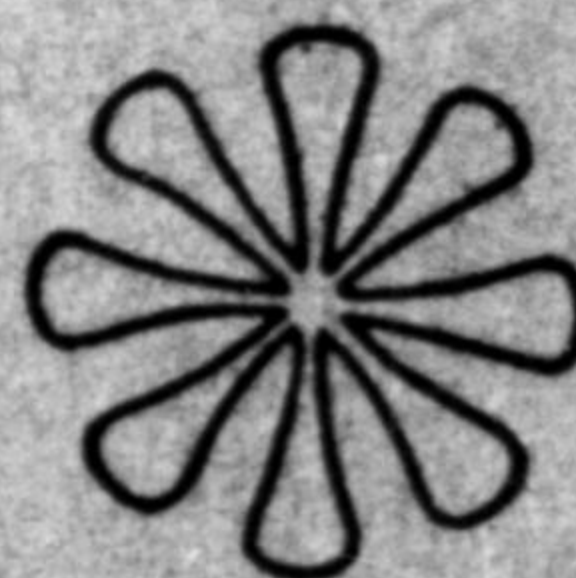


INFORMA



TION

BULLETIN

Issued by
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

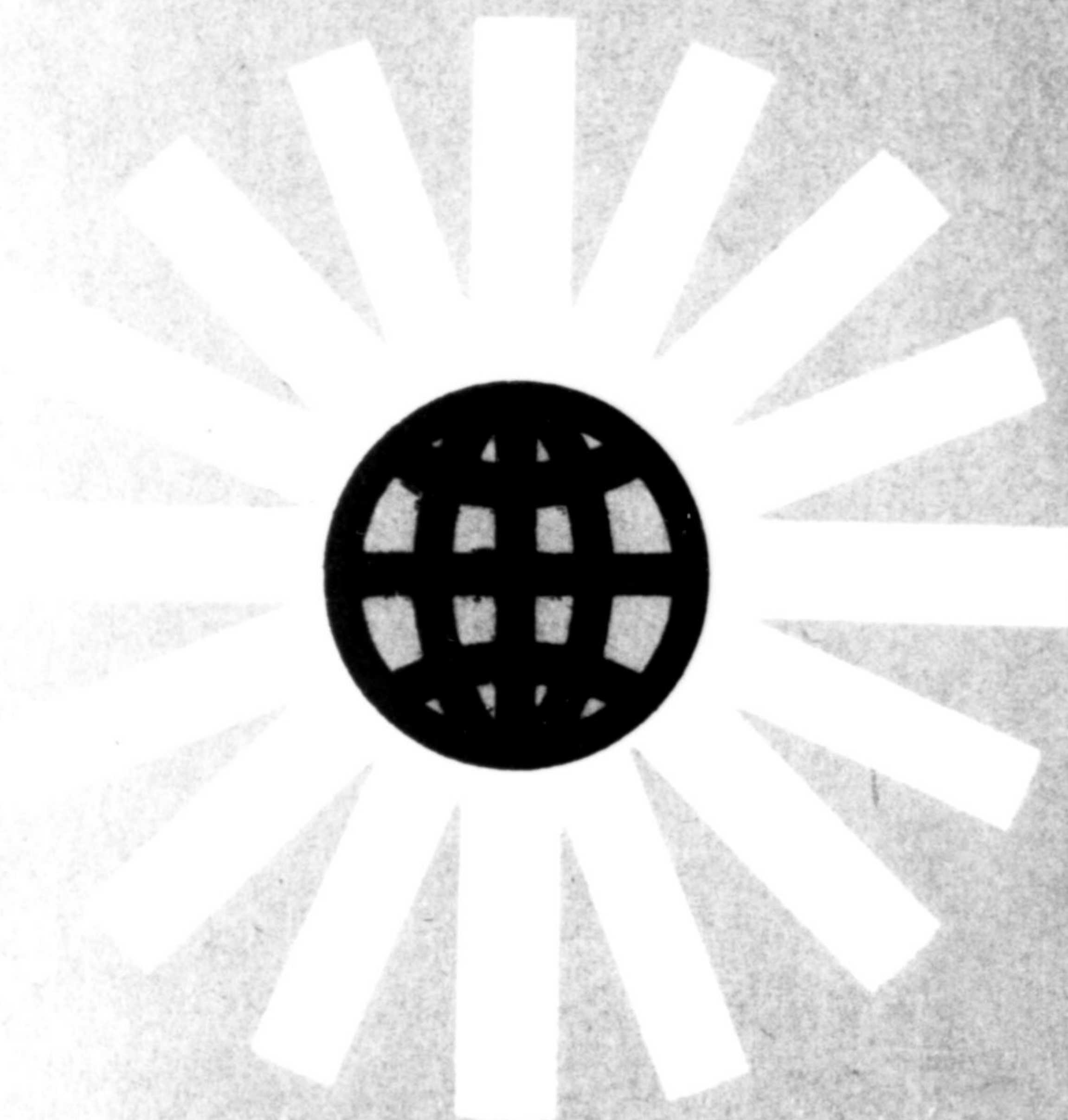
**21ST CONGRESS
CP BELGIUM**

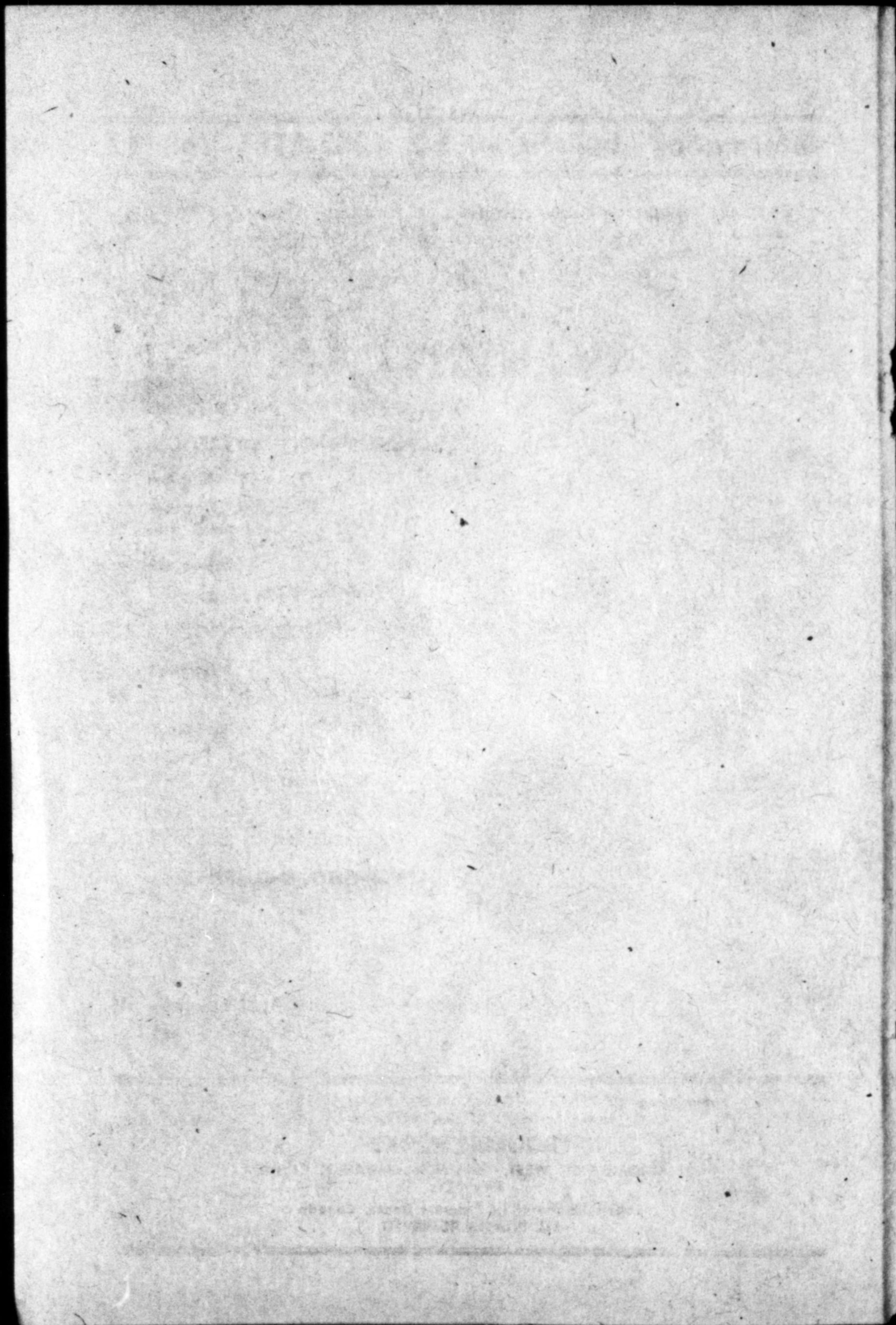
•
**STATEMENT
CP CHILE**

•
**REPORT BY
GUS HALL**

1-2

(257-258) • 1974





information bulletin — 1-2 (257-258) Vol. 12

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

c o n t e n t s

Lenin's teaching and work are immortal 5

Conference on
'Problems of Peace and Socialism' 11

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Belgium

21st CPB Congress
final resolution 16

Nicaragua

10th Congress of the NSP 22

PLENARY MEETINGS

Colombia

Political resolution of CC CPC 32

Mongolia

CC MPRP Plenum
speech by Y. Tsedenbal 34

USA

Report by Gus Hall 41

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Chile

Statement of CP Chile 56

Uruguay

Information on the situation in Uruguay 64
(Cont'd next page)

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

(Cont'd)

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

- Symposium on problems of foreign workers 68
- Seminar on problems confronting intellectuals 70
- Conference of CC secretaries
of Communist and Workers' Parties
of socialist countries 74

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

- Soviet Union**
- The path of betrayal 76

PRINTED IN CANADA
APRIL 3, 1974



LENIN'S TEACHING AND WORK ARE IMMORTAL*

On January 18, a theoretical conference, "The Teaching and Work of V.I. Lenin Are Immortal," opened in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Trade Unions in Moscow. Sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, the Higher Party School of the CC CPSU, the USSR Academy of Sciences, creative unions and organizations, it was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Lenin's death.

The conference was opened by M.A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC CPSU.

A report, "V.I. Lenin and the International Communist Movement," was made by B.N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, Secretary of the CC CPSU, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

REPORT BY B.N. PONOMARYOV

Half a century has passed since the passing away of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, leader of the world proletariat, great thinker and revolutionary, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. No single person has made such a tremendous impact on the minds and deeds of men as Lenin. He inscribed his name in history by having, more than anyone else, changed its course in the interests of the working class and all toiling people. "No matter to what summits mankind ascends it will always remember that the gigantic figure of Lenin, thinker and revolutionary, stood at the sources of communist civilization," The speaker quoted Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's words from his report on the centenary of V.I. Lenin's birth. "Nothing is more sacred to a Communist, to a Leninist, than to devote all his strength, intelligence and will to bring nearer the future for which Lenin fought."

By carrying out the Great October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin, the Communist Party and working class of Russia cleared the channel for the swift socialist stream.

V.I. Lenin elevated Marx's teaching to a new level; he created a harmonious, integral theory of revolution which embraces and generalizes diverse forms of revolutionary development on the scale of individual

*Pravda, January 19, 1974.

countries and on the planetary scale. Lenin's teaching is international, for it has absorbed the experience of all countries and peoples. International, too, is the practice of Leninism, for it derives from the general laws of revolutionary struggle. International is the world Communist movement that sprang up under the banner of Leninism.

Today Communists and their struggle have a determining impact on all world developments. Essentially, the accomplishments of the world Communist movement embody the main content of human progress in the present epoch.

First, on the basis of the ideas of Lenin and according to his great plan socialism was built under CPSU leadership in the Soviet Union. In spite of the fierce hostility of imperialism and the class enemy inside the country, in spite of the resistance of Trotskyites, Right-wingers and other anti-socialist forces, the CPSU performed a truly titanic job and brought about the triumph of the new social system. The Soviet people have set up a developed socialist society and for the first time in human history embarked on the transition to communism.

Secondly, the Soviet people, led by the Party of Lenin, and their army, made the decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism during World War II. Communist-led socio-political forces saved civilization, defended and affirmed the socialist perspective in the progress of all humankind.

Thirdly, a quarter of a century ago, under the leadership of Communist Parties, a new stage in the world socialist revolution began. The world socialist system emerged as the mainstay and prime force of the further development of the world revolutionary process. The socialist community has decisively influenced the changing balance of forces in the interests of the working class and toiling people all over the globe.

