launched the "cold war."

This policy found expression in the Marshall Plan and, especially,

the Truman Plan. Under the pretext of fighting communism, repressions were launched not only against the Communist parties of Latin America but also against all progressive, democratic forces opposed to undivided imperialist domination.

During the Second World War the United States expanded its influence over the armed forces of Latin America as a whole, subordinating them to its strategic concepts under the pretext of continental defense. Throughout the cold war it managed to maintain and strengthen its control by means of a crude invention that the struggle against "communist menace" meant continuation of the struggle against fascism. As a consequence, Colombian and Puerto Rican soldiers shed their blood in the monstrous aggression in Korea. The United States set itself a similar goal during the war in Vietnam, but the popular struggle prevented its implementation.

Throughout that period the mass protest movement in our countries rose to a new and higher level. Expressions of this were the revolutionary explosions of the early 1950s. In Bolivia, the popular uprising of April 9, 1952, resulted in the nationalization of mines, agrarian reform and the introduction of universal suffrage, though subsequently the revolutionary objectives were emasculated as a result of the surrender policies of the bourgeoisie. In Guatemala, the Jacobo Arbenz government's policy of agrarian reform, directed mainly against the United Fruit Company, showed the mounting resolve of Latin America's popular patriotic forces to get rid of foreign oppression and overthrow national traitors. A new upsurge of the democratic movement was registered in the British colonies of the Caribbean. A major achievement was the decisive victory of the Progressive People's Party of Guyana in the April 1953 elections; the government formed by it remained in office for 133 days, after which it was deposed by the British imperialists. On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro with a group of comrades attacked the Moncada Barracks; the subsequent legendary guerrilla war in the Sierra Maestra mountains marked the beginning of a decisive leap in the history of Latin America: the revolutionary process that culminated in the victory of January 1, 1959.

III

The Cuban revolution meant a historic change in the life of Latin America.

When, after six years of continuous battles that had begun with the assault on the Moncada Barracks the rebel army entered Havana, U.S. imperialists hoped they could easily place the movement under

the traditional control of Washington and ultimately destroy it. However, under the leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades, the victory over Batista led to the creation of the first free territory in America, and shortly afterwards to the appearance of the first socialist country on the continent.

The armed struggle against the tyrannical regime united the vast majority of the people, led to the creation of a new, genuinely popular government, and contributed to such revolutionary transformations as the agrarian reform and nationalization, as well as to an independent foreign policy.

The hatred of the imperialists concentrated on Cuba. They wanted to paralyze the country's life by cutting off fuel supplies and establishing a trade embargo. Assassination plots against the country's leaders, sabotage and armed provocations were organized. When all these attempts failed the imperialists launched a wide-scale adventure conceived, prepared and officially supported by the CIA and the Pentagon. But, at the Bay of Pigs imperialism suffered its first military defeat in Latin America.

Imperialism's stubborn desire to attack Cuba, including serious discussions of the possibility of direct aggression by armed forces, led to the October crisis of 1962. After that, despite its arrogant stand and falsification of facts, imperialism was compelled to commit itself to refrain from attacking Cuba. As a result of this, and because imperialism's armed forces were tied down in Southeast Asia, while the revolution rapidly gained in strength, the Cuban people were guaranteed security and they escaped the tremendous destruction and sacrifice of millions of their sons which would apparently have been inevitable in the event of direct U.S. intervention.

The heroic resistance and readiness to fight demonstrated by the working class and people of Cuba, the firm, bold and correct leadership of Fidel Castro, the international solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and the whole world, the solidarity of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, which supplied weapons and fuel and rendered political, technical and economic support, made it possible for the Cuban revolution to become an irreversible social factor in Latin American life.

The Cuban revolution demolished the myth of geographical fatalism exploited by imperialism, the oligarchy and reformist bourgeoisie to consolidate their rule, as well as by those who would like to force our peoples to be content with reforms and give up the road of revolutionary change.

Far from preventing the deepening of the Cuban revolution, the imperialist aggression accelerated it. The program set forth in the memorable speech at the Moncada trial showed that in our time all Latin Americans aspiring for the independence and progress of their countries must achieve this through genuine social change. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro the forces in Cuba guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism achieved unity with those that came to accept them on the basis of their own revolutionary experience; that unity is an example for all revolutionary movements in Latin America.

In April 1961, in response to the imperialist military aggression, Fidel Castro urged the Cubans to defend the socialist revolution under the slogan: "Country or death! We shall win!" Those who gave their lives at the Bay of Pigs fought under the glorious banners of socialism.

Thus, thanks to revolutionary unity and positive changes in the international situation made possible by the successes of socialism and the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, Cuba's transition to the new system took place very quickly, as a result of the swift development of favorable factors.

Fourteen years after the events at the Bay of Pigs, Cuba's achievements, its successes in the economy and its profoundly democratic system are in sharp contrast with the poverty, backwardness and oppressed status of most Latin American peoples.

Cuba's education program is admired today not only by developing countries but by specialists in the most advanced countries: 99.5 per cent of the children of junior school age are attending primary schools. Every year 150,000 children enter secondary schools, where the total number of pupils is now almost 500,000, as compared with barely 80,000 before the revolution. Hundreds of excellent boarding schools, where almost 200,000 children are studying, are the pride of the Cuban people. The system of combining instruction with work adopted in rural high schools, technical schools, polytechnical and technical institutes and university preparatory courses helps foster highly qualified specialists whose respect for work is part of the moral and political outlook that has made the Cuban youth an example in the conditions of the crisis faced by young people in imperialist countries and in underdeveloped and developing countries.

In 1973, Cuba's secondary technical schools turned out 12,000 graduates; there are more than 65,000 college and university students, 3.5 times more than before the revolution.

Although over 3,000 medical workers were lured away from Cuba by U.S. imperialism, there are now 10,300 doctors in Cuba, a figure

which places it among the three leading countries of Latin America. Most impressive is the decline in the annual mortality rate in Cuba, which is now only six per thousand of the population. Such endemic diseases as poliomyelitis and malaria have been completely eliminated,

Guaranteed food supplies for the whole population have played an important part in raising health standards. Cuba occupies third place in Latin America in protein consumption, and within five years it will attain the level of developed countries. Thanks to the fair distribution of incomes under socialism, and consequently the more even distribution of basic foods among the population (with one exception: the revolution gives preferential treatment to children, juveniles and old people), the index of per capita consumption in Cuba is realistic. In developed countries of the capitalist world — where there are now more than 100 million unemployed — that index conceals tremendous inequalities. As a consequence of physical education, good health and good nutrition, Cuba occupies a leading place in Latin America in the promotion of sport.

The material changes wrought by the Cuban revolution are enormous. In 15 years electric power production capacities increased almost fourfold. Cement production rose threefold, and before 1980 it will become six times the 1959 level. The capacity of water reservoirs has increased 200 times as compared with the early post-revolutionary days. The length of highways has increased 2.5 times. In 1970, the building industry's output was estimated at 339 million Cuba pesos. In 1974, it exceeded 1.2 billion (in constant prices), and in 1980 it will exceed 3 billion, a more than eightfold increase in 10 years.

A new geographical distribution of farm crops is being introduced in accordance with the principles of local specialization and national diversification, taking into account chemical and physical soil structures and topography. Cuba has consolidated its sugar industry and intends to expand it on the basis of intensive cultivation of sugar cane and maximum mechanization of harvesting. Milk production is being raised through the use of artificial insemination to improve the breed of the bulk of dairy cattle. The annual fish catch, which was little more than 20,000 tons at the beginning of the revolutionary period, has reached 200,000 tons. The dead weight tonnage of the merchant marine shot up from 57,000 tons in 1958 to 586,000 tons in 1974.

Initially, the revolutionary leadership of Cuba based its economic strategy on the development of agriculture. Its plans also provided for

the growth of the sectors of industry supplying agriculture and processing vegetable and livestock products.

Fertilizer production is more than 660,000 tons and will soon double. Output of pasteurized milk has increased fourfold. A single new plant will be capable of processing up to one million litres of milk a day.

Cuba has launched a second stage of its development strategy, in which the accent will be on industrialization. In the coming 10 years annual output of nickel will increase from 36,000 to almost 150,000 tons. A petrochemical-based plastics industry will be founded, and the foundations of the iron and steel industry will be built, with its output expected to increase fourfold. The textile industry, with a capacity of 110 million square metres a year, has doubled, and by 1980 it will produce more than 300 million sq.m. Construction of a factory for the manufacture of sugar-cane harvesters has begun; it will produce 600 harvester combines a year, each one capable of cutting and loading some 100,000 tons of cane a day. A heavy industry will be set up to build sugar refineries, and the car industry will be further developed.

Production of tires and household electrical appliances (television sets, refrigerators, etc.) will also expand considerably.

But these are not all the transformations carried out by the Cuban revolution. The best example for the Latin American brothers (especially the working class) is that Cuba has done away with such evils as unemployment, racial discrimination, prostitution, gambling and begging and freed the people of imperialist humiliation and de-personalization.

Cuba is now engaged in the organizational consolidation of the socialist system it has chosen and is developing. These days millions of Cubans are discussing the draft Constitution, which will be finally drafted by the First Congress of the Communist Party and then submitted to a popular referendum. In addition, there is the successful experience with popular government bodies in Matanzas Province with the aim of finding the most suitable ways of direct democratic participation of the people in both the activities of political institutions and the management of local enterprises,

Cuba is reorganizing the system of economic management and political and administrative division in order to adapt to the new social conditions.

Today the Cuban people are a remarkable symbol of revolutionary unity, national and international awareness, ascendant culture and ethics. They have advanced their revolution, defended it on all fronts,

reorganized and confidently expanded the crisis-free economy, and asserted fraternal ties with other socialist countries and all states opposed to imperialism. The Cuban revolution marks a sharp turn in the struggle against imperialist domination on the continent, making it much broader and deeper in character. It exercises a considerable influence on international affairs.

IV

The victory of the Cuban revolution and the popular struggle compelled the Washington rulers to resort to other ways and means of maintaining their domination in Latin America. Imperialism set up the Alliance for Progress.

When, in 1962, Washington imposed Cuba's expulsion from the OAS it believed that the program of reforms within the framework of the Alliance and the promise of financial aid would be sufficient to create a counterweight to the Cuban revolution, which it tried to strangle at the very beginning by economic blockade, political isolation and military aggression.

Washington chose the Eduardo Frei government as a "democratic" counterweight to Cuba, saying that it was opposed to the Cuban experience because of its allegedly totalitarian character. Imperialism helped to overthrow Goulart in Brazil and the People's Progressive Party Government in Guyana in 1964 because they refused to back its attacks on Cuba. At the same time it backed Frei and other regimes like his.

However, it was not long before history showed that Latin America's real path of development is not reformist surrender or begging for "aid" from monopolies, but political determination to achieve economic independence and carry out far-reaching changes.

Frei tried to save the positions of capitalism in Chile and prevent a popular revolution and the establishment of socialism. He did this not in the old way but by using new methods and new language, leaving the interests and privileges of the oligarchy and imperialism intact. His government drifted more and more on to conservative positions until it became frankly reactionary. Similar experiments in Peru, Venezuela and other countries were exposed through the popular struggle. This struggle, inspired by the example of the Cuban revolution, the victories of world socialism, actions of the working class and democratic forces in developed capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in other parts of the world, took the most diverse directions. It was carried on in the universities, the

streets, the trade unions and factories. Guerrilla units were formed in the mountains and plains, and some of them continue fighting courageously to this day.

The mass movement in which the working class takes a decisive part is steadily developing. Stoppages, partial and general strikes, the occupation of factories and workers' demonstrations merge in one stream the struggle against wage freezes and cuts, for a higher standard of living, against dismissals, in defense of the right of association, against repression, for the liberties and democratic gains. Developing at the same time are a powerful peasant movement for land and vigorous struggles by the students and the people for the nationalization of the main resources, now in imperialist hands.

The forms of social and political development in Latin America are as varied as the extent of participation of various sections of the people in the direct implementation of political and social changes. Nor is the class content of this development the same everywhere. Nevertheless, it is invariably evidence of a new reality on our continent in which the possibilities of forming democratic governments opposed to imperialism and pursuing a progressive social policy are increasing.

The Communists and other revolutionary forces of Latin America will benefit from the experience of this period since changes taking place in the course of revolutionary upheavals reveal the depth of the crisis of imperialist domination in Latin America and the perspective of the victorious struggle by our peoples. In April 1965 a popular uprising led by Colonel Francisco Caamano and other revolutionary officers broke out in the Dominican Republic. It dealt a blow to imperialist domination in that fraternal country. By sending a large force, the United States prevented the victory of the revolution in spite of the people's staunch resistance over a long period.

On October 3, 1968, a revolutionary government of the armed forces was formed in Peru. It immediately entered into conflict with imperialism and the oligarchy by opting for firm protection of the national interests, social progress, an independent foreign policy and solidarity with the peoples fighting for national independence.

On October 11 of the same year, as a result of the popular struggle which ended attempts to transfer more territories to the United States, the National Guard of Panama took power into its hands, removed reactionary, pro-U.S. forces and proceeded to carry out deep-going changes. The new government set up local government bodies of the people, guaranteed the free activity of popular organiza-

tions and officially committed itself to struggle for the complete restitution of the Canal Zone, and against U.S. monopolies.

In Ecuador the armed forces, which came to power in February 1972, announced a new government program whose main provisions are defense of national sovereignty, recovery of the country's natural resources, especially the oil fields and fisheries, and independent economic development. At present this government, which is backed by the people, counters the conspiracies of multinational monopolies and their local agents.

This process went further with the victory of the Chilean working-class and popular movement and its assumption of power in the 1970 presidential election. The people owed their victory to sustained mass struggles in every public sphere. They won because they had united around a correct policy exposing the people's main enemies — imperialism, monopoly and the landed oligarchy — and pointing out the direction in which the main blow had to be struck. The working class set up Popular Unity, a united political and social front, which succeeded thanks to that correct policy in taking the management of the country into its own hands, as well as in partly winning political power. The people's movement paved the way for revolutionary changes in society through tough battles for power with the traditional ruling classes and imperialism. However, the people's enemies contrived by using fascist methods to restore their rule for a time.

In view of the failure of the Alliance for Progress, imperialism put forward the Johnson Doctrine. It fell back mainly on its old methods of intervention and used the CIA as an instrument of espionage and provocation.

That notorious imperialist agency, which acts hand-in-glove with subservient regimes and reactionary quarters against revolutionary or even just progressive governments, engineered the overthrow of Guatemala's democratic government and has for 20 years directed the systematic destruction of thousands of patriots, among whom were numerous members of the Guatemalan Party of Labor and its two staunch General Secretaries, Comrades Bernardo Alvarado Monzon and Humberto Alvarado. In 1969, the leaders and hundreds of rank-and-file members of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists were murdered according to CIA plans. The CIA organized the Bay of Pigs landing, operated against Goulart, took part in the coup against the progressive government under General Torres in Bolivia, planned a coup in Uruguay and took part in every reactionary conspiracy hatched in Latin American countries. Prominent in the CIA's sinister

activities is the planning of subversive operations, such as the one carried out on instructions from the State Department against the Popular Unity government of Chile with a view to establishing a fascist dictatorship. One can see that CIA activities are manifold and vary from attempts to thwart the victory of popular forces in Chile and the assumption of the Presidency by Salvador Allende to what is "technically" known as the "loosening" of governments and liberation movements to bring about a coup by a clique of traitor-generals prepared to exercise power by the most brutal fascist methods.