Fourthly, all this made victorious national-liberation revolutions possible. Scores of peoples took to the road of independent development, joined actively in world politics and formed a whole group of nations that opted for the socialist orientation.

Fifthly, Communists have played and continue to play a vanguard role in tackling what is undoubtedly today the most vital, the most urgent task of all mankind, the task of preserving peace and preventing a world war. Today, as never before, the realization is growing in peoples' minds that Communists are the most reliable and most active force for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

Sixthly, Communist activity has made for the uninterrupted growth of the organization and cohesion of the proletariat in capitalist countries, for the mounting offensive against the system of capitalist exploitation.

Finally, as a result of the gains achieved under the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the interests of the working people, for socialism, its ideas

have acquired unprecedented attractive force on all continents, in every corner of the globe.

Such are the great achievements which Communists are fully justified in taking pride in.

The speaker further dwelt on the historic achievements of existing socialism. Today socialism can put on the scales of the historic confrontation with capitalism convincing achievements in the implementation of tasks once would have been unthinkable even to contemplate. At the present stage, when we have advanced so far in fulfilling Lenin's behests, realization of the ideals of communism rests on a powerful material and technical base, on a high level of social relations and the socialist consciousness of the masses.

The strategic guidelines for our country's further development were formulated by the 24th Party Congress. Implementation of the Congress decisions will be a major step forward in strengthening the positions of international socialism as a whole and the attractive force of its ideas. The December (1973) Plenum of the CC CPSU, as is known, thoroughly analyzed the key problems of Soviet economic development. In his speech at the plenum General Secretary of the CC CPSU Comrade L.I. Brezhnev outlined the measures aimed at achieving a steep rise in the effectiveness of social production, maximum utilization of the scientific and technological revolution and further raising the people's living standards.

A signal trend of contemporary history is the steadily growing role of socialist foreign policy. The political, economic and defense potential of existing socialism enables it to resolve ever greater foreign political tasks. The Peace Program put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress has entered history as a genuinely popular program the objectives of which are close and understandable to all exponents of equal, democratic international relations. The foreign policy achievements of the last few years have been especially impressive. Major gains have been attained thanks to the efforts of our Party and state, the coordinated actions of the fraternal socialist countries. A general shift has occurred towards détente, in favor of peace and socialism, in favor of all anti-imperialist forces.

While our Party highly assesses these accomplishments, it does not lose sight of the fact that the most aggressive, the most militaristic circles of imperialism have not reconciled themselves to the turn in events. They try to counterattack, weaken or even torpedo the process of détente. One cannot fail to observe that the imperialists are continuing the material preparation for war — the arms race, which casts an evil shadow over the development of international relations.

That is why the Soviet Union and all peace-loving forces see their task in resolutely and consistently opposing the negative trends on the international arena, in persistently and actively combating all and any plots of

reaction or imperialist aggression, in making the process of détente irreversible.

In recent years the Communist movement has come up against one more hostile force: the anti-Leninist policy of the PRC leadership. In all parts of the world it is stubbornly pursuing a policy directed against the socialist system, against the peoples' national-liberation struggle, against the Communist Parties. The Maoist leaders have inflicted untold damage on the Chinese people, forcing them to go through the chaos and torments of the "cultural revolution" and isolating them from the socialist countries. In the international sphere the Maoists oppose détente and call for the strengthening of NATO and other aggressive groupings; they oppose any initiative or negotiations aimed at reducing military confrontation. Consistent struggle against the harmful policies of the Chinese leadership is a prime duty of Marxists-Leninists.

B.N. Ponomaryov then proceeded to define the situation in the capitalist world from the point of view of Lenin's theory of imperialism. The position in which imperialism finds itself today, he said, differs from the one it was in Lenin's time. But these differences have appeared precisely as a consequence of the development of the trends revealed and investigated by Lenin. That is why Lenin's theory of imperialism has been and remains the basis for any correct analysis of the conditions and prerequisites of the working class' revolutionary struggle.

The essence of the decay of capitalism lies, as Lenin saw it, in the fact that the bourgeoisie is less and less capable of rationally utilizing the productive forces, that the unevenness of development between industries and countries continues to grow, that manifestations of parasitism and economic upheavals, unemployment, spiraling prices and insecurity are growing.

The fundamental causes of the acute economic and social contradictions of present-day state-monopoly capitalism, as Lenin pointed out, derive from the combination of contradictory factors: monopoly and competition, planning and free market, capitalist organization and the anarchy of production.

Bourgeois society now faces such an aggravation of all its contradictions that one can speak of a definite qualitative shift in the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the all-round deepening of that crisis. It is a crisis of the economic base of imperialism which goes beyond the frame of cyclic recessions. It is a monetary crisis. It is a crisis in the whole system of relations between imperialism and the countries that have cast off colonial oppression. It is a crisis in relations between the present power centers in the imperialist camp: the U.S., the countries of Western Europe and Japan. It is an energy crisis which is acquiring calamitous proportions. It is an ecological crisis. It is a crisis of the whole foreign policy of imperialism, of

the numerous military-political doctrines aimed at armed suppression of socialism. It is, finally, a political and ideological crisis finding expression in the all-round aggravation of the class struggle on the "home front" of capitalism.

Hopes of a lasting social and political stabilization in capitalist countries are plainly being dashed. Social forces opposed to capitalism are growing inside it. The working class steps up its pressure and has been particularly active in recent months. Reports on more strikes come in every day. Strikes develop into demonstrations and public meetings, culminate in the seizure of enterprises and in sharp conflicts between national trade union centers and the government. Clashes with police are becoming ever more common. Expanding peasant struggles, major actions by students and other young people, radicalization among the intellectuals and numerous other facts, for their part, speak of a mounting revolutionary movement.

Most important of all, a notable qualitative change is taking place in the content of the working people's class struggle, which turns increasingly against the very system of state-monopoly domination.

The example and assistance of socialism have provided real opportunities for the national liberation of peoples oppressed by imperialism and for the non-capitalist development of new states. The deepening and sharpening antagonism between the imperialist powers and developing countries is the basis on which the anti-imperialist movement is gaining in intensity.

Two trends are contending in this arena: various forms of neo-colonialism involving the activity of supranational corporations and, on the other hand, a mounting trend towards restricting or even eliminating their positions in developing countries to set up independent national economies. It is in this context that one should assess measures adopted by developing countries, primarily those exporting oil, but also countries supplying other raw materials. What is taking place is not a passing fact but a major advance in the struggle of the peoples of the Third World for economic emancipation from imperialism and the provision of conditions in which an end can be put to backwardness.

The intensity of class contradictions in the capitalist system as a whole, the instability of the situation, and discontent among the masses in numerous bourgeois countries have gone so far that at any moment there may develop in this or that sector of the system a situation paving the way for revolutionary change. In these circumstances, the role of the subjective factor, of the Marxist-Leninist Parties following a correct and effective policy, is growing immeasurably. A correct policy, determination, revolutionary preparedness and militancy, and loyalty to Leninist strategic and tactical principles on the part of the working-class vanguard are the primary conditions for translating the available opportunities into practice.

The ways and means of the Party providing the requisite standard of

political leadership are numerous. They may be listed as evolving and perfecting a scientifically based class policy; the Party's keen awareness of its responsibility to both its own and the international labor movement, closer unity with other Marxist-Leninist Parties, a thorough study and assimilation of the historical experience of revolutions and socialist building; creatively carrying forward Marxism-Leninism, firmly upholding its purity against all manifestations of Right- or "Left"-wing opportunism; adhering unfailingly to the standards of Party life and the principles of democratic centralism and ensuring the ideological and political unity and fighting efficiency of the Party. Lastly there is the ability to draw conclusions, not only from gains and victories, but also from setbacks and defeats.

The events in Chile were a most emphatic and dramatic reminder of the necessity for constant vigilance against reactionary intrigue. The Chilean example showed the world again and only too clearly who are the real enemies of democracy, those who flout the laws and resort to terror. All this is done by bourgeois reaction.

Speaking of the activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist world, B.N. Ponomaryov stressed that today they are in the thick of the mass struggle in view of the growing economic crisis. They are in the forefront of class battles for the vital interests of the working class and other working people. Communists mobilize the masses against the Rightist danger and the threat of fascism and dictatorial regimes. They are the most efficient organized force defending the people's democratic gains. In struggle against bourgeois, reformist ideology, against "Leftists" and revisionists, Communists help the working class to achieve greater political consciousness and unity and rally other working people behind it. Of crucial importance in raising the militancy of the masses is the exposure of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, popularization of the ideas of Leninism and the achievements of real socialism and the defense of the latter against attacks from the class enemy and various slanderers. What makes Communists strong is that they link struggles for the working people's everyday, pressing needs and interests with struggle against the exploiter system as a whole, for the socialist perspective.

The results achieved by the two trends of the international working-class movement in the 50 years since V.I. Lenin's death are there for all to see. They prove convincingly the triumph of Leninism in the historical contest with social-reformism. They also show that working-class disunity has always played into the hands of reaction and fascism. The Communist Parties' consistent policy for unity of action of diverse working-class currents doesn't imply a relaxation of the ideological fight against the Social-Democrats' erroneous positions and views, which are detrimental to the movement.

The significance of the 1969 International Meeting in unifying the world Communist movement is particularly obvious today. Now that fighting conditions are becoming more and more varied and the scope and importance of each Party's internationalist tasks are sharply increasing, life itself stresses the urgency of new major initiatives to promote the unity and mobilization of the world Communist movement.

It is safe to say that credit for the initiative of raising fundamental problems of the very destiny of human society goes to the Communists. In the struggles ahead, Leninism will score still greater gains.

P.N. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, read a paper on "The Construction of a Developed Socialist Society in the USSR Is the Triumph of the Ideas of Leninism."

The conference also heard a paper by G.M. Markov, First Secretary of the Board, Writers' Union of the USSR, on "V.I. Lenin and Socialist Culture."

Thereupon discussion was continued in three sections.

COMMUNIQUE

OF
CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES
ON WORK OF THE JOURNAL "PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM"

A Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Prague on January 7-9, 1974, to discuss the work of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" in 1972 and 1973. Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participated in the Conference:

Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Bangladesh, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Cuba, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Gadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Hungarian

Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Philippines, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, African Independence Party of Senegal, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Communist Party of Sudan, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and one more Party, which is not listed at its own request.

In the course of comradely discussion representatives of fraternal Parties expressed their views and opinions on the work of the journal. The participants in the Conference gave a positive evaluation of its activity. On its pages, the journal elaborated on topical problems of our time and promoted discussion in depth by fraternal Parties of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of building socialism and communism, of the revolutionary struggle.

The Conference noted the increasing significance of the journal as a collective theoretical and information publication of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and gave its recommendations for improving its activity. In the opinion of the participants in the Conference, there is every opportunity to enhance the journal's contribution to the Communists' struggle against the main enemy of the peoples—imperialism, the mainstay of which is American imperialism, for peace, democracy, national and social liberation, for socialism and communism, and for the unity of the world Communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, in accordance with the universally accepted norms of relations between Communist parties.

The Conference called on the fraternal Parties to devote still more attention to the work of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" and to its distribution.

The Conference issued a statement, in which it expressed solidarity with the democrats and patriots of Chile, and demanded the immediate release of Senator Luis Corvalan, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of

Chile, an end to the bloody terror of the fascist junta, and the release of all Chilean democrats and patriots from prisons and concentration camps. The participants in the Conference also expressed their protest against the persecution of Communists, fighters for progress and social justice, in other countries of Latin America, in countries of Asia, Africa and Europe, and adopted a statement to this effect.

An atmosphere of fraternal cooperation prevailed at the Conference.

Following the conclusion of the Conference, a festive session was held to mark the 15th anniversary of the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism."

STATEMENTS

OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON WORK OF THE JOURNAL "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"

I.

For several months now, the military junta which has usurped power and trampled constitutional rights and liberties underfoot in Chile has been carrying on its outrages. Thousands of patriots are in concentration camps and hundreds of death sentences are passed. The spirit of the fascist Reich reigns supreme in the country.

In using unprecedentedly brutal methods against democratic forces, the military clique aims its main blow at the Communists and members of other Popular Unity parties, courageous fighters for the freedom and radiant future of their country. The junta's entire activity betrays its anti-national, anti-popular nature. The junta operates as an accomplice of North American imperialism and world reaction in their fight against the offensive of revolutionary contingents in Latin America. Its sinister activities are also directed against positive changes on the international scene.

The powerful movement of solidarity with the Chilean people which has developed throughout the world is evidence that fair-minded men on earth support popular resistance in Chile, which involves the broadest segments of the democratic public. Many of even those who until recently did not share the objectives of Popular Unity are now rising against the fascist dictatorship.

We participants in the Conference representing 67 Communist and Workers' parties, who have assembled in Prague to discuss the work of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, indignantly protest against the junta's bloody, massive crimes. We fraternally identify ourselves with the freedom fighters of Chile.

This Conference is deeply concerned about the fate of Comrade Luis

Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who is in a concentration camp on the island of Dawson along with numerous prominent Popular Unity leaders. Comrade Corvalan must be released.

We call on all who hate fascism and cherish freedom and democracy, all who are prompted by humane sentiments and respect the rights of man, to raise their voice in defense of Chile's patriots and demand their immediate release.

The memory of the heroic patriots who, like President Salvador Allende, gave their lives in the cause of the revolution, independence and social progress in Chile will live for ever.

Freedom for Comrade Luis Corvalan!

Freedom for all the prisoners of the dictatorship!

Infamy upon the fascist military junta, which has drenched Chile in blood and arouses the anger of all mankind!

The Chilean people shall prevail!

II.

The delegations of the 67 Communist and Workers' parties attending the Prague Conference on the Work of the Journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* note with deep indignation that repressive measures against Communists and other fighters for progress and social justice continue in a number of countries of the world contrary to elementary standards of humanity and democracy.

The Conference condemns the decision of the Franco court which has sentenced Marcelino Camacho and his associates, prominent trade union leaders of Spain, to prison terms ranging from 12 to 20 years. It protests against the imprisonment of fighters for civil rights in Northern Ireland, and the savage persecution of Communists and democrats in Greece, Portugal, Guatemala, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Haiti, Iran, Turkey, Sudan, Indonesia, the Philippines, the SAR and the Arab areas occupied by Israel, as well as against repressive measures against Communists in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The Conference expresses fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats who have become victims of reactionary persecution and emphatically demands an end to terror, assassination and persecution.

CELEBRATION MEETING IN PRAGUE

At the conclusion of the Conference held to discuss the work of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* for 1972-1973, in which representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' Parties participated, a meeting was held in Prague to mark the 15th anniversary of the journal.

In the journal's meeting hall many representatives of Parties making up

the world Communist and workers' movement gathered together. A delegation from the CPSU, headed by candidate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU B.N. Ponomaryov was present. Among those taking part in the celebration were the First Secretary of the CC People's Party of Iran, I. Iskenderi; General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, M. O'Riordan; General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, W. Kashtan; General Secretary of the Party of Liberation and Socialism, (Morocco), A. Yata; First Secretary CC Nicaraguan Socialist Party, L. Sanchez; National Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, G. Jackson; General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama, R.D. Souza Batista; Chairman of the San Marino Communist Party, E. Gasperoni; National Chairman of the Communist Party USA, Henry Winston; Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, V. Pessi; members of Political Bureaus, Presidiums and Executive Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The celebration meeting was opened by the Chief Editor K.I. Zarodov. In his speech he said that the journal developed and matured along with the Communist and workers' movement. The journal successfully emerged from the period of establishing itself to maturity. There could be no doubt that the coming years would bring it new successes both in improving its contents, as well as in its circulation. K.I. Zarodov emphasized that the entire activities of its international editorial staff were and would remain based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Congratulatory speeches were made by member of the Secretariat CC PUWP A. Werblan; General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, W. Kashtan; member of the Political Commission of the CC, Communist Party of Chile, V. Teitelboim; member of the Central Executive Committee and General Secretariat, Communist Party of India, N.K. Krishnan; member of the Political Bureau, CC Communist Party of Iraq, B. Ibrahim.

The speakers especially stressed that in recent years, parallel with the growth of the prestige of the international Communist and workers' movement, the role of the journal continued to grow. The ideological and political unity of the international Communist and workers' movement is becoming more significant, and the constant strengthening of this unity is a vital task.

The celebration meeting closed with the singing of *The Internationale*.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

21st CONGRESS OF THE CP OF BELGIUM

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, which convened in Brussels on December 14-16, 1973, was attended by 190 delegates, including 66 factory workers, 63 office employees, and 28 professionals and intellectuals. Seventy-three delegates were under 40 years of age. Seventy-seven joined the Party since 1961. The Congress gave a rousing reception to fraternal delegates, including a delegation from the CPSU, and cheered messages from unattending parties.

The Central Committee's report to Congress was delivered by the Party Chairman, Comrade Louis Van Geyt. Many delegates spoke in the ensuing debate. The Congress approved the CC report, unanimously adopted a final resolution (see below), and elected the leading Party bodies for the new term.

The first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee elected Louis Van Geyt to the Party chairmanship. Comrades Jean Terfve and Josef Turf were elected Deputy Chairmen.

FINAL RESOLUTION OF THE 21st CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

We give below the complete text of the resolution adopted unanimously and published in **Drapeau Rouge** on December 17, 1973.

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium (CPB) which took place in Brussels from December 14-16, 1973, adopted a program of struggle which requires a heightening in intensity and quality of the workers' and people's struggle against the power of capitalist monopoly.

At the same time the Congress elaborated a policy of alliances which this struggle and its aims urgently call for.

UNDERMINING THE POWER OF THE MONOPOLIES

That the capitalist system and imperialism have entered a new phase of the general crisis is proved by inflation and the monetary and oil crises.

Consequently, a decisive change is taking place in the class struggle in developed capitalist countries. For a correct solution of the sharp problems confronting the workers and the popular masses, the political power of the monopolies must be undermined, then limited and destroyed, and deep democratic changes introduced into society, thus preparing the way to a change-over to socialism. The formation of the Leburton government in Belgium has revealed the difficult situation in which the big bourgeoisie find themselves if they govern without the support of the Socialist Party and Christian Democrats.

This participation by the Socialists, which discredits the Socialist Party and shifts onto it the responsibility for the ruinous policy of the government, helps the monopoly power to hold back the people's resistance. Certainly, innumerable social and political conflicts are, in the final analysis, directed against this power, but so long as they are uncoordinated and the masses are unaware of the political way out of the crisis of the system, the grip of the monopolies will continue.

In order to unite the entire struggle of the people they must be presented with a political alternative, a clear perspective, linked with the establishment of a political front uniting those forces capable of isolating the Right and putting an end to the power of the monopolies. The organized working-class movement is the main force and motive power of this struggle.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By its actions the working-class movement achieves important partial successes.

Its fighting capacity has increased considerably over the past few years. But social-democratic reformism, which still exerts an overwhelming influence on the leading ranks of the movement, as well as the widespread Christian-Democratic reformism prevent the workers' movement from opposing a unitary, effective policy to the government's policies, which are controlled by big capital. This leads to a situation where new groups joining in the struggle against the evils of capitalism get into the blind alley of nationalism and gauchism.

These political conditions, coupled with the demands for fundamental transformations, make it essential for the Communist Party to conduct an unrelenting fight, increase its influence in the working-class and democratic struggles and consolidate and broaden its organizations at places of work and residence.

Our Party's main task is to assist the organized working-class movement to win political independence from the ruling class, help it to unite and become the pivot of a broad popular anti-monopoly union.

TO OPPOSE THE MONOPOLY BOURGEOISIE AND ITS POLICY

In our country, as a result of the unceasing and rapidly developing capitalist concentration, the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie is growing at the expense of other bourgeois strata. The chief result is the growing vulnerability of our national economy which is losing its independence, the threatening rise of prices, work insecurity, the plundering of the national resources with the aid of the unjust tax system and the value added tax, cutting of expenditure on social needs, particularly to the detriment of education, scientific research and the communal development, currency and land speculation, etc.

The government is implementing a policy meeting the interests and the needs of big capital.

It opens our doors to the multinational associations, and supports the hegemony of the dollar. Its tendency towards bureaucracy and authoritarianism is increasing.

Thus, there can be no question of separating the struggle against capitalist monopoly from the struggle against its appropriate government structures and against the governments serving the monopolies.

It is necessary to prepare for the coming to power of the popular majority, at the heart of which will be the working class and its organizations. It will create the basis for a democratic transformation of the economic structure and state to be effected by a government of progressive unity.

With such a perspective in mind, it is necessary immediately to adopt political action to organize mass repulse to the attacks of the capitalist monopolies and forces of the Right. The need for this is that much greater because at the moment the Right forces are trying to strengthen their unity based on reactionary positions in order to lead the country still further along the path of submission to big capital, and in order to create a "strong" rule, adapted to the conditions of Belgium.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT

New contingents are entering the labor movement with the increase in the number of wage and salary workers. On the other hand, a large section of intellectuals and urban and rural middle strata are coming to share the concerns and anxieties of the working class. For they, too, are subject to insecurity, diminishing purchasing power, unfavorable working conditions and long hours.

On top of that, there is a growing understanding that state-monopoly capitalism has reached a dead end. This is especially keenly felt by young

people, but is by no means limited to them.

Government policy is actually impeding political conditioning of the masses and encouraging new trends rupturing with the government parties.

More and more people are coming to see that capitalism cannot solve their problems or meet their new requirements. The crisis of capitalist society is not only economic and political, but extends to the very foundations of the dominant ideology and is attended by demands for concrete change that go far beyond the working class.

The organized labor movement, notably the Communist Party, must take all these changes into account in formulating policy.

THE ROAD TO POWER VIA BROAD ALLIANCES

An effective anti-monopoly policy requires that workers' organizations support the mounting struggle of the masses and the people at large. It requires, also, consistent efforts to unify the struggle and to build a broad anti-monopolist front. This, in turn, requires that the existing disunited elements should work towards that goal. An anti-monopoly front, which in Belgium can emerge as an amalgamation of the progressive forces, would create a new political power structure based on the pluralistic majority which, under the influence of the organized labor movement, would choose a road to socialism consonant with Belgian conditions.

In line with that perspective, the Communist Party is prepared to discuss with other labor and democratic organizations, with all the progressive forces, the provisions set out in its program. They can be summarized as follows:

—Only deep-going political change that will alter the character of power and radically transform the structure of society, will give our country balanced development in the economy and in all areas of social and cultural life. These changes will depend on the intensity and quality of the struggle against monopoly policy and its consequences. In working for democratic power and democratic nationalization that will put an end to monopoly domination, we should make a special effort to establish worker and democratic control over the country's economy and finances, particularly on such matters as employment, prices and profits and state assistance to industry.

—Constitutionally, we would work for the following goals: democratic federalism based on agreement between the progressive forces of the two language communities and the three regions; transfer of power, and the means of its exercise, to regional organs; election of regional councils by universal and direct ballot; merger of communes to create local government bodies capable of playing an independent economic, social and political role and acting as centers of democratic life; simplification of govern-

ment institutions by liquidating bureaucratic administrations. All this presupposes defense and expansion of trade union rights, new freedoms and rights for the working people, promotion of direct democracy, i.e., organized mass participation in settling political issues, employment of what we call counterpower tactics, i.e., use of political and other positions won by the progressive forces to counteract monopoly policy.

—In building a democratic Belgium that would take the path of socialism, the labor and progressive forces must agree on a foreign policy totally different from the one inspired by big capital. The new policy would seek better relations with socialist and Third World countries.

The capitalist monopolies are ensnaring the economy and state apparatus in the U.S. controlled imperialist system. In contrast, the labor and progressive forces must jointly fight for an independent Belgian foreign policy, unfettered by NATO control. This implies complete revision of Belgium's military policy, particularly abandonment of the Vanden Boeynants plan and withdrawal of Belgian forces from Western Germany. Such a policy at government level, a policy of active neutrality aimed at promoting European security, ridding the EEC of monopoly control, democratizing its institutions and promoting international economic cooperation, would best serve the interests of our country and would also promote solidarity with the socialist countries and peoples fighting imperialist oppression and fascist dictatorship.

ALLIANCE STRATEGY AND TACTICS

In elaborating its strategy of alliances and contributing to unity of the progressive forces, the Communist Party is guided by the fact that the working class is destined to play a decisive part in the revolutionary refashioning of society. Our Party is working on the premise that in Belgium this question confronts the labor movement in all its concreteness and is closely linked with the philosophical, political and organic pluralism characteristic of Belgian society.

This calls for a labor and democratic front, whose members will base their relations on equality, each retaining its independence and respecting the independence of others.

The Belgian organized labor movement consists of the General Confederation of Labor and Confederation of Christian Unions, the Socialist and Communist Parties, the Christian workers' movement and the newly affiliated organizations, such as the Christian Workers' Political Group.

Within the framework of its strategy, the Communist Party can play its role only if it employs a tactic of partial alliances, a flexible tactic that helps towards the radicalization, unity and extension of the anti-monopoly struggle. Communist initiative should always be based on experience.