The deterioration of the general crisis of capitalism, which is completely unable to resolve it, prompts the more aggressive sections of monopoly capital to resort to fascism.

President Ford admitted in cynical statements that the U.S. government had been directing subversion on the continent. Besides, he arrogantly claimed the right to go on doing so "in the best interest" of his country.

The Chilean experience is, first of all, clear evidence of the validity of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the old classes do not relinquish power of their own free will but, on the contrary, cling grimly to it. It also confirms the leading role of the working class and the need to avoid its isolation in the struggle for social change. It confirms the necessity for a policy of broad and flexible alliances and reveals that anti-imperialist coalition forces must have a united, firm and homogeneous leadership. The Chilean experience shows plainly that the revolutionary movement must reject none of the ways of democratic advance to power but must, on the other hand, be fully prepared to defend democratic gains by force of arms.

The U.S. imperialists and the Latin American oligarchy imagined that the assassination of Salvador Allende and the defeat of Popular Unity would make it easy for them to regain positions on the continent. Yet the fascist military junta increasingly finds itself in conflict with the people and in international isolation while the struggle on the continent gains in scope.

The Communist Party of Chile was correct in pointing out that the measures carried out by the Allende government — nationalization of major copper mines, establishment of a state sector out of the nationalized monopolies, nationalization of the banks, an accelerated agrarian reform, redistribution of incomes in favor of the working people, successes in solving the housing problems, in public health and education, an independent foreign policy, and, especially, bringing about a greater participation of the people in the administra-

tion of national affairs by strengthening the trade unions, the United Trade Union Center of Working People, workers' bodies for co-managing enterprises, supply and price committees, and so on — underscore the thoroughly national and popular revolutionary character of the government.

In spite of a temporary setback, these achievements are an invaluable legacy for the Chilean people. And even though the fascist junta has temporarily done away with them, they will remain a banner of the working class and the masses in their struggle.

Imperialist efforts to influence developments in Peru in favor of conciliation have borne no fruit. The consolidation of the state sector of the economy, initial steps to create public property, a deepening agrarian reform, the abolition of the oligarchy's monopoly of the mass media and the recognition of Quechua as an official language are typical of the government's policies, whose purpose is ever closer unity between the armed forces and the people.

The Panamanian government refuses to give in to threats. It strengthens its links with the people, insists on its just demand for the restoration of Panama's legitimate right to the canal, and takes new steps against neo-colonialism by providing for the nationalization of banana plantations. The position of Panama is a spur to other liberation processes in the area.

Meanwhile there are new signs of a structural and political crisis in Latin America in regard to its relations with imperialism.

In the late 1940s the Mexican bourgeoisie began to sell out national interests to imperialism. It was then that an economic alliance was formed between an influential section of the Mexican big bourgeoisie and multinational companies, with the result that U.S. capital rapidly made its way into Mexico and brought a substantial part of the country's economy under its control. It was difficult for the middle bourgeoisie to resist the monopoly power of big "Mexicanized" multinational companies. However, this policy failed in its turn.

Mexico's big bourgeoisie is searching for a way out of a growing economic, social and political crisis by merging government and private capital with imperialist capital, as well as by pursuing a foreign policy that promotes exports. In the present international situation, the Mexican people's solidarity with fraternal peoples helps the country to adopt constructive foreign policy positions.

Mexico is the only Latin American state to have refused to break relations with revolutionary Cuba and in late years it has been carrying on a friendly policy toward that country.

For Venezuela, the discovery of new vast oil-bearing areas means that it must choose between placing the nation's riches at the service of U.S. companies and taking them into its own hands. Venezuela's decision to protect its natural resources angered the U.S. President. The Venezuelan President, relying on the country's patriotic forces for support firmly resisted Ford's threats. Oil nationalization will — in spite of the limitations of the relevant legislation now under discussion in parliament — constitute an important step toward taking the people's most important riches back from foreign monopolies.

In Argentina, where the situation is complicated, the people maintain their militant anti-imperialist spirit, which found expression in the vast scale of their struggle and in the victory achieved in the 1973 elections. The people are fighting to preserve the freedoms they still have and regain those they have lost, bar the way to the fascist-minded rightists and create conditions for fulfilling the program of agreed measures for which the people voted in the elections and for establishing genuine democracy in the country.

In Central America a growing revolutionary movement sets itself more and more explicitly anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist tasks. A positive factor for this is the numerical growth of the working class, the increasing strength of its organizations and its growing militancy, the ever more resolute struggle of peasants and agricultural workers and the involvement of part of the middle strata in the fight for democratic and revolutionary objectives. The formation of broad anti-oligarchic and democratic fronts in some countries, the existence of progressive elements in the armies of some countries, the formation of an alliance of banana producing countries, the cooperation of several countries in the Caribbean Shipping Company and the Latin American Economic System, and the growing isolation of the more reactionary section of the armed forces as well as of the Somoza Dictatorship, the main watchdog of imperialist interests in the region, are all indications of unquestionable gains in the struggle going on in Central America.

With the failure of such forms of economic integration as the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Andean Pact was signed in 1969. Thanks to the provision on the statute of foreign capital, included into this pact, it may become, under popular pressure, a factor helping the signatory countries to fight against U.S. investments and dependence on imperialism in the technological sphere.

The Caribbean countries belonging to the British Commonwealth gained political independence at a later stage than the rest of Latin

America, but soon found themselves under neo-colonialist rule. In these countries, too, the contradiction between the interests of new states and those of imperialism makes itself felt. The governments of Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana and Trinidad have begun to participate actively in the Latin American community, adopting a more and more explicit and constructive attitude.

In Guadeloupe and Martinique, the masses are stepping up their struggle in unity for the independence of their countries, applying the principle of self-determination against French colonialism and its allies, in particular U.S. imperialism and multinational monopolies.

This struggle, which varies in character, is unfolding irresistibly everywhere. Instances of it are the resistance to the dictatorship in Uruguay which took the form of a courageous 15-day general strike in reply to the June 1973 coup, the gains of the movement for trade union and popular unity in Colombia, the revealing results of the general election in Brazil in November 1974 and unrelenting struggles against brutal tyranny in Bolivia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti and Paraguay.

Cuba, whose victory is final, is virtually piercing the political blockade, while the Organization of American States set up by Washington as, in effect, a colonial ministry for Latin America, is becoming completely ineffectual for imperialism. This is an indisputable result of the struggle of peoples — the working class and the middle strata. It is also due to the splendid example of revolutionary Cuba.

V

Changes taking place in Latin America are part of a worldwide trend toward progress, a trend developing in the age of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. These changes interact with other aspects of the new international situation characterized by the growing strength of socialism, a weakening imperialism, the failure of the cold war policy and the beginning of international détente.

The cold war was used in an effort to justify the U.S. imperialists' open interference in the affairs of Latin America, as in the case of the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. The current détente removes the pretexts used by imperialism in the past. It is primarily a result of the changed balance of international forces. The fact that the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, of which the Soviet Union is the original and principal component, are going from strength to strength is a decisive factor for international détente and

for making it irreversible. The military and economic might and political influence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries serve a meaningful and consistent peace policy.

An outstanding manifestation of the new balance of world forces is the Vietnamese people's great victory over U.S. imperialist aggression, a victory which ranks among the major events since the defeat of fascism in 1945. This victory, which has brought Vietnam complete national independence and paved the way for its peaceful unification, is admired by all peoples. It is, first of all, an expression of the bravery and glory of the Vietnamese people, who throughout 30 years of war fought under the wise and firm leadership of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, founded and led by the immortal President Ho Chi Minh.

That victory stresses the importance of the ability to combine armed, political and diplomatic struggle. It also shows that the support of the socialist community and international solidarity, in particular the progressive people in the United States, are decisive today. In Laos, Cambodia and, above all, Vietnam, U.S. imperialism suffered the most ignominious defeat in its history, which provides peoples will still greater opportunities to fight for national and social emancipation, democracy, progress and world peace.

The crisis of the Portuguese colonial system caused by the oppressed peoples' courageous resistance led, in conjunction with the no less courageous struggle of the working class and people of Portugal, to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by the Armed Forces Movement. It was a new important indication of the present alignment of world forces favorable to the popular fight for democracy, socialism and peace.

On April 25, 1974, the Portuguese people completed a protracted struggle in which the working class and its Communist Party has fought in the forefront. The process which resulted in eliminating an old fascist tyranny backed by international imperialism created the prerequisites of Portugal's advance to socialism on the basis of an alliance of the Armed Forces Movement and popular organizations. Solidarity with new Portugal is a duty of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. Almost simultaneously there occurred so significant an event as the overthrow of the Athens fascist dictatorship by the people, a development precipitated by NATO intrigues against the independence of Cyprus.

Imperialism is retreating step by step but it has not renounced its claim to hegemony, nor will it do so. International détente has a long

and arduous path to travel. It is the consistent policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and cooperation among nations that have prevented the forces of war, reaction and aggression from cutting short positive processes in the world. This struggle, which extends to every sphere and is particularly bitter in the ideological field, is bound to continue. Aggressive elements insist on the arms race, do all in their power to handicap the struggle of peoples for freedom and democracy and their aspirations, and interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. In the United States itself they take advantage of official decisions to pursue a provocative policy toward the Soviet Union.

This conference emphatically condemns the foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, which flirts with U.S. imperialism, declares for its presence in Asia and Europe, justifies the existence of NATO, encourages West German imperialism and revanchism, assails and slanders the Soviet Union with the same fury as the most vicious spokesmen of international reaction, tries to incite the aggressive militarism of the world bourgeoisie against it and follows a reckless cold war policy against the heroic Soviet people. The most disastrous expression of this policy of the Chinese leadership in Latin America is its shameless collusion with the Chilean military junta, which it supports politically in spite of the fact that thousands of Communists, Socialists and other patriots were atrociously tortured to death by the fascist tyranny. Furthermore, the Chinese leadership backs everywhere groups of pseudo-revolutionaries posing as "radicals," who split left-wing forces, attack Communist parties, raise obstacles to progressive processes and often act as enemy agents in the revolutionary movement.

It is the duty of every Communist party of Latin America to fight against this policy of betraying the cause of unity and solidarity and the finest traditions of the world revolutionary movement.

Added to the military and political reverses of imperialism today is a deep crisis affecting the entire imperialist system and threatening its stability. There are many millions of unemployed in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The U.S. imperialists tried to reduce the scale of the economic crisis by financing the Vietnam war but the end result was the opposite. The present painful intensification of the crisis, in which the contradictory trends of economic stagnation and mounting inflation intermingle, narrows the imperialists' field of action in spite of the flooding of European financial structures with "Eurodollars," a currency policy which tries to keep

the purchasing power of the dollar at a higher level than is possible at present, and a trade policy which forces underdeveloped countries to sell their raw materials at low prices whereas the prices of the manufactured goods they have to purchase are going up.

In trying to conceal the nature of the economic crisis, the imperialists accused underdeveloped oil-producing countries of disrupting the international economy by raising the prices of this important fuel.

Defense of the right of oil-producing countries to fix oil prices is part of the underdeveloped countries' reply to the non-equivalent exchange which doomed them to an ever more intolerable lag behind developed industrial countries of the capitalist world. The increase in oil prices was followed by the underdeveloped countries' efforts to coordinate the production and sale of all their raw materials in order to ensure that they acquire in international trade a value commensurate with the benefit they bring and comparable to the prices of manufactured goods.

The condition of capitalism is undoubtedly worsening as a result of a serious strain on the balance of payments of some major countries of the West and Japan and the growth of world oil prices.

On the other hand, while the prices of manufactured goods and fuels have been rising, those of almost all other products and raw materials, whose sale is a source of revenue to the vast majority of underdeveloped countries, such as those of Latin America, have been going down.

However, the roots of the world economic crisis lie in contradictions which are inherent in the capitalist system of production and have been aggravated by wastefulness in the economy, the cold war started after World War II, the arms race and a budget deficit caused by financing military expenditures and armed ventures of imperialism.

Socialist Cuba has proposed a correct policy through its leader, Fidel Castro. It considers that the extra funds derived by oil-producing countries from higher oil prices should not be invested in imperialist countries but chiefly in their own economy and should also be offered in the form of credits on fair terms to underdeveloped countries to solve their balance-of-payment problems and foster their economic growth.

There can be no doubt that if the oil-producing countries need the solidarity of other underdeveloped countries they should, for their part, identify themselves most explicitly in the economic sphere with

non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries. The situation of non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries is becoming more and more critical because of the growing prices of the manufactured goods and fuels they need and of an alarming decline in the prices of their export items, which forces them to bear the brunt of the world crisis. These problems call for the most serious economic analysis and necessitate a search for correct and fair solutions.

The selfish position and wasteful practices of some oil-producing countries and the fact that they invest vast financial surpluses in the economy of imperialist countries are not conducive to joint efforts and solidarity of the peoples exploited by imperialism and, indeed, facilitate its devious maneuvers.

The peoples reject and condemn the solution which the more aggressive U.S. imperialists urge by threatening aggression in retaliation for the oil-producing countries' protection of their oil prices. In a speech which he delivered in Detroit and which was condemned by world public opinion, the U.S. President himself recalled with nostalgia the days when the great imperialist powers settled with the aid of their armies the problem of obtaining raw materials from poor and backward countries. Those days have gone never to return. Today, the underdeveloped countries' resolute measures to protect their natural resources and the output of their agriculture and mining industry are a new aspect of the general crisis of imperialism.

The growing general crisis of capitalism, the effects of which monopolies try to put on the shoulders of underdeveloped countries, compels U.S. imperialism to use new, more refined methods of economic penetration. In particular, it tries to solve the serious problems of its Latin American policy by methods similar to those used in Chile. At the same time, however, the peoples are stepping up their resistance, and more favorable conditions are shaping for their struggle for independence.

The U.S. government is preparing to celebrate on a vast scale the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The false propaganda dedicated to the "spirit of 1776" says not a single word about the oppression of the Puerto Rican people, the dozens of landings of U.S. Marines in Latin American countries, the acts of violence which found their most infamous expression in the desecration of the José Martí memorial in Havana in 1950 or the seizure of Mexican territory through a war of conquest in the middle of the last century. This territory is inhabited by millions of Chicanos, who are oppressed just as brutally as the 2.5 million Puerto Ricans and other

Latin American immigrants, to say nothing of the 23 million Negroes who are still victims of the most disgusting racial discrimination more than a hundred years after the Civil War and Lincoln's death.

On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the United States, the peoples of Latin America express solidarity with the U.S. working class and people, to whom the power of capitalist monopoly is an enemy as well. They highly value the support of their anti-imperialist struggle by the progressive people in the United States. The monopolies amass immense wealth also through the exploitation of the working people of the United States. North American imperialism which makes our peoples suffer, turns the people of the United States into cannon fodder for its ventures, steps up repressions against them and threatens them with fascism and war.

VI

Under the present circumstances the great battle facing the people of Latin America must become the second and final battle for independence.