From that standpoint, the Democratic and Progressive Alliance provides a convincing example that can be used by the working class and the democratic forces. Its creation and development as an organized movement of equal partners based on a common program, and open to all existing progressive forces, should be undertaken everywhere, making optimum use of all available opportunities and losing no time.

The Communist Party should concentrate on promoting unity of the organized labor movement, strengthening trade union organizations and raising them to the level of a stable and powerful trade union front; Communist trade-union activity within the General Confederation of Labor; the fight against social-democratic reformism, and this demands, primarily, unitary effort with regard to the Socialist masses and their organizations. But the Party's alliance tactic on these matters would not be sufficiently full or effective if it disregarded the new forces brought to the fore by the broadening class struggle from among other strata and groups opposed to capitalism. Only the Communist Party is able to link the labor movement with the diverse progressive groups which are arising throughout the country.

The 21st Congress calls on all Party organizations to fight for the aims it set out. That struggle will deal a decisive blow to the power of the capitalist monopolies and will expand the workers' and democratic struggle on a national and international scale.

THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARIAT

The Central Committee elected by Congress, elected the following to the Political Bureau, Secretariat and Presidium:

Political Bureau: Jean Blume, Urbain Coussement, Jan Debrouwere, Albert De Coninck, Augustin Duchateau, Robert Dussart, Georges Glineur, Claude Renard, Josef Turf, Frans Van den Branden, Louis Van Geyt.

National Secretariat: Urbain Coussement, Jan Debrouwere, Albert De Coninck, Claude Renard.

Louis Van Geyt, Jean Terfve and Josef Turf were re-elected Chairman of the Party and French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Vice-Chairmen respectively.

Claude Renard was appointed political director of the daily *Drapeau Rouge*, as of January 2; Jan Debrouwere was appointed director of *Rode Vaan* and Josef Turf director of Press House.

FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP. FOR POPULAR UNITY TO ACCOMPLISH THE REVOLUTION

Following are the inner political sections of the main resolution of the 10th Congress of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (October 1973). The first section, not published here, analyzes the international situation, deals with the external political conditions of the Party's struggle and specifies its goals.

II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S CONDITION

The national economy is passing through one of its worst crises ever. Stagnation, which is due to the survival of antiquated forms of land tenure and agricultural production, strong dependence on foreign imperialism and the underdeveloped state of domestic capital and the productive forces, is aggravated by the effects of the earthquake of December 1972.

The government constantly uses doctored data by no means reflecting the actual situation to misinform the people and deceive them into believing in a non-existent economic upswing. It talks about an annual four per cent growth of production, increased foreign exchange reserves, the stability of the cordoba, and so on. Reality gives it the lie.

When the earthquake occurred the government was trying to solve the nation's serious economic problems by imposing new and higher taxes. The official reaction to the failure of the Central American common market, especially after the war between Honduras and El Salvador, was to impose a 30 per cent duty on imports from Central American and other countries, a five per cent sales tax on all commodities, a 10 per cent tax on electricity and a 30 per cent tax on drinking water. Real estate tax was raised five-fold.

The disastrous consequences of last year's protracted drought aggravated economic problems and led to a substantial reduction of the area under crops sown for export or domestic consumption. The government betrayed its utter incompetence when only one per cent of the cultivated land turned out to be irrigated whereas a mere two years ago the ruling camarilla held forth about what it called ambitious irrigation plans based on "accelerated" electrification of the country.

The overall result was that numerous industrial enterprises had to curtail production or close down, 60 per cent of handicraftsmen went out of

business, nominal and real wages declined and unemployment went up. From 1967 to 1972, the Nicaraguans' purchasing capacity dropped by 40 per cent owing to a similar increase in the cost of living. Almost one-third of the economically active population, or 186,000 out of a total of 600,000, found themselves totally or partially unemployed. Surely this is an economic crisis.

What did the government do to remedy the situation? As befits a regime selling out national interests and entirely subservient to imperialism, it used the simplest device by opening the doors wide to direct and indirect foreign investment. The nation's foreign debt soared to a height incredible in a country having such potentialities: after the earthquake it stood at about 4,000m. cordobas. Foreign monopolies, on the other hand, found in Nicaragua a paradise for investments, made behind the facade of Central American integration or without disguise. The government made outrageous concessions at the expense of national sovereignty and interests. It authorized uncontrolled exploitation of our forests, with the result that the land is being stripped bare, becoming more and more exposed to the effects of drought. It granted oil-refining concessions and allowed U.S. capitalists to catch fish and shrimps, process cotton-seed, grow and sell tobacco, as well as to carry out transactions on the exchange and deal in real estate, all of which is done by proxy, through domestic capitalists. In other words, every economic branch of any importance is fully or partly controlled by U.S. imperialists.

Profit from these investments is in no way restricted, nor are the beneficiaries made to reinvest in the country. The pumping out of assets, specifically foreign exchange, which is encouraged by the traitorous ruling clique, leads to rapid impoverishment of the working people in town and countryside.

The December earthquake made the domestic situation worse than ever. However, the ruling groups exploited it to a considerable extent. They blamed the calamity for the rapid disintegration and critical state of social and economic structures and for other misfortunes, and used it as a pretext to plunder the working classes more than ever.

The earthquake resulted in a further deterioration of the working people's condition. The unemployed, already numerous, were joined by more than another 50,000 people. Unemployment affects all trades and professions, with the sole exception of building workers, which is understandable. Poverty has become a nation-wide scourge. The prices of necessities and consumer goods have doubled. The workers' powerful resistance ended the 60-hour week but then labor was intensified and exploitation stepped up. Wages in the countryside vary from six to eight cordobas. State employees have to pay an extraordinary "rehabilitation" tax despite a demagogical decree abolishing this kind of deduction from the salaries of

"low-paid categories." New export and import taxes were introduced. Taxes on consumer goods and services are mounting, and the cost of living is becoming unbearable. The economic situation and the people's condition could not have been worse.

The short-range policy of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party is to organize and mobilize the masses against all these burdens and taxes. A 48-hour week was wrested through struggle. The following demands should be put forward in the course of further struggle: stop the growth of the cost of living, establish price control, repeal repressive legislation, such as the fascist reforms of the criminal code, allow complete freedom of association and strike, abolish indirect taxes and taxes on basic export items, impose direct taxes on big capital, rent and latifundiums, control foreign exchange reserves, curb the outflow of capital and the export of profits by foreign monopoly companies.

The NSP ardently appeals to all labor unions, peasant organizations, committees for defense and improvement of the people's condition, political democratic parties, the movement of university and school students and other popular organizations, whatever their political beliefs or religious convictions, to establish a front of struggle in order to restore the people's dignity and achieve the above objectives.

We call on all workers, peasants, housewives and unemployed, all victims of the earthquake, those who are still unorganized and all who are starving or have no shelter, to organize and unite and to join in militant action for bread, land shelter and freedom.

We earnestly urge the members of our Party and of democratic and popular organizations, militant trade unionists and all else who are aware of the present situation to devote their energies and resolve to the fulfilment of the immense task of conducting agitation and propaganda, heightening the people's political awareness and uniting them, so as to lead them into struggle for current demands and pressing needs.

III. THE POLITICAL DOMINATION OF OLIGARCHY AND IMPERIALISM

The crisis of Nicaraguan society did not spare the political regime of oligarchy and imperialism. The Somoza government tries to offset its complete isolation from the masses by resorting to brute force with the aid of an inflated modern army and by leaning on U.S. imperialism for direct and undisguised support.

The U.S. Embassy and military mission decide on the main issues of official policy, nor does the government take any important step without consulting the Americans. Despite its precarious position, the regime manages to cope with difficulties because of the disunity of the democratic

segments of the opposition, the weakness of the popular movement, because the working class and people are poorly organized and lack proper social consciousness.

The despotic, autocratic character of the oligarchic Somoza clan blocks the functioning of even the two-party system authorized by the Constitution and defeats all attempts at agreement which both oligarchic parties make from time to time.

The regime cynically took advantage of the crisis precipitated by the earthquake to centralize power to the utmost and assert its rule on an unprecedented scale. Never before has despotism been so absolute as today. The state of siege supplementing the state of emergency (which the Somoza regime declared to eliminate the effects of the earthquake), and the reformed criminal code are powerful weapons which the oligarchy uses for bolstering its rule, doing away with all guarantees and freedoms, silencing public opinion and lording it over the country without any restrictions whatever.

To achieve this goal, the regime removed the Aguero group from the government and replaced it by a real camarilla of spokesmen of the conservative plutocracy. In view of a critical situation, with discontent encompassing large sections of society, the regime fears that the middle strata backing Aguero may become a threat to its centralized power even if they advance no democratic alternative.

Recent months have shown only too clearly that oligarchic parallelism, misnamed historical, is completely discredited and is the greatest political obstacle to social progress and democracy. The historical need to remove the liberal conservative system from power and guarantee the country's genuinely democratic development is more imperative than ever.

At a time when the oligarchy is becoming more repressive and carrying on a reactionary offensive, the fight for democracy and civil freedoms is the most important revolutionary task of the country's democratic forces.

Increasingly large social strata voice their discontent at the Somoza regime's reactionary policies and its economic plunder of the people. Popular protest expresses itself most vividly in strikes which workers call here and there to uphold pressing demands. The student movement, while influenced by the sectarian and extremist policy of its present leaders, is an important factor capable of stimulating and reinforcing the popular movement provided its activity develops in the right direction and the movement itself acquires a democratic leadership. The differentiation taking place among lay Christians and growing humanist and democratic trends among them help to create a more favorable climate for the people's inevitable and resolute action. Dissent among the military, the increasing activity of neighborhood organizations and efforts towards reawakening the peasant

movement are facts heralding the advent of a tense period of social and political struggles.

We Communists will go on doing all in our power to end the weakness and disunity of the popular and trade union movement, impart a conscious character to discontent and merge diverse forms of protest in one movement that will shape the course of events and bring about a solution in keeping with the interests of the people, democracy and the revolution.

To organize the working class and people is a great task which the NSP and all consistent revolutionaries must do their utmost to accomplish. It is also indispensable to wage a sustained ideological struggle against "Leftist" and adventurist sentiments and against anarchist trends towards turning every mass action into a battle for power, without regard to the actual potentialities of the movement or the alignment of social forces. They lead to the disintegration and destruction of popular organizations and hence play into the hands of the oligarchy and its rule.

IV. STRUGGLE FOR POPULAR AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

The historic goals of the Party, our Program notes, are to establish a socialist society, to eliminate social classes and privileges and build a society of working people free from exploitation, poverty, ignorance and all other social evils of the capitalist system.

The struggle for socialism poses various tasks according to the various development stages and periods of the people's revolutionary movement. First among these tasks is to bring into being a vast militant and conscious democratic mass movement.

The revolution is not a matter for minor and isolated groups. It requires participation by the mass of the people. Attempts to solve the serious and complicated problems of the country and people exclusively through the action of small radicalist and sectarian groups hold up the growth of the popular movement. They are expressive of petty-bourgeois thinking and activity in the revolutionary movement.

The main obstacle to the creation of a powerful organized mass movement is the anti-democratic, repressive regime which imposes legal and material barriers against efforts to mobilize and organize the people. This, today, is the reason for the fragmentation among the forces of democrats and revolutionaries, the absence of organizations representing the interests and aspirations of progressive and potentially revolutionary social strata. That is why the NSP supports efforts aimed at the unification of, for example, progressive intellectuals and advanced members of the middle classes. The existence and activities of such organizations creates the basis for the necessary and inevitable revolutionary-democratic unity of Left

forces based on the alliance of the working class and peasants, the highest concrete embodiment of which is the party of Nicaragua's Communists.

For the last few years the NSP has been devoting all its efforts and will to the fight for the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship and establishment of a democratic system as a prerequisite for the transition to progress, national and social development. In the name of this we insist on the unification of all sections of the democratic opposition, of representatives of different ideological trends sharing the common desire to win civil freedoms and restore the dignity of the people of Nicaragua.

Although still weak, various united democratic groups can begin and continue work to organize the masses until they become a serious alternative to the political rule of the oligarchy dependent on North American imperialism.

The creation of a democratic opposition front and achievement of the specific goals corresponding to the present period in our revolutionary movement would open up possibilities for achieving popular revolutionary unity capable of winning power and carrying out the agrarian, democratic, anti-imperialist revolution for which we are fighting at this historic stage.

To set up a democratic opposition front it is first of all necessary to overcome the defeatist mentality that the Somoza dictatorship is trying to implant with its talk of the "spirit of national rehabilitation." For genuine democrats and revolutionaries national rehabilitation is not just the reconstruction of the city (Managua) destroyed by the earthquake; it is the complete reconstruction of the very basis of the present system, liquidation of the institutes of oppression, implementation of far-reaching changes in the basis and superstructure of our society.

Unity of democratic opposition circles is not easily achieved. Pessimism is widespread, due to "previous defeats" as well as the organizational and political weakness of most opposition groups. There is also the negative influence of the avantgardist and sectarian claims of some groups and sham organizations, each of which calls itself the "one and only," capable, honest and possessing the magic recipes for transforming the country. Democratic unity is also impeded by a conspiratorial spirit elevated to the absolute, when any effort to organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people is looked upon with disdain. The NSP sees its unfailing duty in combating all these deviations and defeatism, while at the same time patiently explaining the situation, establishing broad contacts with grass-roots organizations, seeking unity in every mass action, however small, conducting constructive dialogues at various levels on the basis of a minimum program to be adopted and implemented in a pluralist spirit. In its turn, the Party seeks to put an end to manifestations of sectarianism in its own ranks, to an underestimation of the value of democratic alliances and a policy aimed at promoting work among the masses. It also fights

against Right-wing tendencies seeking to ignore or belittle the Party's role and tasks. In carrying out our policy of alliances, opposition unity, winning democracy and establishing popular unity to promote the revolution, we Communists make no secret of our objectives and intentions. On the contrary, we proclaim them openly: we subordinate the Party's policies and tasks to the cause of creating the social and ideological conditions for the people to assume power, carry out revolutionary changes and lay the foundations for building a socialist society. We are an independent force offering our own solutions to the problems of the nation and the people; these clear solutions are written down in our program.

No defeatism or adventurism; no subordination to bourgeois reformism, no hasty attempts to bypass stages in the development of the revolutionary-democratic movement — this is the clear stand of the NSP. We are fighting for the democratization of the country, for a progressive democracy, popular in content, which would enable the working class to develop its revolutionary qualities in the struggle for its economic and political demands, through stubborn, ceaseless class, revolutionary struggle. To Communists the fight for democracy is not just a tactical objective; it is an important part of the struggle for the social emancipation of the working people, for socialism.

We have honestly set forth our objectives before democratic opposition groups, seeking neither to persuade them nor offering ideological concessions, and called upon them to continue the search for ways of achieving unity so as to act together against despotism; we call upon scattered groups in the middle classes and the working people to organize and unite for victory; we call upon progressive Christians, democratically minded military men and all those seriously concerned with the acute problems facing the country and the people, all those aspiring for the progress, advance and welfare of the nation, to embody their energy and will in a united democratic front, the only means of creating a broad-based popular movement capable of overthrowing the dictatorship and bringing down its oligarchic, imperialist mainstays.

Every patriot, democrat, humanist and revolutionary is duty bound to fight today for the achievement of the following objectives:

- repeal of repressive laws and winning democratic and human rights;
- creation of a democratic opposition front and strengthening of the popular movement to overthrow the present despotic oligarchic regime and set up a democratic government in which all parties, movements and progressive groups would be represented, a government capable of setting and tackling the immediate tasks reflecting the interests of the people and the country, viz:

- full democratization of the country, unrestricted civil rights, the right of trade union and political organization, demonstrations and strikes;

—nationalization of the national wealth, now in the hands of foreign monopoly companies;

—implementation of an anti-latifundist agrarian reform which would give the land to those who cultivate it by expropriating it from the land-owners;

—a tax reform aimed at restricting indirect taxation and taxing big-business profits;

—halting the rising cost of living and speculation by establishing strict price controls;

—higher wages for blue-collar and white-collar workers, for workers of town and country;

—overcoming unemployment with the help of extensive public works programs and intensification of agriculture, industry and livestock raising;

—control over monetary transactions to prevent the outflow of profits of foreign and mixed companies;

—urban reforms aimed at providing housing and doing away with speculation and the use of small lots of land for profits;

—a democratic, patriotic reform of the universities and the educational system in general; the state must make its contribution to this in order to wipe out illiteracy and raise the people's cultural standards.

V. STRENGTHENING AND CONSOLIDATING THE NSP

The existence and operation of such objective factors as the worsening material and spiritual conditions of the working people, dependence on North American imperialism, aggravation of social contradictions and the growing ferocity of the despotic power are by themselves not enough to win revolutionary-democratic change. These factors must combine with subjective factors, the principle ones being the mass organization and political maturity, manifestation of discontent in active militant forms, the creation of a democratic opposition front and the revolutionary unity of popular forces.

Primary among the subjective factors is the existence of a strong and cohesive Marxist-Leninist party capable of injecting class consciousness into the masses and organizing them for the struggle against the power of oligarchy and imperialism. The 10th Congress of the NSP sees the Party's main task in achieving a quantitative and qualitative strengthening of its organizations; for this it is necessary to expand the struggle for democratic freedoms in which Communists must fully understand and accept the concerns and tasks of the struggle of workers, peasants, women, youth and all sections of the people.

Another prerequisite for strengthening the Party is the launching of a broad ideological offensive against anti-communism, as well as against

Right or "Left" distortions of Marxism-Leninism, while simultaneously exposing subversive groups objectively acting in the interests and to the advantage of the bourgeois and the oligarchic power.

The Party's fighters and ideas, its teaching and its program should be present wherever the fight is being waged against the yoke of economic exploitation and political oppression. Every Communist must be an active propagandist of the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, must propagandize its program objectives, set forth and uphold its political line and oppose all and any attempts to conceal this line from the country or the people. The illegal conditions in which our Party has been forced to work because of the arbitrary rule of the oligarchic dictatorial regime at the service of imperialism should not prevent the militant activity of the communist vanguard of the working class and the people from spreading throughout the country.

The NSP lives in the hearts of the country and the people. All attempts of the dictatorship and anti-communism in general to smother its voice or liquidate the Party have failed. The slander and defamation of Communists are gradually weakening in the face of the growing prestige and advance of the ideas of scientific socialism. Nothing can prevent the existence, growth and strengthening of the Party of Nicaraguan Communists — neither constitutional clauses banning it, nor repressions against its members and leaders, nor provocations by the agents of reaction.

Communists cannot be destroyed, because they are the concentrated expression of the vital interests of the working class, the present and ultimate goals of its movement, goals that coincide with the most cherished human values of the people and most healthy national sentiments. They cannot be liquidated, because Communists have been called to life by social inequities, by the need to fight against exploitation and privileges — and social inequities and class privileges can disappear only with the establishment of socialism and communism.

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party (a party of Communists) has set itself a task which it can and will carry out. Its mission consists in organizing and leading the working class, which stands at the head of the people as a whole, in the struggle for the great revolutionary goals, the road to which lies through different concrete stages, periods and phases. For this the Party sees continuously to the strengthening of its ranks, the enlistment of the best sons and daughters of the working people, of progressive intellectuals, of all those who wish to fight under the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism.

As the objectives of the NSP are in keeping with the interests of the national majority, the working people, it demands the right to operate without restriction, the right to openly proclaim its goals and ideals. The banning of Communists contradicts the development of our epoch; it is an

historically obsolete arbitrary act which must be ended. The NSP demands that one of the first acts of the democratic government that replaces the military dictatorship now oppressing our people be the recognition of the right of Communists to act and express their views freely.

The 10th Congress has shown how the NSP is overcoming numerous restrictions, how it has got rid of the ballast and influences alien to its ideology, how it has become a national political force, how it has gained in strength and is moving towards becoming a strong advanced detachment of the working class and the people.

With every passing day we Communists must multiply our strength, become more tempered, experienced and influential. Every effort is worth achieving this. Therein lies the prerequisites for advancing the victory of democracy and revolution. The support given to us by the people, the working class in the first place, the devotion of the most advanced workers, peasants, intellectuals, housewives, youth and students to our cause, will enable the NSP to perform its historic mission faster and better: to head the working class and the people for the assumption of power, winning democracy and carrying out revolutionary transformations.

Long live the Nicaraguan Socialist Party!

Long live the international Communist movement!

Long live the worker, peasant and popular movement of Nicaragua!

Long live the struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

10th Congress Nicaraguan Socialist Party

Nicaragua, October 1973.

PLENARY MEETINGS

NATIONAL OPPOSITION UNION— THE INITIAL STAGE OF POPULAR UNITY*

**POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CC CP COLOMBIA,
DECEMBER 1973.**

1. In the course of the campaign preparatory to the presidential elections (in April of this year—*Ed.*) the country's main political groupings have determined their positions.

The camp of the oligarchy has put forward two candidates. Despite their differences, both essentially stand for the maintenance of the two-party parity system and defend the interests of the ruling classes, and North American imperialism.

The oligarchy exaggerates these differences in order to give the impression of a great confrontation between the Liberals and Conservatives, and so win the electors either for Lopez Michelsen or Gomez Hurtado. In actual fact, however, these parties have agreed to rule jointly and to divide equally ministerial posts and governorships, as well as the mayoral positions and directorships of the decentralized state enterprises, and posts in the state apparatus.

The refusal by the national leadership of ANAPO (National Popular Alliance—*Ed.*) to examine the oft-repeated proposals of the Communist Party for unity is proof of the influence of Right circles, which are neither interested in national unity, nor in the democratization of the political life of the country. The nomination of Maria Eugenia Rojas as candidate for the post of president (foisted by her father) is the result of the intensifying contradictions within this Party. ANAPO hopes that with this candidate it will secure the election of a group of its deputies to Parliament and come forward as a new political party.

The National Opposition Union (NOU) did everything possible to put forward a single candidate of the opposition and unanimously supported the candidature of Hernando Echeverri Mejia; our ally. This is a genuinely popular selection, and accords with our people's profound need of unity.

**Voz Proletaria*, December 20, 1973.

2. The election campaign is taking place against a background of growing class struggle, caused by the skyrocketing cost of living, not only to the detriment of the workers but of the country's entire working population. This means that Communists and everyone in NOU should energetically promote the struggle of the people for the fulfilment of their demands and expose the demagoguery of the candidates of the existing system.

Apart from the struggle for the basic demand, for wage increases, we must step up the organized struggle of the masses against the hoarders and speculators, against soaring prices and the export of food from the country which aggravates the existing shortages and the price increases.

3. It has already become a tradition for the oligarchy in a pre-election period to step up its anti-communist and provocative campaigns, using the armed forces or the police to limit the right to hold demonstrations and meetings, the right to conduct propaganda, and of free movement throughout the country, to invade the countryside under the plea of action against the guerrillas and rig electoral frauds.

In these conditions the more reactionary elements of the upper military echelons are gaining new positions in the administration and in politics, which serves to bolster putschist intentions.

In reply to these maneuvers the people must work most energetically for a repeal of the state of siege, complete observance of democratic and civil rights, the release of political prisoners and trade union leaders, and the abolition of military tribunals.

4. NOU is the initial stage of popular unity in Colombia. Its activities must not be limited to electoral agreement between its members. Its program reflects the deep strivings of the working people and broad sections of our people for a revolutionary transformation. Hence, the future of NOU depends on patient work by Communists in the spirit of unity, and on the consistency and loyalty of their allies.

After the election, new perspectives may open up for the development and broadening of the NOU, because this is the only consistent unitary and revolutionary force which the masses see as a new alternative—a frontal opposition to the oligarchical system and Yankee imperialism.

5. Within the framework of the Communist policy for unity — along with the agreements arrived at with our allies from the Broad Colombian Movement and Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement, in support of the program and candidate for the post of president of the Republic, Hernando Echeverri Mejia — it is exceedingly important to elaborate and put forward a common list of candidates to elective bodies. The Communists will spare no efforts to achieve this aim; this will make it possible for the forces within NOU to maintain their positions won in the elective bodies, and achieve new successes.

These efforts to achieve unity do not imply that the Party loses its

identity and independence; they must be prosecuted without losing political vigilance and by giving rebuff to all selfish maneuvers. If in some areas the necessary conditions are lacking or difficulties arise interfering with mutual understanding, the Party may put forward its own list of candidates. Agreements and lists of candidates must be agreed with by the Central Executive Committee and have its approval.

At the present stage, the election campaign is the prime political task and all our energies must be devoted to it.

SPEECH BY Y. TSEDENBAL AT SEVENTH PLENUM CC, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY*

Comrades, this Plenum has gathered to discuss the draft of the state plan of economic and cultural development and the state budget for 1974.

The Political Bureau has instructed me to speak at the Plenum on the tasks facing the Party in connection with fulfilment of national economic plans, and certain topical international problems.

First, I should like to inform you of the preliminary results of the 1973 economic and cultural development plan.

The main targets of the economic development plan for the third and decisive year of the five-year plan have been in the main successfully fulfilled, according to available figures.