But Latin America's independence today cannot be seen simply as the continuation of the struggle for the objectives which inspired its heroes and peoples in the early 19th century and which, as we know, were frustrated. Ours is a historic moment when a sizable part of humanity has taken the road of socialist construction, with the Soviet Union already at its final stage, which will bring it to a communist society; when capitalism as a system is going through a deep socio-economic crisis, and imperialism, like a wounded and cornered beast, is trying to retain its hold over the colonial and dependent world that is escaping from under its influence by introducing neo-colonialist forms of domination in an attempt to postpone or mitigate its crisis.

The Latin American workers, farmers and other working people will not find a solution to the problems of unemployment, poverty, low wages, illiteracy, landlessness and social inequality simply by eliminating foreign exploitation. These problems can be conclusively resolved only by abolishing the exploitation on the part of the latifundists and bourgeoisie. This exploitation is being aggravated in a situation where the Latin American countries have to compete in disadvantageous conditions with the almost omnipotent imperialist corporations dominating the capitalist world market.

While the Soviet Union and Cuba — we take the experience of two countries differing in dimension and geographical position — provide a vivid example of successful economic growth despite foreign ag-

gression, blockade and attempts to keep them technologically backward, used more than half a century ago in an effort to strangle the nascent socialism and today to hamper the progress of revolutionary Cuba, there is not a single instance of successful economic and social advancement in the Asian, African and Latin American countries trying to achieve this along the capitalist road.

Without the decisive participation of the workers, peasants and urban and rural middle strata, our economies cannot develop at a rate necessary to resolve the serious problems of backwardness, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy. Our peoples, as seen in the Cuban example, can be resolutely mobilized only by carrying out profound transformations, which will demonstrate to the working people of town and country, the intellectuals and professionals that it is *their* revolution.

We Communists consider socialism the only system capable of ensuring the genuine and rapid development that our countries need. Cuba has shown to the fraternal peoples that in our time it is possible to begin building socialism on the American continent, and it has achieved striking successes. Socialism is our inalienable objective. But we Communists realize that socialism will become feasible in all Latin American countries only after a whole period of intensive struggle and radical transformations, after the working people have acquired practical experience as a result of the consistent and stubborn ideological struggle of all who aspire to socialism in overcoming the ideological deformations and confusion inculcated through the mass media and education dominated by imperialism and the oligarchies.

At the same time it is clear that the Latin American peoples cannot attain real progress without removing from political power the representatives of the classes and strata allied with imperialism. In our countries, profound socio-economic changes are impossible, not to speak of realizing socialism, without eliminating the oppression on the part of U.S. imperialism and the domination of transnational corporations.

The struggle for democracy for the popular masses, for vital structural reforms, and for the transition to socialism is inseparably linked with the fight against the monopolies and imperialism, which not only control our wealth, but also support and help the oligarchies and the oligarchic governments.

Since U.S. imperialism is our main and common enemy, the strategy and tactics of revolution in Latin America for those whose final

objective, like ours, is socialism, should be anti-imperialist in character. Therefore, we Communists judge the political positions of other Latin American forces mainly by their attitude to this enemy. Therefore, while continuing the struggle for democratic rights and for new structures inside our countries, we Communists are ready to support and encourage the stand of those Latin American governments who come out in defense of our natural resources or strive to frustrate the transnational companies' efforts to maintain and extend their domination over our economies.

True, not all measures in defense of the national economy are accompanied by a genuinely anti-imperialist policy. In some cases it is a question of bourgeois nationalism, which does not seek socio-economic changes and hampers the governments which carry them out to adopt a progressive stand on the principal problems of our time. As the popular masses decisively join the struggle and the contradictions between the nationalist governments and imperialism sharpen, the nationalists can be brought round to adopt anti-imperialist and revolutionary positions.

In some countries, defense of natural resources and efforts to wrest the economy from the hands of transnational companies are effectively linked with the program of social reforms. Where the government goes beyond nationalization of the wealth seized by imperialism and the popular program of economic development is implemented, as in Peru, the Communists — as they are doing in that country — can loyally and decisively support these measures. The fact that the Communists' concept of social development differs from the orientation of this program should not weaken their support for the above-mentioned government stand, and will not be an obstacle to joint solution of future problems.

The anti-imperialist struggle of Latin America for complete independence makes possible and calls for the participation of the broadest social strata. The leading role in this struggle belongs to the working class. Its natural allies are the working farmers. These are the social classes aspiring to the most profound transformations.

Though capitalism developed in Latin America in conditions of imperialist domination and dependence, it generated important changes in the social structure of the different countries.

Characteristic of Latin America is the growth of the urban and rural working class. There are now over 50 million wage and salary earners, or more than 60 per cent of the gainfully employed population of the continent. Approximately half of them are agricultural workers.

The structure of the working class has also changed, and its concentration at big factories has increased. All this has enhanced the role of the proletariat as the principal productive and socio-economic force.

At the same time, the working class is improving its organization and emerging as a social force capable of determining the political situation in various Latin American countries. The proletariat is striving to become the main factor cementing all other democratic and anti-imperialist social strata.

The struggle for full national liberation and economic independence is intertwined with the intensification of the class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign and local monopolies and the latifundia. Under the oppression of capital, the exploitation of the working class is increasing. In many Latin American countries wages are extremely low. The working-class share of the national income is progressively diminishing, as are real wages due to inflation and the steadily rising cost of living.

Experience of the Latin American revolutionary movement, abounding in heroic and militant actions, shows that the working class embodies the firmest principles of solidarity with the struggle of other peoples against imperialism, for the victory of the national-liberation revolution, for democracy and socialism.

Capitalist development also led to the growth of a reserve social army consisting of millions of unemployed and landless peasants, who are leaving the rural regions and flooding the big cities of the continent.

The agricultural workers, semi-proletarians, landless peasants, small owners, sharecroppers and all the impoverished strata of our countryside form a powerful contingent interested in changing the landowning system, and in profound economic and political reforms in our countries. Exploitation and destitution rouse them to numerous class actions, which are a component of the liberation struggle of our peoples.

The limited possibilities of agriculture and the narrow range of industrial development leave unemployed the masses of people who migrate from the rural areas to the urban zones, thereby augmenting the social groups without permanent occupation, housing or means of livelihood, who settle on the outskirts of big cities and, moreover, rapidly increase in many countries.

The social drama of these people — the inhabitants of the slums

and shantytowns — is a most flagrant manifestation of the unjust, oppressive and exploitative nature of capitalism.

Under working-class leadership many of these people can get rid of the demagogic influence of petty-bourgeois leaders and reactionary elements and rally not only to demand a solution of their vital problems but to contribute to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle.

The Latin American economy has also produced broad middle strata consisting not only of handicraftsmen and small traders, but also of people in the service sphere, the importance of which is increasing. Social instability induces them to join in political activity along with students, intellectuals, technicians, etc. In some cases, they join the Communist vanguard and the democratic and anti-imperialist movements or form groups of typically petty-bourgeois radical leanings. Others form reactionary groups, which are penetrated by the CIA and used by the oligarchy as a shock force. In Chile these strata supported the fascist coup. All this underlines the need for persistent struggle to win the middle strata to the side of the proletariat, bearing in mind its dynamic role in Latin America as a whole.

The example of Latin American governments which resist imperialism and advocate programs of genuine national liberation shows that the anti-imperialist liberation struggle on the continent can rely on the support of social forces and elements who, because of their contradictions with imperialism, ally themselves with the progressive forces, and whom the latter must take into account.

As a result of the economic process under way in Latin America, the top section of the local bourgeoisie has become so intertwined with imperialism and dependent on it for its own growth and invigoration that it has, in fact, developed into a component of the imperialist mechanism of domination in their own countries.

This was the case with the Cuban bourgeoisie engaged in the sugar industry, and in imports, and the same is true of a sizable part of the Mexican, Argentinian, Colombian and Brazilian bourgeoisie, which have adopted monopoly positions and are connected with the imperialist corporations dominating the economies of their countries. This denationalized bourgeoisie advocates dependence and opposes the anti-imperialist process. Even when differences or clashes arise between this bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and its imperialist companions, on the other, its class interests induce it to seek conciliation, while opposing government intentions to break the strangling fetters

of foreign domination. Some representatives of this bourgeoisie align with the big latifundists, with whom they are interrelated economically, creating a local pro-imperialist oligarchy, which opposes the interests of the working class and farmers as well as the middle strata and other bourgeois circles concerned in the development of the internal market and in national progress.

But this does not mean that among the Latin American bourgeoisie there are none who, conscious of the contradiction between their interests and those of imperialism, adopt a position converging with that of the proletariat, farmers and the other non-capitalist sections in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the fight for economic independence and complete national sovereignty. Consequently, these bourgeois strata can participate in the common democratic and anti-imperialist actions along with the other people.

The Communist parties and other fighters against imperialism and for social progress in Latin America attach great importance to such a possibility, remembering that, though varying in scope throughout the continent, it constitutes an essential part of their complex, multifarious and difficult struggle.

It would be wrong to ignore the limitation and vacillation of these bourgeois strata regarding their participation in the anti-imperialist process. The Latin American bourgeoisie has long ago lost its ability to play a leading role, which belongs to the proletariat. It is incapable of bringing the new struggle for independence to the end. The drawing of new forces and organizations representing these bourgeois strata into the broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle is of immense importance; but this must not be done for the sake of transient compromises and to the detriment of the main alliance — the alliance of the working class, farmers, working people in general and middle strata — or the class independence of the proletariat.

In recent years profound ideological, political and social changes have occurred among important forces that in the past were tools of the oligarchy and imperialism, changes that are converting them into progressive elements, with even a revolutionary potential.

These changes are noticeable among the armed forces of some Latin American countries. A movement with revolutionary roots and content led by a considerable group of high-ranking army officers is developing in Peru, and a movement initiated by National Guard leaders in Panama and gaining in strength, clearly reflect the intensifying general crisis of the imperialist system of oppression and the growing patriotic awareness.

It is now more difficult for imperialism to convince people that internal repression is aimed at safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and not at maintaining the privileges of a small minority of local and foreign citizens. It will not be easy for the U.S. and its OAS to use Latin American forces as they did only 10 years ago, during the armed intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Dominican Republic, which was heroically resisted by the Dominican army units loyal to the Constitution.

The process under way in the armed forces is complex. Imperialism is trying hard to increase its influence among them in order to use the reactionary elements and to sow illusions of rapid enrichment among officials of people's origin whom it seeks to bribe. As the popular struggle grows, imperialism increasingly resorts to military coups in order to establish a reactionary or fascist dictatorship. But when troops are led out of the barracks and placed above society, when soldiers are forced to kill their brother workers and farmers, when those trained to handle arms for the defense of their country are turned into torturers, then the ideological struggle increases in the armed forces. Officers who sense that the oligarchy with its monopoly of political power is betraying the patriotic ideals on which many of them were educated, are beginning to realize that reason and justice are not on the side of those whose privileges they defend.

Ever broader circles of the Latin American military, poisoned by anti-communism in the process of barrack-type indoctrination linked with imperialist and reactionary influence, are prompted by life to understand the deception around them and the failure of the ideology and practice of anti-communism.

Christians, the Catholics in particular, the clergy and even some church dignitaries are taking an increasingly active part in the popular struggle for national and social progress. They are inspired by the idea of the Church siding with the people, as in Brazil and in some other countries, and rejecting any compromise with reaction and imperialism. Church dignitaries come out against fascist terror, for democratic rights and social progress.

The movements of priests and parishioners, who are sensitive to the problems of the working people and the entire country, make a notable contribution. They become convinced by their own experience of the need for joint actions against common enemies. These sometimes take the form of active protest, as exemplified by Camilo Torres, killed during guerrilla action, who heroically fought against anti-communism and for popular unity.

It was, primarily, the upsurge of the popular struggle that led to the appearance of three Christian trends in Latin America: conservative, reformist and progressive. The reformist and progressive trends represent the great majority, and work among them is possible and necessary everywhere.

The dialogue between believers and Marxists promotes united action in the struggle for profound transformations, against imperialism and the fascist menace and lays the foundation for a strong alliance on the road to building a new society.

In the context of the Latin American peoples' struggle, defense of democratic organizations and the people's rights acquires especial importance. Full national independence, which presupposes the rout and elimination of the ruling oligarchies, is inseparably linked with the struggle for genuine democracy.

The progressive forces, including the Communists, have defended and continue to defend the representative and democratic bodies and in some countries, despite the machinations and violence of the reactionaries, they have been able to secure popular participation in parliament for prolonged periods, making it possible to use parliament in combination with the struggle outside it. The experience of the Chilean elections, which brought the Popular Unity parties to power, shows that democratic forms can be used by the working class and the entire people. At the same time, this experience confirms that imperialism and the oligarchy completely disregard the democratically expressed will of the people.

Abolition of the democratic rights of the working class and the entire people, use of troops against the working-class movement, establishment of brutal dictatorships have always been the tactics of imperialism and oligarchies in the Latin American countries in their fight to maintain their dominance on the continent.

Thanks to the growing awareness of workers and farmers, the radicalization of various groups of the middle strata, the drawing of broad Christian strata into the struggle of left forces, and because in some countries the military are less and less willing to participate in suppressing their own brothers, the crisis of imperialist domination, sparked by the Cuban revolution, has been sharpening in Latin America over recent years. Against the background of this crisis, the peoples' struggle in all its forms is gaining momentum. Because of this, imperialism and its Latin American servitors — without abandoning traditional methods of domination wherever they can still be used — are more and more openly resorting to such brutal forms

and methods as in Chile. U.S. imperialism, which masterminded these regimes, is offering them its own repressive bodies as instructors of those who have been assigned to commit the most horrible atrocities.

The criminal blow at Chile points to the urgency of uniting ranks for the struggle in defense of democracy, against any fascist threat in Latin America, and to the indissoluble link of this struggle with the anti-imperialist struggle.

The link between the fight for democratic rights and the struggle for socialism has been obvious from the very outset when Marx and Engels worked out the thesis of the incipient European communist movement's participation in the 1848-49 revolutions, and in the struggle for the democratization and liberation of Europe. Lenin brilliantly developed this thesis on their close relation, later mentioned at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

The Communists of Latin America and the Caribbean countries are fighting for genuine democracy based on the power of the working class and the popular masses, on complete freedom, the abolition of private property in the basic means of production, i.e., for socialist democracy. However, they are not nor can they be indifferent to the destinies of relatively democratic regimes, even though the latter do not correspond to the demands of genuine and complete democracy, for which the Communists are striving.

We Communists will always join forces with all those who support democracy, who come out against the fascist atrocities of people like Pinochet, Banzer, Somoza, Stroessner, Laugerud, Duvalier, Bordaberry and the Brazilian "gorillas." At the same time, we do not agree that defense of bourgeois democracy against the fascist threat means renunciation of social progress and acceptance of injustice. Unity in the struggle for democracy is broader than the unity of revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with which is it dialectically connected. The path of revolutionary reforms in Latin America presupposes coordinated and sustained struggle, in which the battles against fascism, in defense of democracy, against imperialism and oligarchies, and also the active participation of the people in political life comprise a single process.

VII

The immediate continuous struggle for the economic, political and social rights of the masses is inseparable from the struggle for national and social liberation.

The Communists maintain ties with the masses in the trade union movement, they understand its urgent requirements, help formulate its demands and impart genuine class content to the struggle.

Trade union unity, conceived and promoted as the forging of a broader front including all forces of the trade union movement, helps, as indicated by a vast amount of experience, to draw new legions of fighters from among the workers and other social strata into the great struggle for social progress.