Compared with the previous year, the basic assets have increased 8.9 per cent, including 9.4 per cent for the basic production assets, and labor productivity has gone up 5.3 per cent. Compared with 1972, gross output increased 6.6 per cent, including industry 6.4 per cent, agriculture 13.6, and construction 11.7 per cent.

According to preliminary data, our industry has fulfilled the 1973 plan by 100.4 per cent, building by 103 per cent and transport by 111.6 per cent.

Regrettably, the target for growth of livestock will not have been reached despite the special measures. The final results will only be known after the census of livestock now under way.

By virtue of their selfless toil, the farmers of our state and cooperative

*Delivered by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary, CC MPRP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the opening session of the Plenum on December 24, 1973. Abridged version released by the Mongolian Press Agency.

farms took in a record grain harvest of 32 million poods*. The state purchased 28.6 per cent more grain than planned, 27 per cent more vegetables and 53 per cent more potatoes.

The plans were exceeded for development of means of communication, retail trade and foreign commerce, and also for the budget revenue.

Capital investments for 1971-73 totalled 3.54 billion tugriks, including 1.24 billion in 1973 alone, which greatly exceeds the investments envisaged in the five-year plan.

Plans in education, health, science, culture and the arts are also being fulfilled.

It is important to note that socialist emulation, stimulated by the joint appeal of the CC MPRP, Council of Ministers, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Mongolia and the CC of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, played a big part in spurring fulfilment of the plan in various branches of the economy and culture. This emulation movement has added many new names to the ranks of the foremost workers in agriculture and industry.

The many highly qualified specialists from the USSR and other socialist countries have greatly helped the people to multiply and consolidate our socialist gains. On behalf of the Plenum I should like to sincerely wish our friends from the fraternal socialist countries new success in 1974 in their noble mission of aiding the growth and progress of our homeland, the Mongolian People's Republic.

Comrades, I shall not deal with the development plans for 1974. I shall only say that the Politbureau has several times examined a preliminary and a full draft of the plan, and has devoted enough attention to the question of balancing the various sections of the plan.

Besides, we have consulted planning agencies of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries: All this has helped to draw up the best variant of the plan, well grounded and realistic. It is a strenuous plan, requiring the maximum effort by our Party, state and public organizations, and the entire people.

All of us are aware that we must not rest on our oars and must focus attention on unresolved problems, on exposing and eliminating shortcomings in the management of economic and cultural development.

What should we do to eliminate shortcomings in the running of economic and cultural affairs by the Party bodies? We must assure a continuous enhancement of the leading role of Party organizations in all spheres of public life. This means greater responsibility of the Party, all Party organizations and all Party members for the fulfilment of the Party program, Congress decisions and economic plans. But what is the decisive

*One pood equals 16kgs.—Ed.

link that would ensure fulfilment of these important tasks? The answer lies in systematic control over the fulfilment of Party decisions. Lenin held that the most important factors in organizational work were selection of cadres and control of fulfilment. "*Checking people and checking the fulfilment of a job* — this and only this is the pivot of all our work, of our policy," he said. Obviously, it is impossible to correctly select cadres without checking them at work, without concrete help to their growth and development.

The center of gravity in the work of all Party, state and public organizations should now shift to controlling the state of affairs in the localities, which is of prime importance. In this way we shall achieve a radical change in the style and methods of our work.

Daily control over the fulfilment of economic and cultural plans is the main battlefield of the struggle to ensure fulfilment of the tasks of building the material and technical basis of socialism. If this work is correctly organized we can and should achieve a higher level of personal responsibility of Communists and managing personnel for the work they have been entrusted with. This, in turn, will help us improve the selection, placing and training of cadres, training of active cadres with initiative and high political and professional attributes.

Comrades, we have already noted that the socialist emulation movement for fulfilment of the 1973 economic plan has yielded good fruit. From the beginning of the new year we must make the movement still broader for the full and early fulfilment of the economic plans. Particular attention should be paid to increasing the ranks of foremost workers and teams, popularizing their experience, the material and moral incentives for winners in the emulation movement. Energetic measures should be taken against shirkers, for the maximum reduction of idle time of equipment, for economizing labor, material and financial resources, etc. We must keep in mind that our 1974 industrial and construction program will be fulfilled only if in every working minute we produce 21.6 thousand tugriks worth of goods, if every work minute yields construction work worth 6.4 thousand tugriks. Such figures can be drawn up for every industrial enterprise, every construction project, or for every shop and work team.

In working for the full and pre-schedule fulfilment of the 1974 plan, Party, government and trade union organizations should give broader support to all that is progressive and new, and particularly the adoption of counter-plans. This is a progressive movement and deserves to be encouraged.

Comrades, in 1974 we shall mark the 50th anniversary of our Party's Third Congress which passed the historic decision for Mongolia's non-capitalist development on the basis of the great Lenin's teaching. At the end of the year we shall mark the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Republic and its first Constitution. We must unfold a nation-wide

socialist emulation movement for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the targets of the fourth year of the five-year plan in celebration of these historic events. Fulfilment of the 1974 targets will provide a firm foundation for the fulfilment of the 1975 plans.

Simultaneously with its economic and cultural build-up, Mongolia is also taking action on the foreign political scene to help strengthen world peace and security.

The far-reaching changes in the world arena show convincingly that there is a radical shift in the balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism. These changes are due mainly to the active and purposeful foreign policy and joint initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the growing strength and might of the socialist community.

The international climate is favorably influenced by the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, which has become a platform of coordinated foreign policy actions by the socialist countries. The visits of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary to the USA, FRG, France and India have given added confirmation of the effectiveness of the Soviet Peace Program and proved the strength and vitality of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. The political and practical results of L.I. Brezhnev's visits are in full accord with the interests of peace and international security. The USSR-USA agreement on preventing nuclear war is of particular importance and could be a guarantee that mankind shall never experience the horrors of a world nuclear war.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, European détente is becoming ever more stable. In this context, the system of agreements concluded of late by European countries is an important factor of security on the continent, because they rest on a recognition of the political and territorial realities that have taken shape after the Second World War.

The creation of a reliable foundation for a future peaceful Europe depends greatly on the outcome of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. Its job is to map out the road for broad and peaceful cooperation among the European countries and help create an effective security system on the continent. We do not doubt that the Conference will be fruitful and will live up to the hopes of the peoples.

The general improvement of the world political climate is favorably influencing the situation in Asia, helping to resolve urgent problems there and to eliminate serious sources of tension in various parts of Asia.

The ending of the aggressive war in Vietnam was an event of immense international significance. With the all-round internationalist aid and support of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all peace forces, the heroic people of Vietnam won a truly historic victory in the struggle for

their country's freedom and independence, against imperialist aggression.

A final settlement of the Indochinese problem would eliminate one of the most dangerous sources of tension not only in Asia, but also the rest of the world.

The changes taking place on the Asian continent are brought about in large measure by the consistent and purposeful efforts of the socialist countries to spread the process of détente to the whole world and to make it irreversible. The Soviet proposal to set up a collective security system in Asia is particularly important. It has become a substantial factor in the affairs of the Asian continent, mobilizing public opinion in the Asian countries for solving problems vitally important for the future of the Asian nations.

In 1973 Asian public opinion expressed its support of the idea of a collective security system at the Dacca Conference on security and cooperation in Asia and at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow. In their bilateral relations, many Asian countries follow the basic principles underlying the system of collective security, recording them in joint documents, statements and declarations. This is the case with the joint Soviet-Indian declaration signed during the historic visit to India of L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the idea of creating an all-Asian security system.

The joint declarations following the 1973 Mongolian-Indian and Mongolian-Iranian negotiations showed that our countries are determined to work for lasting Asian peace and security. These documents defined the basic principles that our countries will follow in their bilateral and international relations.

We hold that such principles as mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, inviolability of state boundaries, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, solution of controversial issues by peaceful means only, inadmissibility of seizing alien territory, the peoples' sovereign right to dispose of their own natural resources and shape their own future, all of which are reflected in the UN Charter, the Bandung Declaration and other international documents, should be scrupulously followed in relations between all Asian countries. Furthermore, the countries of Asia could conclude bilateral or regional treaties renouncing use or threat of force, and treaties of non-aggression. In this way the countries of our continent would contribute tangibly to Asian security and stability.

Asian security urgently requires elimination of existing sources of tension, and particularly an early settlement in the Middle East. And we hope that the recently launched Middle East Peace Conference in Geneva will play an important role towards this end.

The outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East and the military-fascist coup in Chile with the ensuing reign of terror against the country's patriotic and progressive forces and supporters of the lawful Popular Unity government of Chile which was headed by Salvador Allende, a courageous and dedicated fighter for the people's cause, the rampant reaction in Uruguay and several other countries, all show that the reactionary imperialist forces are resorting to all possible means in attempting to block progress and international détente.

The Peking leaders, too, are bitter enemies of international détente. They have gone to such extremes in their anti-Soviet great-power chauvinistic course, reaffirmed by the 10th CPC Congress, that they openly side with the most blatant reactionaries and revanchists in order to undermine the foundations of peace and security in different parts of the world. Peking's resistance to all efforts towards détente, its disgraceful slander against constructive initiatives and steps to limit and reduce the arms race and, in particular, against the Soviet proposal for a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council, with the released funds used for helping the developing nations, its emphatic refusal to support the cease-fire in the Middle East, the rapprochement between the Maoists and the Chilean reactionary fascist junta—all once again expose the unprincipled and anti-popular nature of the political course and practical actions of the Chinese leaders.

For this reason our Party considers the struggle against the hegemonic, chauvinist great-power policy of the Peking leadership to be an integral part of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

At the present stage of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, it is unity and interaction of all the peace forces that hold top priority, and the recent World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow played a tremendous role in promoting them. The Congress demonstrated the growing role of world opinion and the broad masses in resolving the most urgent problems of the day. At the Moscow Congress the world public expressed its unbending determination to achieve peace and united action for security and social progress.

Thus, new and important positions have been reached in the struggle for peace and the foundations have been laid for further progress in safeguarding international security.

The July 1973 Crimean meeting of leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, which reviewed the urgent international problems, fulfilment of the Comprehensive Program of economic integration and the main directions for further expanding CMEA activities, played a particularly important role in the development and strengthening of the socialist community, broadening socialist economic integration and in im-

proving the coordination of the foreign policy activities of the fraternal socialist countries.

In line with our Party Program and the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, the Mongolian People's Republic is working energetically for broader economic and science-technical cooperation with the socialist community on the basis of the decisions of the 27th CMEA session. The joint planning and fulfilment of concrete measures to deepen integration, wide use of all opportunities offered by the socialist division of labor, assure the CMEA countries high rates of economic growth and good opportunities for improving the standard of living. A good example of this is the growing fraternal cooperation between the MPR and USSR. Soviet-Mongolian agreements were signed in 1973 on economic and technical cooperation in developing the Erdenetiin-obo copper-molibdenum deposits and building a joint Mongolian-Soviet ore-dressing plant and a joint non-ferrous metals enterprise. These will play an important role in raising Mongolia's industrial potential, developing the country's productive capacity and raising the living standard of the people of Mongolia.

Our cooperation with other fraternal countries has also improved. In 1973 Party and government delegations from Czechoslovakia, DRV, GDR and Bulgaria headed by Comrades Gustav Husak, Pham Van Dong, Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov came to our country on official friendly visits, contributing greatly to the brotherly friendship and cooperation between our countries and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries.

All-out development of integration processes in economy, culture, policy and ideology is an objective requirement and an important factor in consolidating and advancing the socialist community as a whole and each fraternal country individually, a guarantee of success in the struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism and their attempts to torpedo the détente, block peace, freedom and social progress.

The recent conference in Moscow of Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties stressed the importance of concentrating all ideological means on advancing détente, and consolidating the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in international affairs.

True to the great Marxist-Leninist principles, our Party sees its duty in working tirelessly for closer bonds of friendship, fraternity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and in bringing up the Mongolian working people in a spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party shall persevere in its efforts of helping consolidate the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces and strengthening peace and security in Asia and the world over.

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL, CPUSA, DEC. 1, 1973*

BY GUS HALL

I. THE WORLD SCENE

The world scene is unusually complex. The capitalist world is in deep trouble. It has become unfixed, unhinged and unstable. There are currents and counter-currents; there are victories and setbacks, but in all this the basic patterns, the overall direction of the historic process is unmistakable. These seemingly erratic events are all related to the continuing process of transition from capitalism to socialism and to communism.

This historic process is, of necessity, a continuing train of defeat for imperialism. It maneuvers, it fights back. But for imperialism it is a period of defeats, retreats and setbacks. That is the nature of the transition. But, because for imperialism, these are not voluntary acts, the process takes place through a series of crises.