The trade union movement is a vitally important element of the forces fighting for the national and social liberation of Latin American countries. There can be no democracy without respect for the rights of the working class. All democratic and anti-imperialist forces have a stake in trade union freedom, in the right to strike, in trade union democracy and independence. The main thing is to establish a powerful organized and united trade union movement at the factories, up to the highest echelons.

United action is essential for strengthening trade union unity; it can be achieved by the joint efforts of all those who wish to see the working class perform its historic mission. Overcoming divisions is of prime importance, not only for the working class, but for the whole progressive democratic movement, and it is the way to overcome anti-communism.

The struggle for democratic agrarian reform, which in most Latin American countries is closely linked with the fight for national and social liberation, is a task of the whole revolutionary and progressive movement and one of the prime elements in the alliance of workers and peasants.

The democratic agrarian reform sets the following basic aims: abolition of large private land holdings and semi-feudal forms of exploitation; transfer of the land gratis to those who till it, introduction of advanced forms of production which, together with the incorporation of large peasant masses in the economy, will help to expand the domestic market necessary for industrialization and independent economic development. Practice has shown that bourgeois government programs envisaging the sale of land to peasants for deferred payment and the development of fallow and unfertile lands are incapable of solving the agrarian question; on the contrary, they become a profitable business for the landowning bourgeoisie and imperialist monopolies and hold back the struggle for a genuine agrarian reform.

The defense and development of national cultures — the target of

attacks and distortions by imperialism, which exerts ideological pressure — merges with the general liberation struggle.

Official culture is subordinated to the interests of the reactionary minority closely associated with the models of North American imperialism. The situation is aggravated by the existence of such fascist regimes as in Chile, where everything is done to suppress any expression of popular, progressive culture.

Democratic demands in the cultural sphere include calls for greater education opportunities, for access to education and its democratization, and for the working people's participation in cultural, artistic, scientific and educational activities.

Profound democratic and revolutionary changes opening the way to a new society in which education and culture are no longer the monopoly of a minority and become accessible to the whole people, are in the interests of the majority of intellectuals.

It is essential for cultural workers who are conscious of their duty to the people to participate as an organized and united front in the powerful Latin American popular movement for complete emancipation. That is the only road to spiritual independence and the flourishing of the cultures of our nations.

Movements expressing and organizing mutual solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy and facilitating political and practical support for all peoples fighting imperialism on the international arena, are an important part of the general democratic struggle for the social progress of the peoples of the continent.

VIII

The revolutionary struggle in Latin America is a difficult and complex battle, with a place for all forces opposed to North American imperialism. The revolutionary movement must employ different forms and methods, correctly determining their place and time in accordance with the prevailing conditions in the countries concerned. It is the duty of all anti-imperialist forces to use all legal opportunities; to uphold the peoples' right to decide on necessary changes by democratic means is an unswerving principle of our struggle.

Revolutionaries have never been the first to resort to violence. But all popular revolutionary movements can and should be prepared to respond to counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence and by various means, including the use of arms, to facilitate the popular movement and the realization of the sovereign will of the majority.

The Communist parties, which speak for the fundamental interests of the working class, have a decisive role in history and a special responsibility in the struggle. Being a political force guided by Marxism-Leninism, the only doctrine capable of indicating the correct road in the present complex conditions, they can perform that role in alliance with revolutionary forces. But the fact that they represent certain social strata and are guided by a correct theory is not in itself sufficient to assure them that role. They can perform it only if they are the staunchest fighters for national and social liberation, if they hold really advanced positions in the struggle, if they demonstrate to the peoples their action programs in practice, their strategic and tactical positions aimed at uniting all anti-imperialist forces and orienting them on further revolutionary change.

Communists are entitled to expect of everyone participating together with them in the national struggle of each Latin American country to respect on a mutual basis their political stand and ideology, regardless of immediate differences in programs or ultimate goals.

The leaders of various movements setting themselves, within or outside the framework of Latin American government, the objectives of the emancipation of their peoples, are fully entitled to declare that their socio-economic objectives are not communist. History will show who chose the correct road for Latin America's development. We Communists have no doubt what the verdict of history will be.

There is a difference between not being a Communist and being an anti-communist. To be anti-communist means to be blind to history, a disease that identifies those affected by it with the most reactionary forces and dooms them to defeat. Anti-communism is a reactionary stance, the basis of the counter-revolutionary ideology of our epoch. We may respect non-Communists but we shall never forego the right to criticize those who assume anti-communist positions by error, and we shall unswervingly fight those who assume them deliberately.

Unity of anti-imperialist forces is necessary, but even more essential is unity within the left.

The worldwide influence of socialist ideas, consequent on the irreversible victories of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, as well as on the steady economic, political and social progress of Cuba; the spread of Marxist-Leninist theory as the only force capable of resolving the problems facing society; and the activities of Communist parties — all this has led in Latin America to the appearance, alongside Communist parties and traditional socialist organizations, of left currents of various shades, some of which call

themselves Marxist-Leninist organizations and proclaim socialism as the objective of their struggles.

Communist parties, while noting their differences with these movements in respect of strategic concepts and tactical methods, should take into account that some of them are motivated by a desire to do away with imperialist oppression and assume genuinely socialist positions.

Communist parties do not hide their differences with these currents, but they can distinguish between erroneous views and adventurist actions, which they condemn. No movement holding anti-communist or anti-Soviet positions can be considered left-wing. Accordingly, Communists seek to isolate those who hold such positions.

Communist parties, which proudly see themselves as the genuine representatives of socialism in Latin America, are ready to take part in the struggle together with all those who seriously set themselves the same goals. The opportunities opening up before Latin American revolutionaries at the present stage of our struggle and the imminence of great, decisive struggles against the imperialist enemy and the oligarchy supporting it demand still greater unity and understanding among all sections of the anti-imperialist forces.

Polemics with the left should always proceed from the interests of unity and should promote unity on the basis of common principles and tasks, on the basis of tactics appropriate to the circumstances and conditions of the joint struggle.

We Communists are confident of the correctness of our positions and are ready to conduct necessary discussions on a basis of mutual respect, so that the working masses could get to the essence of the problems. This does not preclude a full and frank analysis of the positions of all sides or the struggle for greater left unity. We Latin American Communists call for reflection and analysis and declare our readiness to overcome misunderstandings in order to achieve united action.

Ready to contribute in every possible way to the revolutionary process in Latin America, the Communist parties consider it essential to expand their political influence and the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the masses, especially among the working class and its trade union organizations, to enhance their influence among the working peasants and their unions, agricultural and other associations; to step up ideological work among the middle sections of town and country; to strengthen their ties with students, profes-

sionals, all intellectuals and engineers, and thus to become a mass force capable of decisively influencing the policies of our countries.

Persistent efforts to promote the ideological growth of Communists, their theoretical and practical education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and to overcome all reformist and leftist tendencies is an important element in the strengthening of Communist ranks. Enhancement of their ideological level and continued criticism of dogmatic sectarianism and liberal softness will enable Communist parties to wage the ideological struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy more successfully.

At various stages of the anti-imperialist struggle some social strata or others may hold conciliatory-reformist or narrow sectarian positions or be influenced by such views. A sustained struggle against such views can help consolidate united action on a genuinely firm basis, which will increasingly assert the independent, class role of the revolutionary proletariat.

At this time of reviewing the past period, the Communist parties of Latin America lower their banners in honor of the many thousands of Communist fighters who, in the last decades, fighting in all countries of our continent, gave their lives for the independence of their countries and for socialism. We send our greetings to the arrested, tortured and persecuted Communists, among whom we especially note comrades Luis Corvalan, Antonio Maidana and Jaime Perez, whose freedom we demand. We greet revolutionaries and patriots who are not members of our parties and are in jail and subjected to torture, and once again pay homage to all those who fell in the common struggle for national liberation.

The fierce repressions against patriots and the forces of progress, especially against the Brazilian Communist Party and its leaders staunchly resisting the fascist regime, and against all progressive forces, make it necessary to strengthen and expand the solidarity of Latin American countries with the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle of the Brazilian people.

We express our solidarity with the stubborn resistance of the workers, all the people of Bolivia against the Banzer dictatorship; with the patriots of Paraguay who are being persecuted and arrested; with the people of Haiti oppressed by a cruel dictatorship; with the progressive forces of Argentina subjected to barbarous provocations on the part of the fascist assassins of the "Triple A" organization; with those persecuted by the Bordaberry fascists in Uruguay; with the Puerto Rican patriots who are being persecuted and jailed by representatives

of the colonial regime, and will all those in other parts of our America subjected to arrest and torture by dictatorial, anti-democratic governments.

We declare our full support for the Guatemalan Party of Labor, noting the courage and resolve with which the struggle for Guatemala's national and social liberation is being waged against the bloody usurpatory regime; our solidarity with the revolutionaries and democrats of Nicaragua subjected to all kinds of persecution by the Somoza dictatorship which, together with the reactionary Guatemalan government, is illegally interfering in the internal affairs of other countries of the continent.

We express our special solidarity with Lolita Lebron, the Puerto Rican patriot with the longest political prisoner record of the continent, a symbol of all those languishing in prison for their convictions.

While proclaiming their close solidarity with the common anti-imperialist struggle on the firm foundation of working-class internationalism, the Communists of Latin America reaffirm that every party formulates its own policy along Marxist-Leninist principles and with due consideration of concrete national conditions.

IX

The historical scene in which our struggle is developing with the aim of finally breaking the bonds of colonialism and neo-colonialism and opening up broad vistas for the national and social progress of our countries, differs greatly from what it was 150 years ago, at the time of the Ayacucho battle.

Our new liberation struggles are being waged at a time when the socialist countries ever more clearly see in the economic progress and moral staunchness of their peoples, in the ability to protect their economy from inflation and unemployment, these scourges of capitalism, confirmation of the indestructible might of the socialist system, while capitalism is writhing in the vise of the deepening general crisis.

Our struggle in Latin America is intertwined with the struggle of the Vietnamese people, which will always be an example of heroism, staunchness and revolutionary patriotism.

The struggle of the Latin American continent, which after the victory of the Cuban revolution became more closely connected with the socialist camp, is a component of the liberation movement in Asia and Africa, which is being carried out by forces determined to put an end to the odious role of Zionist Israel as an imperialist strong point in

the Middle East and to achieve recognition of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It is a part of the movement for the liquidation of colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola; of those who are fighting against racism in the south of Africa; of those who in Algeria, the Congo, Somalia, Guinea and in Southern Yemen have initiated changes leading to socialism.

On the international scene the main contradiction of our time persists — the contradiction between developing socialism and dying imperialism. Three main streams of our epoch converge in the struggle against imperialism: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement. In the vigorous and uninterrupted development of socialism, the example and role of the Soviet Union stands out clearly for all to see.

Fifty-eight years ago, when under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party created by him the first socialist state emerged victorious, the advocates of imperialism and international reaction hurried to predict its imminent downfall. Decades later when, as a result of the strenuous efforts of the workers and peasants, the mighty socialist state, in the course of fulfilling the five-year plans began to acquire an economic force which capitalism was incapable of attaining, the imperialists assigned to fascists the task of destroying the nascent socialism. The Soviet Union withstood the trials through the heroic efforts of its peoples, countered all attacks, and is at present an admirable expression of socialism advancing toward communist ideals, something that seemed unrealizable a few decades ago.

The Soviet Union and its Communist Party, having achieved splendid economic, political and social successes with the consequent ever-growing living standards and general improvement in the life of the people, have always fulfilled and continue to fulfill brilliantly their duty of proletarian internationalism. They not only saved humanity from nazism at the cost of the lives of 20 million of their sons and daughters and massive economic losses. By their existence and staunchness they have made it possible for the peoples of Europe and Asia who opted for the socialist path to carry out revolutionary transformations without fear of being crushed by imperialism.

Here in Latin America proper, as Comrade Fidel Castro said, the existence of the first socialist state and the firm policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, thanks to their solidarity and direct aid in upholding the clear ideological and political positions of Cuba, have made it possible for this small country — ready to fight onto death for its national independence and for the realization of socialism

— to emerge victorious in the battle with the seemingly omnipotent imperialist neighbor threatening it with all available means.

At this conference of the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean their representatives once again express their respect, confidence and admiration of the Motherland of Lenin and the Party founded by the Bolsheviks.

For the peoples of Latin America, as a part of the world that is throwing off the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism and taking the path of development, the might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which will increase as the divisions in the international communist movement are eliminated, represents a firm guarantee in their difficult and unequal struggle for complete liberation.

Conscious of the necessity to still further strengthen the international communist movement as the vanguard of all revolutionary, socialist and anti-imperialist forces, the Latin American and Caribbean parties favor the holding of a world communist conference and will work together with all Communists of the world to create the necessary conditions for that conference to make a positive contribution to the cause of strengthening the world communist and working-class movement.

The growing coordination between the less developed and the developing countries, the formation of the "Group of 77," in Algeria as well as the powerful movement of the "non-aligned" countries, are a clear expression of the increasing political consciousness in this vast area of the world, encompassing three continents. The programs in defense of their economies, put forward by the movement of the non-aligned states, formulated at the Georgetown Conference and concretized at the historic fourth conference in Algiers, made possible the broad discussion of the right of our countries to dispose of their own natural resources at the sixth special session of the UN. This is a manifestation of the universal character of the conflict between the peoples and imperialism, confirming that the Latin American struggle is a component of the worldwide political and economic battle.

Among the non-aligned countries along with those who have opted for socialism, there are others where a semi-feudal system persists. Though not all of them stand on equally firm positions, they are united by a common enemy — imperialism — and the need to coordinate their efforts to withstand its encroachments and aggression.

What is of paramount importance for Latin America and all the less developed and developing countries is to comprehend that they are

not alone in their struggle, and to correctly assess the forces on which they can and should rely.

Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, made a historical contribution in Algiers to the struggle on the non-aligned countries by demonstrating the absolute necessity of understanding the role of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as the natural and indispensable allies of countries fighting for their independence. He exposed the false thesis of "two imperialisms," which serves the permanent splitting aims of the only real imperialism. Such a position is one more contribution to the cause of the world revolutionary movement in its struggle against new forms of reactionary ideology.

While fighting for their immediate interests, and with the vanguard forces striving for transformations that would lead to the collapse of monopoly rule, the working class and other progressive strata in the developed capitalist countries are dealing blows at imperialism. The working class and other internal enemies of big capital, along with the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, are an essential part of the broad alliance that is called upon to bring about the complete and final defeat of imperialism.

Against this background of international solidarity the need for unity of all peoples and all progressive liberation forces of Latin America on the national and international plane becomes increasingly clear. We note with concern, therefore, the artificial fanning of border problems between some countries, encouraged by chauvinist elements and imperialist secret services which are instigating these countries to a fratricidal war to settle problems that can be dealt with peacefully and without imperialist interference.

An anti-imperialist alliance presupposes, above all, united actions. Unity for mobilizing the broad masses and for drawing in the strata and forces who, though suffering from plunder and poverty, still keep aloof from the struggle. Unity for coordinating concrete and varied forms of struggle. Unity for audacious and imaginative actions, combining firm principle with the necessary breadth in order not to lose forces that can be drawn into the struggle.

The youth and women have an important part to play in this unity, which must be achieved as soon as possible.

For millions of young Latin Americans the struggle against imperialism and for full national independence is a sacred duty and high honor as heirs to the heroes of the great battles of their glorious history. National and social liberation is the only way to eliminate

illiteracy, backwardness, malnutrition, unemployment, prostitution and insecurity, in order to begin a new life, like that which inspires the Cuban youth with jubilation and a feeling of responsibility.

For the women of Latin America, participation in the struggle for genuine equality, the right to work and satisfaction of their legitimate cultural demands, for an end to the somber situation when they are being persecuted and killed together with their husbands, suffer from hunger, and their children are denied the possibility of attending school, merges with the struggle which they, as part of the working class, the farmers' movement and of the revolutionary intellectuals, must carry on together with their brothers.

This struggle is going on within the frontiers of each Latin American country and, concurrently, on the entire continent. Each victory is a common victory, each failure is a common failure.

Those who hoped to make Chile an object-lesson with the aim of intimidating the Latin America patriots are now noting the political collapse of the Chilean fascists. Though thousands of Chileans died together with Allende, and other thousands languish in prisons along with the Communist leader Luis Corvalan, political personalities like Gustavo Ruz, Bautista Van Schowen, Pedro Felipe Ramirez, Anibal Palma, Fernando Flores and Leopoldo Luna, the junta has been unable to silence the Chilean people. On the contrary, their staunchness inspires the people and makes them even stronger. Like Cuba, Chile will emerge victorious. The Chilean people will destroy fascism.

Twelve years ago Washington and its OAS initiated the isolation of Cuba. In 1964 they won a disgraceful temporary victory by organizing a blockade of the island, which resolutely defended its liberty and sovereignty.

Owing to the revolutionary staunchness of the Cuban people which brought about U.S. imperialism's first military defeat on the continent at Playa Giron, the country was able to hold out until the situation changed thanks to its victories and the struggle of the Latin American peoples to which these victories contributed, until conditions appeared for discrediting the OAS and frustrating Washington's plans. Instead of the rotten OAS Latin America needs its own continental forum to help organize defense of common interests and to abolish the so-called "Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance" — a military tool of U.S. imperialism's cold war policy that has become an instrument of struggle against the independence of the Latin American peoples.

This changed situation, in the context of which the defeat in Chile

should spur us to prepare for new and broader battles, was brought about by thousands of Latin Americans shedding their blood and dying in the mountains and cities, in guerrilla battles and city clashes, in strike movements and popular demonstrations; by the Communists and combatants of other groups and trends, symbolized today by the great Argentinian, Cuban and Latin American of universal profile — Ernesto Che Guevara.

This blood unites and obligates us. We must improve our strategy and tactics in order to reduce the time involved in solving Latin America's historical destinies. The Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean who are following this road express their firm determination to fight resolutely for the future economic integration and political unity of our countries that are destined to form a great community — the cherished dream of our valiant freedom fighters, determining our existence and development — which with its immense natural resources, intelligent and diligent people will occupy a worthy and honorable place in the world of tomorrow. Only Communists can accomplish this grand historical task.

The 150th anniversary of the Ayacucho battle has shown what must be done. It is time to step up the struggle for the second, genuine and final independence, which along with liberation must open the way to broad horizons of social transformations, constituting a new hope for the great majority of the men and women of our America.

Forward to complete national liberation and independence of our countries, to democracy and people's welfare, to peace the world over and to socialism!

Havana, Cuba
June 13, 1975

Communist Party of Argentina
Communist Party of Bolivia
Brazilian Communist Party
Communist Party of Colombia
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica
Communist Party of Cuba
Communist Party of Chile
Dominican Communist Party
Communist Party of Ecuador
Communist Party of Salvador
Guadeloupe Communist Party
Guatemalan Party of Labor

People's Progressive Party of Guyana
United Party of Haitian Communists
Communist Party of Honduras
Communist Party of Martinique
Mexican Communist Party
Nicaraguan Socialist Party
People's Party of Panama
Paraguayan Communist Party
Peruvian Communist Party
Puerto Rican Communist Party
Communist Party of Uruguay
Communist Party of Venezuela

BILATERAL MEETINGS

LEONID I. BREZHNEV MEETS ERICH HONECKER

On June 27, CPSU General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev had a talk with SUPG First Secretary Erich Honecker.

The leaders of the two fraternal parties informed each other of the progress in socialist and communist construction and of preparations for the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Ninth Congress of the SUPG.

Cardinal questions of promoting relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic in the political, economic, scientific and technological, cultural and other spheres were discussed. In this connection the importance was stressed of the work now being carried on by state bodies in coordinating the national economic plans of the two countries for the coming five-year period.

The sides noted with deep satisfaction that indissoluble ties encompassing all spheres of public life have shaped between the USSR and the GDR and grow stronger. This found vivid expression in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism. These celebrations demonstrated the triumph of the ideas of socialist internationalism and the resolve of the fraternal peoples to continue working in close unity to accomplish the tasks of socialist and communist construction and to conduct a common foreign policy corresponding to the fundamental interests of the cause of peace and social progress.

The leaders of the CPSU and SUPG considered a wide range of international problems. The opinion was expressed that despite the complex and contradictory nature of world developments, the chief tendency of our time — the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems — is gaining headway.

Of great importance in normalizing the situation in Europe and elsewhere were the treaties between the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, the

quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, the recognition of the GDR in international law and its entry in international affairs as a sovereign socialist state. All this is primarily the result of the agreed policy of the fraternal countries, attesting to the increased influence of the forces of peace and socialism.

The conviction was expressed that everything necessary had been done to hold the concluding stage of the security and cooperation conference at summit level this July. The success of the conference would open new favorable possibilities of promoting a constructive dialogue and mutually advantageous ties between all states. A contribution to this could also be made by progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe.

Expressing the readiness of their parties and countries to promote these aims, the sides emphasized the need for vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the opponents of détente and peaceful cooperation of the peoples.

The sides confirmed the agreement on the official visit of a GDR Party and government delegation to the Soviet Union this autumn.

Comrades L.I. Brezhnev and Erich Honecker, expressing the will of the central committees of their parties, of all Communists and working people, stressed their firm resolve to promote and raise to a new stage the all round cooperation and friendship of the fraternal people of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

The talk proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and unanimity on all the questions discussed.

MEETING BETWEEN L.I. BREZHNEV AND EDWARD GIEREK

On June 23, CPSU General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev met with PUWP First Secretary Edward Gierek.

The leaders of the fraternal parties exchanged information on preparations for the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Seventh Congress of the PUWP and on progress in carrying out the economic and cultural development plans of the two countries. It was stressed that in tackling the tasks of socialist and communist construction a growing role is played by the all-round fruitful cooperation between

the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic.

Leonid I. Brezhnev and Edward Gierek positively assessed the work of state bodies of the two countries in coordinating their national economic plans for the coming five-year period. They stressed the need to more vigorously elaborate and put into effect measures for broader specialization and cooperation in the key industries.

Attention was centered on questions of promoting the fraternal relations between the Polish and Soviet Communists and between the two countries. The need was stressed of developing contacts and friendly ties between Party and public organizations and broader cooperation between enterprises and educational institutions, and of increasing tourism between the two countries.

Views were exchanged on current problems of world politics. It was noted that the agreed policy of the countries of the socialist community, supported by all progressive forces, is yielding good results. The chief distinguishing feature of international life in recent years has been the turn from the cold war to peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

What must be done now, it was stressed at the meeting, is to ensure the consistent implementation of the agreements which have become the basis of such a development, and to overcome the attempts of reactionary forces to obstruct the process of international détente.

In achieving these aims great importance attaches to the holding of the concluding stage of the European conference on security and cooperation at summit level, the success of other talks and initiatives for limiting the arms drive, and promotion of détente and making it irreversible.

Consistently coordinating their moves and acting in close unity with other socialist states, all forces of peace and progress, the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic will continue to work for the cause of socialism, to free mankind of the danger of war, and for the freedom of peoples.

L.I. Brezhnev and Edward Gierek expressed the resolve of their parties to do everything so that the fraternal friendship of the peoples of both countries, sealed by the blood they shed in the battles against fascism and steeled in the common efforts to build a just social system, would grow and flourish and become the source of inspiration for the generations to come.

The talk proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and unanimity on all the questions discussed.

CONGRESSES

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

The Second Congress of the Socialist Party of Australia was held in Sydney from June 13 to 16.

The congress was opened by SPA Chairman Patrick Clancy.

The delegates welcomed with loud applause messages of greetings from the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties.

SPA General Secretary Peter Symon, who delivered the main report, noted that the years since the First Congress had seen great changes in favor of the communist movement the world over. The forces of peace and socialism are growing and gaining the upper hand over the forces of imperialism and war. The forces of progress are headed by the Soviet Union.

The program which was submitted to the Congress states that the socialist countries are showing mankind the way to a new society where the instruments and means of production are in the hands of the working people. The working class is in the van of the anti-imperialist forces and progressive movements. The chief task at the present stage in international relations is to make détente irreversible.

Basing its activity on the scientific teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the program says, the SPA is working for the unity of the working class and the consolidation of its forces. The SPA calls for an independent road of development for Australia.

The delegates discussed the Central Committee report and draft Party documents. The Speakers unanimously noted the need to build the Party, relying on the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism in work among the working class and other sections of the working people.

In a unanimously adopted resolution, For a Popular Anti-Monopoly Alliance, Congress expressed its concern over the country's being fully under the control of local and foreign monopolies. The Socialist Party called on all sections of the population to unite in the effort to control the activity of all the monopolies. The SPA holds that in Australian conditions such an alliance is needed for struggle against

monopoly capital and to advance toward the fundamental goal — socialism.

The new SPA program, adopted unanimously, proclaims struggle for the building of a socialist society in Australia as the fundamental aim of the Party. At present the task is to build a united front of the working class and all anti-imperialist forces for struggle against local and foreign monopoly capital.

The tactical questions of working-class allies were dealt with at length. It was noted that only a worker-farmer alliance, their joint actions, can enforce state control over the monopolies, which at the present stage is in the best interests of the overwhelming majority of Australians.

Congress welcomed the Vietnamese people's victory over the imperialist aggressors and their stooges. This victory, the resolution stresses, dealt a crushing blow at imperialism. Congress noted the special significance of the aid the Soviet Union rendered the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

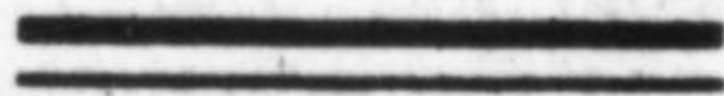
Congress adopted a resolution welcoming the victory of the people of Cambodia over the imperialist aggressors, expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people to unite their country, for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea. The delegates called for a powerful campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people.

Congress received numerous addresses from fraternal Communist and Workers' parties of all continents. It in turn sent an address to the fraternal parties.

The Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Party of Lenin, the address says, has found full support in the hearts and minds of peace-loving people everywhere.

Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the address further notes, the Socialist Party of Australia is carrying on a struggle for broader trade and cultural relations with socialist countries, for the policy of détente. Détente, says the address, is necessary for stronger peace the world over. We regard the defense of socialism as our internationalist duty.

Congress elected a 28-member Central Committee of the SPA. Patrick Clancy was re-elected Chairman, and Peter Symon — General Secretary.



TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The 25th Congress of the CPN was held in Amsterdam from June 6 to 8. Its participants — about 600 delegates — summed up Party activity over the three-year period since the 24th Congress, and charted the Party's tasks for the coming period.

The delegates discussed a number of documents, including the speech by honorary Central Committee member Paul de Groot at the January plenary meeting, the Central Committee report made by Chairman Henk Hoekstra, the Central Committee theses to the 25th Congress and the draft program of actions and demands of the Dutch Communists.

Henk Hoekstra dedicated his report to the prospects and tasks of the Party in the struggle for the right to work, in defense of the working people's living standards, for peace and democracy.

Noting the crisis phenomena characterizing the present economic situation of the capitalist world, the speaker emphasized the Communists' responsibility in rallying the working people for struggle in defense of their rights and interests, against the monopoly onslaught.

In the Netherlands, Henk Hoekstra said, besides the 200,000 "officially" unemployed, there are at present at least 80,000 manual and non-manual workers with part-time jobs and 47,000 without permanent jobs.

The CPN Chairman called for an independent foreign policy for the country and for "freeing it from the EEC shackles." This, he said, would pave the way to the elimination of the remnants of the cold war, and to broader trade and other contacts with the socialist countries.

He criticized government policy in defense of big capital and noted the growing opposition, including in the ranks of the Dutch Social Democrats, to NATO policy. At the present time, he said, it is a question of turning criticism of the bloc into concrete action. It is necessary to cut down on armaments and prohibit the placing of nuclear arms on Dutch territory. This should become the Netherlands' first contribution to détente in Europe. For this joint action of Communists and Socialists is needed.

It is time, he went on, for the Dutch and, first of all the Socialists, to

clearly understand what is happening. They must not allow themselves to become enveloped by a new wave of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which is always followed by monstrous plans of nuclear armament. NATO's continued arms drive and militarization constitute a threat not only to détente, but to democratic and peace-loving forces in the capitalist countries themselves, Hoekstra noted.

A cardinal task today, he said in conclusion, is struggle in defense of the détente, to make it irreversible.

The report and debate on the Congress theses and the draft program of actions and demands of the Dutch Communists called attention to the growing economic crisis in the country, the rising unemployment and spiralling prices.

The report and speeches stressed the necessity of joint action by Communists and Socialists, cohesion of the country's democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for peace, against the aggressive designs of the reactionary imperialist circles.

The delegates welcomed with long and loud cheers the telegram of greetings from the CC CPSU, which noted the CPN's contribution to the struggle against fascism and imperialism and emphasized the CPSU's solidarity with the Dutch Communists' expressed will to struggle to make the European continent a stronghold of peaceful development of states with differing social systems.

A speech dedicated to an analysis of the international situation and tasks in the struggle for peace and security was made by Paul de Groot. He denounced the anti-Sovietism resorted to by the ultra-reactionary anti-communist circles that are striving to block and roll back the détente initiated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

He emphasized that along with the social struggle the chief problem of our time is that of peace and war. "It is a question," he said, "of whether we are going to live in conditions of security or will be drawn into military conflicts for the interests that are foreign and inimical to us . . . That is why in answer to the dangerous plans of the top NATO officials, the Pentagon men and their stooges in any region of the world, we say: no, no, no."

The delegates endorsed the report and CPN Central Committee theses, adopted the program of actions and demands and elected a new Central Committee.

The 25th CPN Congress concluded its work to the strains of the proletarian anthem, *The Internationale*.

THE 18TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel held its 18th plenary session on May 22-23, 1975.

The chairman of the session was Comrade Hans Lebrecht, Member of the Central Committee.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured on the theme: "The influence of developments in the world and region on the political struggle in Israel, and the Party tasks."

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi, Member of the Political Bureau and Coordinator of the Secretariat, reported on the work of the Central Committee Political Bureau and Secretariat.

A debate was held and summed up by the lecturer and reporter.

The Central Committee approved the lecture, the report and the summing-up and adopted the following resolution:

AN END TO THE POLICY OF ANNEXATION AND WAR!

Eight years have passed since June 5, 1967, the day the Israeli government, with Washington's backing, initiated war against Syria and Egypt, in order to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries, assist a renewal of American domination over the region, bring about territorial expansion and liquidate the national rights of the Palestine Arab people.