Because imperialism is inherently aggressive and reactionary, it will at all times remain a danger. It remains a challenge. With it, coexistence is a confrontation. World capitalism is on the decaying side of its life cycle and today it is on the declining side of the present economic cycle.

The stable part of the world is the socialist section. With the exception of China, it is a world without crises. Its problems are problems of growth and development. Led by the Soviet Union, the socialist world more and more emerges as the world spokesman for all of humanity. For capitalism, the credibility gap has become unbridgeable. The contrast between the two systems is becoming more dramatic. Regarding the overall quality of life socialism has now surpassed capitalism.

The decay of capitalism—its instability—is most evident in the United States. Lenin in his great wisdom predicted that the decay would show up especially in the most developed capitalist country.

For a better understanding of the turbulent current events it has become

*Abridged.

increasingly necessary to have a deeper understanding of the stage of the historic process we are in. This more basic understanding is necessary because some significant qualitative changes are continuing to take place in the relationship of forces and in the processes that basically determine the nature of this epoch.

A capitalism without a series of back-to-back crises is now in its "irreversible past." In this, its last decaying stage, it is not able to fully resolve any of the older crises, and it is not able to prevent the outbreak of new crises. Capitalism's back-up reserves are drying up. Its capacity to maneuver continues to decline. Increasingly its maneuvers are related to setbacks and retreats.

This new stage of capitalism's general crisis, among other things, is marked by the absence of periods of even relative stability. This continuous instability is reflected in the floating monetary chaos, in the continuous inflationary disarray and in the refusal of the capitalist world's genies to go back into the bottle of U.S. imperialism. As each of the major capitalist countries try to pass on their crisis problems to their capitalist allies the contradictions between them sharpen.

This new stage is characterized by the new power and influence of the socialist world and the new level of the national liberation movements as symbolized by the united action of the Mid-East oil producing countries.

That imperialism is capitalism's last dying stage becomes more apparent with each of these new crises; each of the new crises further exposes the inherently criminal, anti-social nature of a social system in which the vultures rule.

The direction of the historic path of social progress is clear and inevitable, but the byways and the crossroads by which the forces reach that path is very complex and often seemingly contradictory. This is one of those very complex moments.

There is détente and there is imperialist aggression. There is coexistence and there is confrontation. There are the revolutionary policies of the socialist countries, but there are also the counter-revolutionary policies of Maoism. There are the revolutionary anti-imperialist movements and struggles in Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa, Rhodesia and in Asia and Latin America. But there is also the pragmatic oil anti-imperialism of Kings Faisal and Hussein. There are these complexities, but they do not change the fact that the overall trends on a world scale are running against imperialism. Anti-imperialism has now become the dominant trend on the world scene.

Détente has taken on some flesh. It also reflects the new world relationship of forces.

The trend towards détente becomes a reality only to the extent that imperialism is forced to retreat from its positions of aggression. The rela-

tionships between the U.S. and the USSR have improved because U.S. imperialism has been forced to give up some of its cold war bunkers. It has been forced to conclude that the cold war policies of blockade and containment have become counterproductive. The peace offensive led by the Soviet Union reflects the new relationship of world forces and has itself become a new factor in propelling these changes even further.

Comrade Brezhnev's historic visit to the United States symbolizes the new power of the socialist states and their ability to be a vital and crucial factor in determining the course of human events. It was a serious blow against anti-Sovietism.

Proof that the cold war iceberg has not yet disappeared is the continuing opposition to détente and the United States-Soviet trade agreements.

In the struggle against imperialism, strategic and tactical considerations must be rooted solidly in the objective processes in a careful assessment of the changing relationship of forces. To attribute any other motive to the actions of imperialism's spokesmen opens the gates to illusions.

Monopoly state capitalism is a class without social conscience, without morals or honor. Their decisions are cold dollars and cents, economic and military calculations. It is on this basis that they initiate policies and tactics; it is on the same basis that they will change tactics and break agreements. Monopoly capitalism is for détente for its own class self-interests. We are for détente because it serves the interests of world peace, because it is in the best self interests of the working class.

Initiatives in the struggle against imperialism are imperative, but it is the initiatives that take advantage of the divisions and the weaknesses in the objective situation that lead to victories. Masses of the people who are not in a position to see or to assess the objective forces and changes in the relationship of forces that lead to retreats by imperialism can become victims of illusions. They attribute changes in the positions of imperialist forces, and they attribute détente, to the "goodness" of some imperialist spokesmen, or to an illusory change in the nature of imperialism. This, of course, leads to confusion.

THE EVENTS IN CHILE

In the overall context of a shift in the relationship of forces there are also setbacks and weaknesses. The setback in Chile is a serious defeat. It runs counter to the overall trend of anti-imperialism. It is a victory for U.S. imperialism. Its significance will be felt beyond the borders of Chile. The arrest of leading Communists and other revolutionary forces in Uruguay is another brutal act of imperialism. Its negative effects will be felt in many parts of South America. In Chile the Communists and other revolutionary forces are suffering heavy casualties. It is a brutal, fascist, military dic-

tatorship. Yet it is in the nature of the moment and the trend of anti-imperialism that setbacks are temporary.

For the moment our single and central task is to mobilize the largest possible mass expression against the fascist military dictatorship. And of course we have a special task. Our task is to expose the role of U.S. imperialism, to expose the U.S. corporations involved in this counter-revolutionary coup.

Whenever there is a victory or a defeat of any significance it is, of course, necessary to examine the experience and to draw the lessons. And we Communists have a serious approach to such studies. In the first place the revolutionary forces who are in the best position to draw the lessons are the Communists and the other revolutionary forces of Chile. We must reject the efforts of the Trotskyites, the Maoists and their shoddy shadow, the *Guardian*, in trying to use the defeat as proof of their petty bourgeois concepts. The defeat in Chile is not proof of their anarchistic counter-revolutionary concepts.

MID-EAST

A year ago we said: "There is developing a new crisis—an energy crisis. This crisis is going to emerge as an important factor in the struggle against world imperialism. It is going to be a critical problem for imperialism. It is adding a new dimension to the struggle in the Mid-East." Needless to say this new dimension has become a very important factor in the present Mid-East crisis. The basic issue in the Mid-East crisis is, of course, imperialism and the product is oil. There is a new situation in the Mid-East. There is a new balance of forces. Israel and the United States have become totally isolated. Israel's policies of annexation are now universally condemned. The world is ready to defend the existence of Israel but it sharply condemns its policies of annexation and aggression. For Israel this has become a dead-end street. Its present policies are not only a threat to world peace but they are the main threat to the existence of Israel. This was dramatically demonstrated by Nixon's irresponsible, insane "alert"—an act of nuclear brinkmanship.

Israel has stubbornly continued its policies of imperialist aggression and annexation only because of the support of U.S. imperialism and world Zionism.

U.S. imperialism had hoped to continue using Israel as its political, military and ideological center of subversion against the anti-imperialist governments and forces in the Mid-East and Africa. But Israel's isolation and the growth of the anti-imperialist forces has made these policies somewhat counter-productive. There is a growing pressure in the U.S. for a shift from these policies. The large oil monopolies are now all in this new

pressure group. Many of the large banks have also joined the forces who are demanding that the U.S. shift its policy. These forces are not for an end to the policies of imperialism; they are for a shift in tactics. The aim is to control the Mid-East oil resources. The United States and Israel are still hoping to split the front of the Arab countries. That explains their constant delays in negotiations.

II. DOMESTIC SCENE

The mood in our country is characterized by a sense of bewilderment. They are bewildered because the foundations of their "take it for granted" beliefs are crumbling. Those with traditional beliefs, the middle-of-the-roaders and the more conservative, are getting the most serious shocks. One by one their heroes, their symbols of patriotism and virtue, are exposed as swindlers and crooks.

The silent majority, if there ever was one, is now the angry and disillusioned majority. Never in our history have so many, in such a short time, been disillusioned. It is one of those moments when, in a matter of days, the masses learn more than they do under ordinary circumstances in whole epochs.

STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

As with all phenomena, state monopoly capitalism is not a static affair. Therefore it is always necessary for us to seek out the new developing features. It is necessary for us to study their effects on the lives and the struggles of our people. It is in these new features of state monopoly capitalism that we are going to find clear and more basic explanations to many of the very perplexing and complicated problems — such as the continuing inflationary spiral, the energy crisis, the new issues in the class confrontation and, of course, Watergate.

In a new way state monopoly capitalism has woven inflation into a continuous trend in all of its operations. Inflation has become a continuous trend in all of the capitalist countries. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the inflationary trend is inevitable at this level of state monopoly capitalist development. Inflation is defended as a solution to all economic ills. It is now presented as a solution to the energy crisis.

Inflation is a double-edged sword for world imperialism. It postpones the crisis, but it also undermines the stability of capitalism. The system itself swings on the inflationary spirals.

In a new way state-monopoly capitalism is able to create and use crises of shortages. In a sense, the crisis of shortages has replaced the wartime crises as a moment of profit orgies for the monopoly corporations. This is

why they have created crises of shortages. In the present moment, in a matter of days, the big corporations have bypassed all anti-trust regulations in a conspiracy to set prices. Nixon has given his blessings to this price gouging in his energy crisis messages. As we know, there has been a period of unprecedented price gouging and skyrocketing profits. But with the energy crisis in full swing we are going to see a profit and price orgy such as this world has never seen in its history. All restrictions to robbery and rape by corporations have been removed.

The crisis of shortages has now become a new excuse for the unprecedented drive to increase labor productivity.

The process of monopolization has given birth to a pattern where mainly three or a maximum of four monopolies control entire economic areas. We have a largely four corporation economy. Four corporations control 80 per cent of automobile manufacturing; 65 per cent of the steel production; 67 per cent of aircraft production; 71 per cent of tire production; 94 per cent of telephone equipment; 80 per cent of typewriters; 90 per cent of laundry equipment; 81 per cent of cement; 60 per cent of beer; 71 per cent of can production; 98 per cent of locomotive production. Add to that the fact that single banks control a number of these areas — and further, you have to add the conglomerates who control many lines of production. This is monopolization on a new scale. What has further complicated the problem is the fact that increasingly there is a single monopoly control of every stage of a commodity production cycle, from the raw materials to the check-out counter. These are monopoly closed-circuit processes.

And, of course, the very latest in this new development is the growth of the multinational conglomerates. They add a new dimension to U.S. state monopoly capitalism because most of these multinational octopi are, in fact, extensions of U.S. firms. This makes most of the large plants in the U.S. just one plant of a world-wide network.

CRISIS OF ENERGY

The energy crisis that we have talked about has now become a stark reality. By January or February we are going to begin to see its full impact. It is going to remain as a part of life for years to come. It is also going to change some patterns of capitalist processes.

That oil has become an instrument in the struggle against imperialism is now very obvious to everyone. In this regard, it is interesting to watch the contemptible phonies and even the disbelief by some that the U.S. should be getting the other end of the stick in the very game it invented. This game has been the central pillar of U.S. foreign policy for at least 50 years. The game is called "economic blockade and embargo." That is what the Jackson Amendment to the U.S.-Soviet trade bill is about. For over 50 years

embargo and blockade has been an exclusive U.S. weapon. It has been used especially in the struggle against the socialist countries and the countries that have won independence. It was used against the democratic government of Chile. It is the main weapon against Cuba. But now the countries in the Mid-East are deciding to whom and at what price they want to sell their oil. So now the hypocrites, the doubledealers, people without any moral standards who have, and still are, supporting the U.S. policies of embargo, are now screeching from the housetops against the Arab people — how dare they use the very weapon that for 50 years has been an exclusive U.S. weapon. When the U.S. used this policy as an imperialist weapon it was acceptable. But when the Arab people use the very same policy it is called "blackmail."

This reactionary wave gets its leadership from the old cold warriors and the top leadership of the Zionist movement. The pack is led by Senators Jackson, Javits and by the Social Democrats in the top leadership of the AFL-CIO.

The cry of "Arab blackmail" is calculated to create an atmosphere in which it may be possible to use U.S. troops to break the oil blockade. This is a new weapon against imperialism. It is an effective weapon because of the new relationship of world forces. Without the powerful anti-imperialist power base in the socialist countries, and in the first place the Soviet Union, imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, would not have hesitated to have its way in the Mid-East by military force. It is the new balance of world power that makes the difference. The socialist countries are the reliable shield against imperialist aggression.