The occupation of the Arab territories and the reliance on American arms, money and political backing have not only failed to bring security to Israel, but have shaken it to its foundations. The occupation and the policy of annexations led to the October 1973 war, with its victims and disasters, huge military expenditures, intensified enslavement of the Israeli economy to American monopolies, an un-

bearable tax burden, dizzy rising prices, drastic lowering of the workers' wages and the living standard of the popular masses, spread of corruption in the ruling circles and the economic top echelons, growing violence and moral deterioration.

As a result of the October 1973 war, and under international pressure, the Israeli government was forced to start the withdrawal process from the occupied territories of Egypt and Syria, in the framework of the separation-of-forces agreements.

However, the Rabin-Peres government, which was established after the "earthquake" of the last war, did not learn anything from the failure of official Israeli policy. It has continued for a whole year the old policy of the Meir-Dayan government. It sabotages all peace efforts.

The Rabin-Peres government, together with the Washington rulers, prevented the reconconvocation of the Geneva Peace Conference. As a result of this dangerous policy, the Israeli people and the Arab peoples continue to rest on a powder keg. The danger of a new war hovers over our heads.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel warns against the danger of war which is liable to break out because of the government policy of annexation and the obstinate rejection of the rights of the Palestine Arab people.

The war is not unavoidable. Peace is definitely possible. This is also admitted by the hawks of Israel, such as the War Minister, Shimon Peres, who declared that it is definitely possible to attain peace if Israel agrees to withdraw to the borders of June 4, 1967.

The authorized leaders of the Arab states, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and others, have declared more than once that they are ready for just and stable peace with Israel, that would ensure the rights of all peoples and states, including Israel and the Palestine Arab people.

The Soviet Union, together with the socialist states, and the decisive majority of the other states of the world, are acting in support of establishing peace in the Middle East on the basis of justice.

The following are the foundations of peace, which have evolved into a sort of international consensus and express both justice and political realism:

- Withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied in the June 1967 war;
- Recognition of the right to existence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Israel and the Arab states;
- Recognition of the national rights of the Palestine Arab people.

including their right to establish an independent state alongside the State of Israel, and the right of the refugees to choose between return to their homeland and receipt of compensations;

— Free navigation for Israel, as for all states, in the Suez Canal and the Tiran Straits.

The failure of Dr. Kissinger's policy of "step by step" proves again that there is no other way to peace, but the paramount and just solution of the fundamental questions of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestinian question.

The road to peace passes through the Geneva Conference, which was meant to establish peace on the basis of implementing the well known resolutions of the Security Council and the UNO General Assembly.

Instead of working for preventing a new war and establishing peace, the Rabin-Peres government aggravates the situation, intensifies the terror against the population in the occupied territories and particularly against the Communists and other patriotic forces, who favor the just peace settlement. The government continues its aggressive and subversive activities against Lebanon's sovereignty.

Inside Israel, the government intensifies the policy of oppression and discrimination against the Arab population. These days the government adopted anew a racist plan for Judaizing the Galilee, involving the expropriation of additional land from the Arab fellaheen and new grave blows aimed at the Arab population in Israel.

By its hawk policy the Israeli government encourages extreme annexationist militarist positions among the public in the country.

Notwithstanding a certain cooling in the relations between the Israeli and U.S. governments, after the failure of the American Foreign Minister Kissinger's mission, the Rabin government enjoys Washington's support, now too. However, American imperialism is unable to impose its wishes on the peoples of the Middle East.

In the course of last year, American imperialism suffered defeats in various parts of the world, from Portugal in Europe, to Vietnam and Cambodia in Southeast Asia.

All this, in addition to the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism restricts the freedom of maneuvering, practised by the American administration in our region.

Although American imperialism is compelled to take into greater account the new balance of forces in the world, it is still able to take adventurist steps.

The Soviet Union conducts in the Middle East, as in the whole

world, a policy of peace and support of the peoples' rights. Latterly, her authorized representatives, such as the CPSU General Secretary, L. Brezhnev, and the Foreign Minister, A. Gromyko, have announced many times, that the Soviet Union supports the just struggle of the Arab people for the liberation of the occupied territories and the implementation of the legitimate national rights of the Palestine Arab people, and at the same time she supports the rights to sovereign existence of the State of Israel, and is prepared, together with other international forces, to guarantee the security of all states in the Middle East, including Israel, on the attainment of just and durable peace. The path to peace is the same path to the resumption of diplomatic relations and developing normal relations, including those in the sphere of economy and culture, with the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Israel calls for unity of action of all the peace forces in Israel, notwithstanding the ideological and political differences, in order to intensify the united struggle for reconvoation of the Geneva Conference, for a constructive attitude by Israel which would enable it to reach a settlement based on just and stable peace.

Let us work for the speedy convocation of the Geneva Conference for establishing just and stable peace!

Slightly abridged
Al-Ittihad, May 30, 1975
Zo Haderekh, June 4, 1975



STATEMENTS

COMMUNIST PARTY'S REPLY TO THE "RODRIGO PLAN"

*Statement of Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Argentina*

The very first measures of the economic plan of Celestino Rodrigo, supported by minister Lopez Rega, are conducive to the further enrichment of foreign monopolies, the landowning oligarchy and big capital at the expense of worse conditions for the workers and other people. They are placing our country in even greater dependence on the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

The plan can be carried out only by reversing the gains of the working class and suppressing democratic freedoms. Economically, it is a turn to the right masterminded by reactionary forces operating within the government.

Our Party will expose the situation with all the means at its disposal. It will struggle indefatigably for the unity of all patriotic, democratic and popular forces to bar the road to reaction and open the way to progress and a better life for our people.

The very fact that this anti-popular and anti-national plan was concocted by a government that had been elected by an overwhelming majority of the people calls for serious reflection.

It will be recalled that on May 25, 1973, the government correctly stated that the main issue facing the nation was the choice of road: freedom or dependence. The first democratization moves at the time created a favorable climate for normal life and a dialogue among Argentinians. The government's foreign policy also aroused the good hopes of our people.

The present turn to the right means that the government is foregoing its independent policy. Its new course is drawing it closer to the policies of the reactionary dictatorships of South America, especially the Chilean regime. The government is violating its agreements with countries of the socialist community while increasingly turning toward the United States.

Ever since the death of President Peron our Party has been tirelessly explaining to the Peronist masses and all democrats the true meaning of this turn to the right in politics and the economy, and the danger inherent in it.

It noted that the plans and efforts of the most reactionary circles boiled down to resorting, if necessary, to coup d'état, plunging the country into the throes of a crisis and shifting the whole burden of its consequences on the people.

The Party warned that reactionary circles would exploit existing difficulties to prepare the basis for a turn toward a pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic policy, toward a harsh, conservative, anti-popular policy, toward a redistribution of the national income in favor of the privileged groups.

The orientation of Gomez Morales was a serious retreat to the policies of preceding governments. It is apparent, however, that the "changes" undertaken by Celestino Rodrigo, a confidant of Lopez Rega, did nothing to halt that reactionary course. On the contrary, they provide for its harsher forms. The "Rodrigo plan" was a bolt from the blue. The plan and its very first consequences are of the nature of a real catastrophe for our workers and peasants, for the urban petty bourgeoisie, for the middle sections and the national bourgeoisie.

This sparked a sharp reaction and the active resistance of our people, even though the presidential address warned that those who defended their legitimate rights would be accused of anti-patriotic actions. And this at a time when the terrorist organization Triple A is killing workers not only in the streets but even in factories.

Implementation of the "Rodrigo plan" began at a time of grave economic difficulties, when wages were dramatically losing their purchasing power, with rampant black marketeering in conditions of an acute shortage of essential commodities artificially created by the monopolies.

The plan is at variance with the aims of our labor movement and our people as a whole. Its inspirers had expected to catch the people by surprise and take advantage of their bewilderment to push the plan through.

The response, however, was immediate, displaying the growing militancy of the working class and the masses. For many years now mass reaction to anti-popular actions of the government has been swift, forceful and widespread.

This was confirmed by recent events in Cordoba and on the Villa

Constitucion, the famous march from Santo Tome, the mass strikes in Cordoba and Greater Buenos Aires, and the introduction of a state of emergency in Argentina.

The arguments used by the reactionaries to justify their onslaught against the people are totally indefensible.

The first refers to the world crisis. This is a serious error. There is no such thing as a world crisis. There is a crisis of capitalism. The socialist world, on the other hand, is steadily advancing, with no such problems as crises, deficits, inflation or climbing prices. The wages of working people are steadily rising in socialist society.

Peron clearly realized this when he oriented his policy on the socialist world. Considerable efforts were taken to overcome the effects of the capitalist crisis. However, that main line was systematically sabotaged.

An analysis of the harsh measures envisaged by the Rodrigo Plan reveals mass inflation, higher fuel and transportation prices, higher charges for public services, higher bank rates, considerable increases in prices of primary essentials, milk, bread, meat, etc. It is obvious that all these "measures" can only lead to an unchecked growth of prices and the cost of living and to runaway inflation. In the next few months things will become worse.

When we ask whom the Rodrigo Plan harms and whom it benefits, very clear answers emerge:

1. The Rodrigo Plan serves the interests of foreign monopolies, which control the most significant part of our economy, big commercial capital engaged in export-import operations, the landowning oligarchy, which is taking over more and more land and cattle. This monopoly ownership of the land has resulted in a substantial rise in its price.

The plan opens wide the doors to foreign investment. Dollars, rapidly losing their value in the world but regarded here as a firm and stable currency, can purchase virtually anything, from important segments of our national resources to floundering enterprises. Such investments, which have been specifically legalized, count on cheap labor and cheap raw materials in our country.

2. The Rodrigo plan is directed against the interests of the working class. The expenditure section of a typical budget of a working-class family has reached almost one million pesos and is continuing to grow. The gap between incomes and expenditures has grown sharply. A substantial portion of a family budget can no longer be covered by the earnings.

The plan markedly worsens the situation of our peasantry owing to growing monopoly domination and higher rent for land.

It also adversely affects the petty bourgeoisie, white-collar workers, intellectuals, artists, writers, scientists, engineers, students, and even the national bourgeoisie because of the restriction of the domestic market and various financial, legal and other obstacles. Thus, the Rodrigo Plan worsens the situation for seven million workers and for 2.8 million in the middle sections.

The Party holds that to combat the Rodrigo Plan it is necessary to mobilize the masses and launch organized action in the framework of a democratic coalition that would serve as a mainstay and support of a civilian-military government speaking for the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a government can promote our people's aspirations in practice.

Only such a government, in which the masses would actively participate, can adopt and successfully carry out a vital program of extraordinary measures to raise the people's living standard and open the way to progress and independent economic development.

Our experience since May 1973 leads us to another important conclusion: as long as the material conditions favorable to foreign monopolies and the landlord oligarchy exist, political and economic stability in our country is impossible. This will continue to place us in growing dependence on imperialism, all our natural wealth will continue to be plundered and our people increasingly exploited.

For many years our country has been living in conditions of a profound structural crisis. A way out can be found only along the lines of radical agrarian reform, the nationalization of foreign, mainly North American, monopolies, which hold key positions in our national economy, and far-reaching changes in the economic and political spheres. All these are important components of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, with its prospect of evolving into a socialist revolution, to which the Communist Party of Argentina aspires.

Buenos Aires, June 17, 1975

Nuestra Palabra.

June 25, 1975

(Abridged)

CHILE: THE BASIS OF ANTI-FASCIST UNITY ALREADY EXISTS

Excerpts from a speech by *Orlando Millas* made on behalf of the Secretariat of the Coordinating Committee for Work Abroad of the Communist Party of Chile. June 1975.

With the struggle and social contradictions sharpening in Chile and the anti-popular character of the fascist tyranny becoming more evident, the responsibility of the Communists, including those living abroad, is growing immensely.

The Communist Party, jointly with its allies, is conducting persistent and courageous activity among the masses to stimulate unity, organization and struggle. The policy outlined by its leadership finds a broad response among the workers and other people. It is being enriched daily by the experience of struggle and is acquiring a clear perspective. Despite the brutal repressions, the Party remains viable, has learned to work in the most difficult conditions, is acting collectively and displaying strong unity and cohesion. We Communists can take pride in our Party, its vitality, fortitude and firm principled stand.

Some people abroad, mainly among petty-bourgeois circles, think that anti-fascist resistance in Chile does not exist because there are no outwardly striking facts to prove it. In reality, however, there is a strong and steadily mounting resistance. Effective actions have already been held and there will be more in future, providing they promote the mass struggle, which is the main thing. Without fanfare, in the course of the struggle of the working people and the broad strata, foundations have been laid for a future patriotic, anti-fascist unity, the broadest and strongest front ever to have appeared in Chile. Fascism was unable to crush the nation's democratic traditions, the fruit of the sustained struggle of the workers and other people. They are being revived in various organizations and through mobilization of the people for the struggle for concrete demands.

Twenty months after the fascist putsch a whole number of ministerial posts are occupied not by generals or admirals, but by those who hired and unscrupulously use them. The dirty work — killing, brutal torture, the base humiliation of women and children, all forms of repression — is assigned to the armed forces. The economy is fully in the hands of those who hold key positions in the administration of Jorge Alessandri. Rejected by the people, unmasked as accomplices of the imperialist monopolies in plundering the national economy,

unheeding public opinion, filled with hatred and revenge, they lose no time in gaining easy profits. As a result of their ruinous economic policy, the general mortality and sick rate, especially among children, have risen. Gustavo Leigh, responsible for this policy, insolently claims that the country can supply work and food only for five million people, and that the remaining five million are redundant. In actual fact, however, more than 90 per cent of the Chileans are treated as enemies and are suppressed. Precisely for this reason, over 90 per cent of our countrymen can and must defend their interests and rights by forming a patriotic anti-fascist front. This calls for thousands of consecutive actions and unflagging, painstaking work; it is toward this that the Communist Party and its allies direct their efforts, undaunted by the savage fascist repressions.

Jorge Cauas, a representative of the imperialist and oligarchic groups and Finance Minister in Pinochet's cabinet, defined these methods and the present economic policy as "shock treatment." This is not his invention but the terminology of those who drew up the plan — the discredited ultra-reactionary economists of the Chicago school who were Goldwater's advisers in the United States. They proposed reducing the amount of money in circulation to the minimum, so as to improve the money-goods relation and thus check inflation and lower prices. At first glance, this seems possible. In fact, however, it led immediately to a new spiralling of prices and tariffs.

An analysis of the "shock treatment" policy proves that it is merely a mechanism of plunder by the financial magnates who wax fat under the fascist tyrannical rule.

A widely publicized "market of capital" was created, absorbing the available money and placing it under the control of the fascist mafia, which uses the emission of banknotes by the Central Bank to guarantee the depositors' savings. At the same time, all the industrialists, land and mine owners, and merchants who do not belong to this mafia have had to pay a usurious rate of interest to obtain working capital. "Freedom of prices," the only freedom now existing in Chile, allows the unhindered shifting onto the latter of this onerous price for capital. This resulted in spiralling inflation despite the pauperization of the working class and peasantry, the ruin of the middle sections, the consequent narrowing of the home market, immense stockpiling, a fall in industrial and farm output and in mining.

Along with further reducing the amount of money in circulation, an order was issued on the free setting of interest rates by banks so that nothing would restrict the trade deals of those who benefit from the

fascist putsch. As to state expenditures, economizing on everything of advantage to the population is now stricter than ever. This compensates for the marked increase in expenditures to maintain the repressive apparatus, in particular the sinister DINA.

The tax system became even more reactionary after the profit tax had been extended to food products, medicines, school textbooks and notebooks, newspapers, journals, and semi-manufactures of the mining industry, agriculture, stock breeding and fishing. Cauas admitted that the already massive unemployment would increase. A revision of wages and salaries would in no way offset the price rises in May and June this year and in future the wages and salaries would be lower than even the official rigged figures on the cost of living.

Such is fascism. Such are the actions of the openly terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, aggressive and anti-communist groups of the financial, imperialist and local oligarchy, which has subjugated Chile.

The economic dislocation is dramatized by a recession in branches which account for 82 per cent of industrial output, i.e., branches producing articles of mass consumption and durables, various sectors of the processing industry, with the exception of pulp and paper and other articles of export, and branches producing means of transport and intermediate building materials. The suspension of the blast furnace at Huachipato has worsened this crisis. On the other hand, the crop area and farm output are diminishing, and less people are employed in agriculture than before.

Such is the real situation in Chile under fascism. "There is no possibility of reasonable employment in the near or more distant future," Cauas admitted. Pinochet's only alternative is to deepen the economic crisis and step up repression.

That is why the struggle of the working class and the broad popular masses for their vital demands is growing. It is going through real qualitative changes. The repressions are less and less able to check the protests and the struggle, which, though not easy, is steadily gathering strength.

When our comrades are hourly risking not only the loss of work and freedom but also their lives in the untiring effort to unite the people or stir them to action, international solidarity acquires immense importance. It is imperative to stay the hand of the executioners, display vigilance toward any infringement of human rights, and rouse world public opinion still more energetically. Each saved life, each man wrested from the hands of jailers, each averted crime, all

that forces the torturers to retreat in one way or another, bring nearer the rout of fascism by the popular movement which forges its way like an underground river and finds expression in numerous militant actions.

The fascist junta will not fall of itself. It has to be toppled. The Party, however, has warned against any exaggerated enthusiasm or unwarranted illusions.

The Chilean Communists are firmly determined to overcome any waverings and difficulties, however complex, establishing ties with mass organizations and working in them irrespective of their leadership, assessing each step, rejecting a conciliatory attitude, while not taking up any clearly premature challenge.

A great number of public organizations have been brought in action whose very existence, even if temporary, is a challenge to fascism, and they are gradually beginning to fight against it in various forms.

The biggest successes have been achieved in the trade union movement. In practice, the differentiation of trade unions depending on who leads them or who is most influential in them is gradually being eliminated. It has again become clear that it is for the working people to decide who will be the leaders of their trade unions. A rebuff was given to sectarian and collaborationist tendencies, which created difficulties and hindered the free expression of will by the working people. The Party set about working with the masses, participating in all local organizations, tirelessly combating mistrust and prejudice. The mass united action by trade union leaders from the Popular Unity parties, Christian-Democrats and non-party people is directed at legalizing the working people's organizations and strengthening the trade unions and federations. Moreover, it is in the trade unions that the best results of joint work of the Popular Unity and Christian-Democrats have been achieved. The May Day celebrations assumed unheard-of dimensions this year. Both qualitatively and quantitatively, they represented the biggest effort under the conditions of fascism. Hundreds of festive meetings, particularly in Santiago, reached such a scale that even the Minister of Labor was compelled to acknowledge them, while expressing regret at the failure of the meeting organized by the dictatorship in the Caupolican Theatre.

The pressure exerted by the working class in defending its living standards and demanding the restoration of its former purchasing capacity becomes ever more apparent. The platform of struggle on a nationwide scale encompasses the question of earnings and minimum

wages, other vital demands, and repeal of the decree banning trade union freedoms. The working class is not being isolated but, on the contrary, is striving toward unity with other social strata, thereby strengthening the social base of a genuinely patriotic, anti-fascist front. We see this front as a broader political organization than the front based on agreement between the Popular Unity and the Christian-Democrats, since its objective of routing fascism has vaster prospects and calls for the assistance and participation of all mass organizations, the sections represented by the church, and the democratically-minded men and officers.

The temporary establishment of fascism has catastrophic consequences for the great majority of Chileans and creates conditions for new forms of united action by the working-class' allies. A country with some 800,000 unemployed out of a population of ten million, including three million self-employed, is on the verge of a collapse. In the first four months of this year the cost of living, as the junta admitted, went up by 94.3 per cent. After the fantastic cutdown in industrial output in 1974, the first known data for this year show that things are very bad indeed, since in January industrial output was 75 per cent of the level registered in 1972, in President Allende's time. This means the impoverishment of the working class and the ruin of the middle sections, the proletarianization of which has reached a mass scale, as well as the bankruptcy of a sizable part of the medium entrepreneurs, including a part of the big capitalists not linked with the monopolies in power. For instance, in the textile industry unemployment has reached 40 per cent; the closure of 30 per cent of the factories is imminent and only three per cent of the textile mills, which earlier belonged to the public sector and have now been returned to their former owners, continue to receive profits through the super-exploitation of the workers, speculative control over the market and the elimination of competitors.

In these conditions, new forms of mass organization are appearing: the organization of the unemployed, aid to children, the demand for decent health services and education, etc. A broad campaign is under way to prevent hundreds of thousands of children from dying of starvation. Numerous demands are being put forward by residential and women's associations. The youth, a victim of fascism, is in revolt, expressing its protest through sports and cultural organizations, the trade union and student movements. People engaged in the free professions feel they have been deceived by fascism. The relation of forces and the mood are changing in colleges. The same is true

of the artisans and small businessmen. Despite censorship of the press and radio, despite the ban on all independent information, and despite the fascist terror, Chile is once again seething with unrest. It is to the great merit of the revolutionaries that in such a short time after the putsch protests can be heard and organization is displayed everywhere.

Concrete manifestations, the first shoots of an anti-fascist, patriotic front can be found precisely in the field of mass actions. The consistent development of this front is ensured primarily by the fact that our Party is fulfilling its duty in achieving the unity of the working class on the basis of its ideology and its principled positions. Revolutionaries of petty-bourgeois origin will ever more successfully contribute to the revolutionary process as they approach the positions of the proletariat. In view of the need and obligatory nature of united action by the proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, the working-class party cannot and must not renounce its independence, the confrontation of opinions and differentiation of positions. This is imperative for the creation of a front that will not break down as a result of internal discord or an erroneously chosen object of struggle. The possibility of forming a broad anti-fascist coalition depends on the strength of the proletariat, on the durability of its ties with the peasantry and urban middle strata, and also on how correctly it conducts a principled policy against the chief enemies. The independence of the proletariat as a class is essential within an anti-fascist bloc.

We are working for an anti-fascist patriotic front precisely at a time when the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and its grave consequences for millions of people are the decisive factor in the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle in Latin America, indicating that conditions for a revolution have ripened. On our continent the general crisis of capitalism is compounded by the structural crisis and the fact that the most reactionary groups in their desperation are turning to fascism with all its horrifying consequences, which Chile is now going through.

Far from narrowing our anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic alliances, this results in their broadening. Moreover, the speed with which the people are restoring their organizations is proof that the successes of the revolutionary process during the three years of Popular government are the source of strength of the present struggle. The attempts of our enemies to depict this period in the most dreary colors are being smashed by the comparison of the people's

condition during the presidency of Salvador Allende and the present-day situation. All sorts of publications being spread in many languages abroad, in capitalist Europe in particular, contain slander of President Allende, the Popular Unity and especially the Communist Party of Chile. A small part of these publications is openly reactionary. The great majority, however, is of an ultra-left, Maoist, Trotskyite and anarchistic trend. As a rule, they use the anti-communist inventions of the Revolutionary Left Movement and are at times inspired by them. We must give a proper and immediate rebuff to these inventions, seeking inspiration in Lenin's stand after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, which consisted in a profoundly critical and self-critical survey of the period which the Russian proletariat went through, and in resolutely defending all that had been brought forth by mass creativity in that process, the search of ways for advancing the revolution, and the consistent implementation of Marxism. We are drawing lessons from the past three years of unflagging struggles and great achievements and we should make use of them in building an anti-fascist patriotic front. Many of these lessons are connected with the experience of the defeat of the democratic forces of Chile. We know that the decisive role in the defeat was played by imperialist intervention, though it was not the only reason. The leadership of our Party, in a self-critical analysis of these events, has arrived at the conclusion that Cuba was in a similar situation and emerged the winner, this showing that a different outcome in Chile was the result of weakness, shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the revolutionaries. As for us, the main thing is that the aggression of reaction was not given a sufficient rebuff. One of the reasons was that the problem of the army was not resolved in line with our concrete reality. The absence of a successful defense of the revolutionary gains is explained by all the factors which split the leadership of the Popular Unity movement, by the isolation of the working class as a result of the subversive activity of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, and, by the striving of these revolutionaries to skip a stage, which led to some sections of the people losing sight of the main enemies and to antagonisms between the working class and its prospective allies.

It would be disastrous to repeat the same mistakes. Our Party attaches immense importance to efforts aimed at raising to a new level Socialist-Communist unity and the cohesion of the Popular Unity parties, strengthening the common policy worked out together and constituting the real basis for joint action.

The statements of the Popular Unity and its jointly formulated

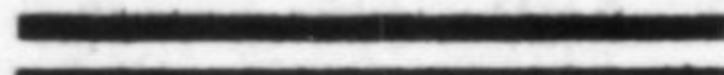
policy of building an anti-fascist patriotic front show that lessons were drawn collectively from the great tragedy of our people and that this common policy is being implemented in practice.

In accord with its line of setting up an anti-fascist patriotic front, the Popular Unity came out for an agreement with the Christian Democrat Party. Fascism leaves no field of activity for the reformist forces and systematically strives to liquidate the CDP by bribing some of its leaders and by repressions against the others. The experience of the countries where fascist tyranny was temporarily established shows that there is a real basis for understanding between the revolutionary and reformist forces. The Communist Party pointed to the need to isolate the fascists, put an end to the enmity dividing the sections of the people, and bar the way to those who sow this enmity.

We hold that a task of prime importance is for the working class and the people generally to achieve in all fields a relation of forces favorable for the revolutionary democratic process and capable of developing this process, opening the way for it and defending it. For this, we do not exclude any road. However, in order to open every possible way it is imperative, above all, to fulfill the task that is on the order of the day — to work with the masses and develop mass struggles.

Our Party has time and again urged the Revolutionary Left Movement to reject its anti-communism and opportunist distortions and to join in carrying out the tasks that confront our people. The latest documents of this organization show that it clings to its former positions which, objectively, were used by the enemy. As to us, we come out against half measures and will unhesitatingly conduct an ideological and political fight for consistent anti-fascist positions.

The Party of Luis Emilio Recabarren is now going through the most difficult trials and is withstanding them successfully. Though it was difficult, we were able to ensure the continued work of our central leadership in the country under fascist repressions. It devised a genuinely revolutionary, Leninist policy, which is a continuation of our former line, but enriched with the experience of the defeat and providing correct answers to new questions. And we can say with profound satisfaction that our Communist Youth has distinguished itself in carrying out the most daring and complex tasks.



RESOLUTION OF THE ICP LEADERSHIP

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party, meeting on June 19, adopted the following resolution.

The success in the June 15-16, 1975, elections is the biggest since 1946. It was achieved in conditions of a general leftward move and is unquestionably a victory for the cause of democracy, freedom, social and civic progress in Italy. This was largely due to the new voters, women, broad sections of independents and intellectuals. It was also due to the political platform that emerged in the common struggle against fascism, in defense of the republic and constitution as evidenced by developments a few weeks before the start of the election campaign at our Party's 14th National Congress. The search for unity between the democratic and popular forces is at the center of the struggle to overcome the country's severe crisis and carry out, by democratic means, the necessary economic, social and political changes.

The extraordinary political importance of the June elections in the life of the country is universally acknowledged. A year after the victory of those who at the referendum on divorce said "no," the election results reaffirmed the depth and breadth of the processes Italian society is going through and showed how great and irrepressible is the desire for political and social renovation, for moral values, civic and cultural progress. Those who called for an anti-communist crusade and wanted to turn political development to the right were defeated in the elections. In general, the electors defeated the Christian Democratic Party's perennial policy of discrimination against the left forces, which resulted in the present crisis in the activity of democratic institutes, in inefficient government, disorder and corruption. The general leftward trend, and retreat of the Right forces and the CPD are tantamount to a condemnation of certain policies and methods of government, which are seen as harmful and intolerable for the majority of the working people, youth, intellectuals, as well as the discontented small and medium entrepreneurs who are facing ruin — for the entire society.

The Communists are aware of the political significance of the election results, which were also due to the democratic, honest and effective work of the Party. In this way the ICP contributed to the leadership of the numerous local authorities. The Communists are

also conscious of their increased responsibility to the people, the democratic regime and the nation.

The first question to which the Communists call the attention of all democratic forces and public opinion is the activity of regional, provincial and communal assemblies. The ICP holds that it is necessary urgently to discuss and resolve the question of forming efficient, honest and stable local administrations. Every attempt from above to hamper the democratic, free and autonomous development of the assemblies elected on June 15-16 must be rebuffed. It is necessary resolutely to oppose any proposals and attempts based on preconceived political formulas which very often, and even in important cases, do not conform to the changes taking place in the numerical composition of the councils. In all regions, provinces and communes the ICP groups on the councils will initiate discussions on fundamental policy questions with all democratic and anti-fascist forces (first of all with comrades from the Socialist Party), to draw them closer together and build alliances to deal with problems of interest to the population, elaborate new methods of leadership in the communes, provinces and regions, to ensure democratic functioning of the assemblies in which all democratic and anti-fascist forces should cooperate without discrimination and irrespective of their place in the government majority. The search for new political alliances, new trends and opportunities for the democratic functioning of the assemblies must form the basis of the activity aimed at an early creation of regional, provincial and communal self-government bodies. They should be composed of capable and honest people maintaining permanent contacts with the electors, the local democratic bodies (from neighborhood councils to mountain communes), with mass organizations, professional associations and cultural institutions and centers.

On the whole, the Communists intend to put their increased strength to use in resolving the most urgent and dramatic problems facing the country, and to overcome by democratic and positive means the dangerous crisis bedeviling Italian society. No one can ignore the change brought about by the election results. The ways and methods of leadership must be thoroughly renewed at all levels, the national level included. Effective measures are needed to normalize public life, reorganize local finances, disband useless institutions, eliminate bureaucratic excesses and unnecessary centralization, reorganize and simplify ministerial structures so as to ensure the regions, provinces and communes a bigger role in satisfying the vital demands of the masses. These measures would contribute to adminis-

trative decentralization and ensure citizens' participation in government by establishing new, democratic relations between the regions, provinces, districts and communes.

Among the issues demanding urgent solution it is important to note the need for a new policy in housing construction, which means revising and correcting error and inefficiencies to overcome present difficulties and to provide more jobs and rapid returns on public and private investments. This calls for immediate action to implement the emergency plan recently endorsed by Parliament. Measures must also be taken in this context to prolong the prerogative of the law on price and rent freezes and to urgently elaborate measures aimed at preventing any infringement of the regulations on fair rent.

The Communists demand that Parliament proceed, already before the summer recess, to revise the most unfair norms of the present tax and tariff policies.

As to the more general trends of economic policy, it should be noted that at present the trade unions are negotiating with the government on many important questions. The ICP pledges to promote more concrete and closer relations between the trade unions and the political democratic forces on vital problems of development, investments, employment, strengthening of the production apparatus. The ICP will fight, in particular, for implementation of the decision on accelerating the placing of investments in the South and for adoption of new concrete decisions for this. Besides, the ICP will promote in every way the early calling of regional and nationwide conferences to elaborate an employment plan for young people without work, including secondary and higher school graduates.

After the June 15-16 elections a genuine, decisive change should take place in normalizing public life, in strengthening security and democratic order. The ICP demands the rapid and successful windup of the work of the parliamentary commission of inquiry and the commission on struggle against the Mafia. The Communist Party also demands adoption of measures indispensable for the normal functioning of public services and for the proper use of public funds. An end must be put to the practice of collusion between political majority forces in assigning government jobs, beginning with radio and television, using the criteria of competence and ability. For this an interparliamentary commission should be set up for the reorganization of the system of participation in government, control over the functioning of this system, defining the criteria for selecting leaders of public organizations connected with the system of partici-

pation in government. Similar stringent measures should be envisaged and adhered to in nomination to financial posts.

In regard to democratic order, the Communists demand that Parliament immediately authorize necessary measures against the fascists, so that the judiciary can pass judgement in conformity with the gravity of the offence and that all state bodies stringently apply existing legislation, including the recently adopted Reale law, against any manifestations of fascism.

Democratic public opinion demands today more than yesterday that at long last the executors and organizers of crime, violence and attacks on people's lives should be found and punished. In this connection the Communists demand that Parliament discuss their proposals along with those of other parties on reorganizing the public security service in order to ensure equal economic and normative rights for this service and the carabinieri, and modifications in the military regulations and disciplinary rules in the armed forces on the basis of constitutional principles.

The June 15-16 elections confirm also the need to urgently bridge the gap between the Italians' civic consciousness and the often backward legislation. This means that Parliament must immediately and seriously discuss and adopt the corresponding decisions on the problem of abortion and birth control.

In all spheres of national life the Communists will in the coming weeks step up their efforts in solving problems that complicate the lives of the citizens and to promote the unity of the working people and the nation. This unity is more necessary than ever in order to rebuff any counter-attack by the conservative and reactionary forces, to isolate any provocation and to bring about the necessary changes.

The ICP leadership calls on all democrats and anti-fascists to fight for a just solution to the country's most vital problems so that Italy would not lag behind other nations, but would rapidly overcome her economic and political crisis and begin to play an independent and active role in the struggle for peace and international cooperation in the Mediterranean, Europe and the world over.

The ICP Leadership, aware of the Party's increased responsibility to the millions of electors, appeals to the working women and men and the youth to strengthen the Party and the Italian Communist Youth Federation. In a difficult moment for the country, when, however, new opportunities are opening up for a policy of unity and for democratic change, the link between experience and the initiative of the new Party members is of especial importance. By participating in

discussion, accepting responsibility and collaborating with young and veteran Party members the new comrades, both women and men, will help to intensify and democratize the activity of our organizations. A stronger and bigger Communist Party that is more representative in each commune and at each enterprise is the guarantee of democracy and progress for the entire country. The ICP Leadership calls on all organizations to work to make this year's communist press subscription campaign more successful than in recent years, so that it will become the starting point for political contacts with the masses, for propaganda and discussion.

L'Unita, June 22, 1975

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. A communiqué of the Supreme Revolutionary Council published on the morning of June 21 defines the basic objectives and tasks of the Portuguese revolution at its present and subsequent stages.

The main lines of the adopted policy correspond essentially to the interests, aspirations and objectives of the working classes and the Portuguese people as a whole. The democratic and progressive forces see the communiqué as a program and action platform around which all those who are ready to struggle and work for the goal of building a democratic Portugal and socialist society must unite.

2. The PCP underscores the great importance of the aims listed in the communiqué of the Revolutionary Council: a) defining the objective of the Portuguese revolution as building a socialist, classless society by socializing the means of production and eliminating the exploitation of man by man; b) establishing a regime recognizing democratic freedoms, including that of forming political parties, whose importance is universally recognized; c) reaffirming the alliance of the AFM with the popular movement, either as an alliance with parties, or in cooperation with local popular organizations striving for unity; d) emphasizing the need to strictly abide by the agreements concluded between the political parties and the AFM, and that

elaboration of a new constitution is the exclusive task of the Constituent Assembly; e) affirming that the elections are a component of the revolutionary process and not an obstacle to it; f) the necessity of expediting the creation of a new state apparatus, strengthening revolutionary authority and stringent measures against counter-revolutionaries and pseudo-revolutionary leftist elements; g) defining an economic policy aimed at wiping out capitalism and building socialism; considering the present difficulties it will be implemented primarily on the basis of creative labor, political awareness and self-sacrifice of the working classes.

These and other principles listed in the communiqué constitute an effective platform (which will subsequently gain in scope) for an alliance of the popular movement with the AFM.

It is by applying these principles that the diverse political forces will prove in practice their participation in the revolutionary process.

3. The Revolutionary Council rightly underscores the unity character of the Provisional Government, and the need for it to function efficiently.

The PCP emphasizes that for the Provisional Coalition Government to be viable and to implement a correct policy in the framework of the basic lines defined by the Revolutionary Council, the parties of the coalition must urgently effect a change in their relations, examining the possibilities of effective cooperation at government as well as at local level.

Should such a change not take place, the government coalition will, as a result of internal contradictions, become ineffective and, in the final analysis, unviable.

The campaigns the coalition parties have mounted against the reactionary course, their violent anti-communism, their cooperation with reactionary circles, their campaign of misinformation abroad against the new, democratic Portugal, have created a grave situation and greatly hamper any change in relations between parties.

Considering such changes necessary to preserve the coalition, and also to once more test its viability, the PCP proposes that the coalition parties immediately:

- 1) discontinue mutual attacks (without prejudice to presentation of differing or even opposite points of view);

- 2) examine at bilateral or multilateral meetings the possibility of cooperation;

- 3) give instructions to the corresponding organizations and their membership already now, without waiting for agreement at leadership

level, to consider in the context of their activity the possibility of cooperation in implementing the policy defined by the Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government.

Should the parties fail to reach agreement on the basis of the platform contained in the communiqué of the Revolutionary Council, the present system of alliances and coalitions will sooner or later have to be replaced by another system, guaranteeing the most efficient leadership for the policy of the Portuguese revolution aimed at creating a democratic regime and socialist society.

4. The alliance of the popular movement with the AFM is the motive force of the revolution. Besides political parties, irrespective of whether or not they are part of the coalition, other forms of organization of the popular movement play an increasingly important part in the revolutionary process.

The PCP emphasizes the urgent need to strengthen the forms of uniting the working people and all classes and sections of the population who are interested in liquidating the monopolies and latifundia and in radical changes in the economy and Portuguese society on the road to socialism.

The PCP reaffirms the need to isolate and struggle against reactionary, pseudo-revolutionary, splitting and corrupting elements, all those who opposed the realization of the basic objectives of the present stage of the revolution.

We must not wait until mutual understanding and agreement has been reached between party leaderships, but strive to establish unity and cooperation between all Portuguese interested in the revolutionary process. In the trade unions, leagues of small and medium farmers, mass organizations, factories, schools, in the local authorities, everywhere, the continuation and success of the revolution demand closer unity or mutual understanding and joint actions.

The new tasks posed by the revolutionary process demand, along with such tried and tested forms of organization as workers' factory commissions, trade union commissions and others, new forms of popular organization. the PCP stresses the importance at present of developing a broad unitary base, commissions of tenants, workers' control, reorganization of industry, vigilance, defense of the revolution, defense of local and regional popular assemblies.

Joint actions should be aimed at fulfilling concrete tasks in defense of the gains won after April 25, at struggle against reaction, for the realization of tasks connected with the revolutionary measures already adopted and the defined revolutionary policy: nationalization,

agrarian reform, the battle for production, workers' control, creation of a democratic state, finalization of the decolonization process.

The Portuguese revolution has the strength to successfully rebuff internal reaction and to realize its objectives.

Fully dedicated to the revolution, the PCP will continue to give all its energies to developing the unity of the people and its alliance with the AFM, in defense of freedoms and national independence, for the creation of a democratic regime on the way to socialism.

Avante! June 26, 1975



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FROM THE PARTY PRESS

THE TROTSKYITES TODAY

After 1968 the expanding social base of the popular struggle and the sharpening of class battles often led to a rash of leftist activity. Leftist organizations try to take advantage of these two factors, though the growth of the popular struggle and leftist activization should not be seen as fully and directly interconnected.

Like periodically repeating fashions, "gauchism" is once again being trotted out by the "big press," which evinces regret that the leftist movements remain fragmented and are unable to unite for a specific role.

For what role? That is not hard to guess. Reaction, in France in particular, has always dreamed of leftist movements as a trend "left" of the Communists and thus as a means of reducing their influence.

Among the various "gauchisms," it sees Trotskyism as the most effective. If only, it laments, instead of bickering and breaking into numerous clans, these Trotskyite groupings could be brought together! Then there might appear an association that could do some harm to communism. And latterly all mass media — from cinema to television, from radio to book publishing — spare no effort to prove that Trotskyism is the one and only "authentic" communism, and in their eyes all the more authentic because it does not challenge the positions of big capital.

Distortion of historical facts and the role of individuals pursues the aim of dimming people's memories, of obscuring the fact that Trotskyism was a non-Bolshevik trend of a small minority in the Russian revolutionary movement, that siding with Bolshevism on the eve of October 1917, it later tried to gain ascendancy over Bolshevism on both the national and international plane. It was during this attempt, in 1925-1929, that Trotskyism was defeated by exclusively political means, and again became a small organization outside the movement, providing arguments for hostile propaganda.

HAS TROTSKYISM CHANGED?

Does the Trotskyism of 1975 differ from that of several decades

ago? Has it aged well, like wine? Rather, the opposite is true. For a while the Trotskyites found themselves obliged to admit, for instance, that the USSR is a workers' state and that its existence should be defended. Later, equating capitalist and socialist countries, they began calling for a "revolution" in the socialist countries, that is, for destruction of what they, parroting Mr. Poniatoski, call the "bureaucratic" states, and this for the simple reason that in these countries socialism has become a reality.

Trotskyism is politically sterile. In the rare cases when it was able to play a certain role in the popular movement, for instance in pre-war Spain, or more recently in Bolivia, its sectarianism and adventurism always created an obstacle to revolutionary advance. By its attacks on Popular Unity in Chile it demobilized the masses, and it is now doing the same in Portugal.

Trotskyism proclaims to be against all reformist trends but actually supports without hesitation and at every opportune moment the worst forms of rightist opportunism to obstruct the spread of communist influence.

Trotskyism has no scruples and tries to avail itself of every opportunity to sow distrust toward the Communists, to alienate the youth and the working people from them. For this, all arguments are good, and Trotskyism uses them, though they may contradict one another.

ALWAYS AGAINST UNITY

The positions recently adopted by Trotskyism with regard to the policy of working people's unity that is imperative for victory over monopoly rule and to open the way to socialism, are a case in point. All Trotskyites heatedly attack the common left program and the alliance around it, only varying in expressions used, saying it is an "opportunistic compromise" that can only lead to the betrayal of the working people's interests.

Before and during the 1973 parliamentary elections, like during the 1974 presidential elections, they untiringly campaigned around this question, at one moment attacking the Communists, the next — their allies, depending on what seemed to them the more effective in distracting the working people from the left alliance.

Then came the resolutions of our 21st Party Congress, the political questions posed before the Socialist Party, the reaffirmation of the FCP's striving to preserve the anti-capitalist provisions of the common program and to carry them through at every stage, and the Party's efforts to show that this depends on the influence and strength

of the Communists. Again Trotskyites of all shades, echoing bourgeois propaganda and the reformists, accused the Communists of carrying on a polemic, a campaign of "invectives," and even of striving to "maintain" the Giscard-Chirac regime.

The Lambert group circulated a petition of "re-establishing unity" as if the FCP demand that unity in all circumstances should be based on the objectives of the common program, which this group considers "bourgeois," were endangering this unity.

The newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière* devoted four pages of a recent issue to an article "Political Fantasy or ...if Mitterand Were Elected," in which these Trotskyites attempt to prove that a left victory (as proof they cite issues posed by Communists) could only result in a failure of a policy, "that is being worked out behind the backs of the working people."

The same expressions are used by Giscardian propaganda, saying that "fortunately the left were not victorious in 1974."

DANGEROUS COMPLIANCE

Though at the presidential elections the Trotskyites did everything to sidetrack as many Frenchmen as they could from the left forces and were able to take away some votes from the left, the Socialist Party leaders learned nothing. The impression can even be drawn that some of them see in the increased number of Trotskyites candidates at the general or partial elections a means of depriving our Party of some votes, even if this weakens the left as whole.

In some mass organizations we see at times a strange combination of revolutionary phrasemongering and reformist practices with the aim of barring Communists and all convinced partisans of the unity of democratic forces from occupying responsible posts.

It is argued that everyone has the right to self-expression and to his own views. This we do not contest, and agree that it is the right of the "leftists" as well as of everybody else. That is why we are against repressive measures with regard to some of them. But this principled stand will not make us abandon political struggle against individuals or sects that seriously harm the working-class and democratic movement whenever they can.

It would be a dangerous illusion to think that by complacency toward Trotskyism it is possible to reinforce one's own ranks. The "entrism" practised in various forms by Trotskyism in the trade unions and popular organizations is a means of subversive activity that

runs counter to all traditions of the French working-class movement.

Therefore we think it quite appropriate to call on the working people to defend their organizations against this harmful practice, to display vigilance in relation to it, and to condemn it wherever it appears.

If, for instance, a certain Bergeron, one of the worst enemies of working people's united action, decided to support the Trotskyites who have appropriated the name of National Alliance of French Students (as opposed to the genuine student trade union that was restored contrary to their hopes), this is not surprising, if we bear in mind that Trotskyites, from Lambert to Laguiller, are active inside Force Ouvrière, an organization advocating class collaboration.

Actually, the complacency displayed by all the Bergerons toward the Trotskyites has the same motives as the tolerance of capitalist propaganda that raises a fuss over even the most insignificant actions of the Trotskyites. They see in the Trotskyites a special tool of anti-communism, a means of diminishing the FCP's influence among the masses.*

POLITICAL STRUGGLE IS NEEDED

A part of the Communists' general ideological battle is political struggle to show the true face of Trotskyism and to prevent it from weakening the revolutionary energy, manifested by the youth in particular.

The already limited influence of the Trotskyite groups is further reduced and the bickering in their ranks increases as the Communists expand their struggle to strengthen the alliance on a sound basis, to increase the role of the working-class party. The Communists' initiatives and actions in all fields and at all levels, their growing militancy, courageous and convincing propaganda, their untiring work to inculcate Marxism-Leninism in the minds of the millions — these are the most effective means by which the present attempts, as all the previous ones, to use the Trotskyites against the working-class movement will be defeated.

Léo Figueres

Abridged from *France Nouvelle*, June 2

*They cannot help rejoicing at the constant and considerable effort of the Trotskyites, the "Workers' League" in particular, to carry on propaganda in working-class centers where Communists wield a decisive influence, for this is what they themselves cannot do.