But let's get back to the energy crisis. The world is not running out of sources of energy. The U.S. is beginning to run short, but that is not the basic reason for this crisis. At a reasonable price world sources are available. Put an end to the policies of imperialist aggression and annexation in the Mid-East and the oil will flow at full capacity. On a short-term basis the Mid-East crisis has added to the problem, but it is not the source of our problems. What then are the basic causes of the energy crisis? Again, the real culprit is monopoly capital and it is, again, a reflection of the new stage of its development.

Monopoly state capital now has such a grip on the industrial process that it can create crises by creating shortages. The energy crisis is real, but it has been largely created. It is a result of a long range policy of monopoly capital. The shortages and the crises that this system brings about has become, in fact, an instrument of greater profits.

Why this conspiracy? It is a clear-cut policy of extortion. The monopolies are holding the gun. It is a highjacking of the greatest magnitude. The demand of the monopoly gangsters is: "Let us increase the price and pollute the air, or else!" Among other things, they want the

government to build refineries and hand them over to the corporations. They want even more tax allowances, even though the federal government's oil depletion allowances are one of the biggest crimes of this century.

How is it possible for these few corporations to get away with this conspiracy? They are able to get away with it because: 1) the energy establishment is in the grip of two or three corporations; 2) because the State, too, is in the conspiracy with them.

There is a need for a totally new energy structure. There is a need for a democratically elected and controlled National Energy Council, a Council of Peoples Power, a council that will own and operate all energy related businesses from the oil, coal and gas fields to the refineries, to their distribution, all power plants, including the nuclear plants. This National Energy Council would operate the energy related establishment on a non-profit basis as a real public utility. It is an idea whose time has come — it is an anti-monopoly measure that can get the support of broad masses of people. In the process of campaigning for it we can expose the criminal nature of monopoly capital. We should combine this campaign with more immediate demands such as:

- 1) Building of government owned and democratically operated refineries.

- 2) Stop the flow of fuel to all military operations, including the production of munitions.

- 3) Take a forthright stand on Resolution No. 242; close the military pipeline to Israel, to South Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa and Chile — and open the oil pipeline to the world.

- 4) No energy crisis-related layoff of workers; demand that the corporations who created the crisis continue to pay the wages of the workers who are laid off.

- 5) Cut off the luxury fat of the rich, such as private planes, limousines and yachts.

These are important demands. But only by taking over the energy complex from start to finish can there be a rational plan for the use and production of energy, with safeguards of conservation and avoidance of pollution.

This development has opened up important new possibilities for the anti-monopoly struggles.

We should formulate legislation and get measures into Congress which will nationalize the entire energy sector of the economy — from the raw materials to the finished product to the consumer. This must become a central campaign, including mass literature, newspaper ads, TV and radio programs. Freeze the corporate thieves out of the fields of energy. This campaign must involve the hundreds of millions who are victims of the

energy crisis. Because of the scope of this problem, it can be a key link that will move millions into the struggle against monopoly.

INTENSIFICATION OF LABOR

In this new level of state monopoly capitalism the working class is suffering from a number of serious setbacks.

There is a creeping decline in the real wages of the working class. It is a definite trend. Last year, 15 million workers were unemployed for some period of the year. In the eight months — January through August, the real wages dropped \$3.15 per week, according to government figures. This year's new labor-management contracts, in most cases, have a built-in reduction in real wages. There is a built-in reduction because the wage increases are below and within the wage-freeze governmental guidelines, while inflation continues to erode the real wages. The acceptance of these state monopoly wage guidelines and the wage freeze is a setback for labor. This new declining trend has now become a factor even in the wages of the building trades workers.

The drive to increase labor productivity resulting in an unprecedented intensification of labor goes unabated. This is a continuous process without serious resistance or counterattack in sight. This is a definite setback for labor. The new technology is providing the monopoly corporations not only with an instrument of production, but also with a new instrument of speedup. It is not only that parts of the production line are automated — every second of the working hour of the workers is automated and geared to maximize human endurance. This has emerged as one of the new decisive unsolved problems for the working class.

Workers in mass production industries have become cogs, robots in an automated process, in the most controlled and integrated, brutal system of exploitation ever devised.

These new developments have brought on a sense of crisis in the trade union movement. There is a feeling among workers that the trade union movement is boxed in. There is the government wage freeze and the continued participation of trade union leaders on the government wage freeze boards. The hospital workers and 1199 challenged the wage freeze, but the leadership of the AFL-CIO did not support them. This fact only further exposes the crisis of the trade union movement. In a new way the trade union movement is a victim of the policy of class collaboration.

What are some of the new, frustrating problems facing the working class?

How to fight against the arm of monopoly state capitalism that takes a slice of the real wages indirectly. This has become a major form of class robbery. This takes place after the worker cashes his or her paycheck. It is

the escalating of prices, taxes and rents, the cost of insurance, Medicare and interest rates. This indirect robbery is a difficult and frustrating problem.

There is no question that this argues for legislative action. There is a need for mass trade union legislative grievance machinery. A machinery that works in the plants, in the neighborhoods. There is a need for a system of mass legislative conferences, mass anti-inflation picket lines and hearings. Trade unions must see this as a new front of struggle. This, of necessity, must lead to new levels of class political action.

The other new area of struggle is the automated intensification of labor. How to separate the human element from the supersonic velocity of the automated machines. This struggle must start from the premise that it can no longer remain in the realm of management prerogatives.

The trade union movement will have to develop some new guidelines in the struggle against labor productivity. Workers' control over the machines is a legitimate demand. There must be demands for compensation for the increase of velocity. Because of automation a worker expends an hour of human energy in 30 minutes. A demand of 10 or 15 minute rest periods every hour is not only just, but it has become necessary.

UNITED FRONT

Unity is a key word in mass work. The basic aim of our work is to unify masses in struggle. With us, unity is not rhetoric. The building of unity means a continuous series of initiatives, actions and appeals. If one approach does not bring results, we must be ready to try some other approach. Unity is the only possible path to victory. To speak about giving leadership, or to say that we are not isolated — to speak about our vanguard role and not to relate these concepts to the building of a unified front — is to knit without the wool. It is going through the motions; it is giving the appearance of leadership when, in effect, it is nothing but phrasemongering.

TRADE UNION AND SHOP WORK

In our trade union policy our approach is to replace the policies of class collaboration with policies of class struggle. Our aim is to change the relationship of forces in the trade union movement. Our task is to give the workers a sense of class consciousness.

The central point of our emphasis is the building of rank and file formations in every shop, department, industry and trade union local. In general, we see these broad formations of rank and file workers made up of workers who are activists and who take a militant stand on most issues. There must

be no other limitations to the rank and file groups.

We will fight for Left formations and Left progressive caucuses. We see them as caucuses of workers who are conscious of the class collaborationist policies, who are for trade unionism on a class struggle basis. We are for organizing such caucuses wherever it is possible in locals, but especially in central labor and state bodies. It is clear that the possibilities for organizing Left progressive caucuses is more limited than the organizing of rank and file groups of militant workers. But, of course, there is no stone wall between them. In a shop struggle a rank and file group can very quickly pass to Left concepts.

There is a growing sentiment in the ranks of secondary trade union leaders for some form of coordination for those who reject the policies of class collaboration. This desire is an expression of an attempt to find a solution to the crisis in the trade union movement. We are for this development. This is not in contradiction to our policy of emphasis on the rank and file. They can go hand in hand.

Only if the working class and the Party are in motion can we effectively inject the other issues; the issue of racism, the economic questions, the wage freeze, Nixon's cut in social services. Only when the working class is in motion can the question of budget cuts and an end to military spending be raised. Only then can we inject the critical question of the need for labor to move on to new levels of political independence. Only then can we, in a new way, raise the need for a new people's party and for workers as candidates for public office.

There are now new voices raised in favor of a new political party. This is especially true in the ranks of the trade unions. Fitzgerald of the UE, speaking to a union convention, said, "We have to go deeper than merely the replacing of one crook with another. We have to go beyond Watergate and the burglaries." And, he continued, "Out of such rank and file activities will eventually come a party based on labor. Labor is a sleeping giant in political potential." This report in the press stated that delegates gave him a standing ovation.

What is needed is some committees that will officially start an educational campaign for a new party.

We have taken some initiatives on this level also. There is a broad sentiment for political independence, but as yet there is some reluctance to give this a structure.

III. THE PARTY

We have to take a closer look at some phases of our work. Before we do I want to say that I think we can all take great pride in the fact that our Party

is now, without doubt, the most stable and the most influential organization on the whole Left. Respect for our Party continues to grow. The Party is a factor in more united front movements than ever. There is an improvement in our role as initiators of struggles. The Party has taken the offensive in many areas and in ideological battles. The Party's influence can be seen in the circulation of our Press. Our Press has the biggest circulation of any paper on the Left. This achievement can be attributed to the growing influence of the Party.

SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS. MAOISM

The non-Party Left is in deep ideological confusion. Part of this confusion reflects the new crisis of Maoism. It has now become absolutely impossible for anyone with even an ounce of honesty or self-respect to pretend to be a revolutionary, or even a progressive, and continue to ignore the open, totally counter-revolutionary actions of the Maoist leadership. How can anyone who is honest talk about defending the Chilean revolution while ignoring Mao's betrayal of the Chilean revolution? One could go on to list such things as the Maoist support for all the U.S.-sponsored imperialist alliances, their support for the imperialist arms race, their open betrayals of world socialism, Bangladesh and their most vicious anti-Sovietism. There is no way to cover them up; these are counter-revolutionary acts. It is this contradiction that has thrown the petty bourgeois Maoist groups into a tailspin. These groups are now in disarray, but some of the thoughts of Maoism, without Mao, hang on. As Maoism loses its influence on the Left, it is a rising star on the Right. The *New York Times* now refers to Mao, editorially, as "the world's leading revolutionary hero." And Salisbury, Mao's new advance public relations man, refers to Mao with affection and love as "the Chairman of the Board." And why should imperialism not hail Mao as a hero? Never in the history of the revolutionary movement has an individual in such an influential position so openly and completely, and so quickly, turned into a revolutionary scoundrel.

In the struggle for our united front policies there are some weaknesses in how some of our comrades view the sectarian Left forces. Left unity is not achieved by joining with some little clique which is an obstacle to and against Left unity. In most of these instances we become the tail to a sect. This happens when our comrades have a lack of confidence and a wrong estimate of what workers will do.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

As the crisis of imperialism deepens it increasingly calls on its social

democratic lackeys, especially those in trade union circles. Social democratic and Zionist cadre within the top trade union leadership have created a new problem. They are the theoreticians and the apologists for class betrayal. This has led to a split in the ranks of social democracy and the emergence of a new socialist organization. The split was caused by the open betrayal of the section that is to the right of Nixon. But the new organization will not go far until it cleanses its ranks of extreme right opportunism and anti-communism.

RACISM

Racism remains a central ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. There is motion in two directions. There is an increase of racism as it is reflected in the open neo-“scientific racism,” as it is presented in the academic and professional field by such open bigots as Shockley, Jencks, Banfield, Hernstein and Jensen. This demonstrates one development. It is in keeping with the racism of the Nixon Administration. But there are also signs that the influence of racism is receding in some areas. There is evidence of this at the ballot box in one election after another. This takes place in the elections in large cities and hundreds of smaller towns. Of course the elections in Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles are of special significance because the issues involved were not only racism; the Black candidates carried the banner against the reactionary ultra-Right forces in general. They carried the progressive banner.

But there is also evidence of this in shops and trade union locals. Increasingly there are examples of white workers voting for Black candidates. This trend is most noticeable where the slates are Black and white, or Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and white. These developments argue strongly against those who hide their own racism by saying there is nothing you can do with white workers. These cases are of great importance. In the shops and unions they are the signs of the beginnings of a new level of class unity. We must study this development self-critically. There are cases where it is obvious that our white comrades do not understand the full significance of this development. They are tailing behind these events. They underestimate the possibilities; they underestimate where the workers are at. Their underestimation is mixed with the influence of white chauvinism.

ANTI-SEMITISM

A related byproduct of the Mid-East situation is a serious rise of anti-Semitism. Because it does not break out into the open it should not fool anyone. Ideological influences accumulate for later outbreaks. The

monopoly circles not only do not mind that the blame is put on the Jewish people for the fuel shortages, but they contribute greatly to it. In fact the Zionist leaders also do not mind the growth of anti-Semitism. The reactionary, anti-Semitic forces are taking advantage of this situation to create an anti-Semitic atmosphere in the country.

We must not become insensitive to the dangers of anti-Semitism. We cannot take the approach that when the Mid-East problem is settled then we will take up the fight against anti-Semitism.

FURTHER BUILDING OF THE PARTY

We also have a developing and growing retirement syndrome. We have permitted this to grow. When comrades reach 60 years of age some begin to take steps to retire. Some use the excuse that they are retiring to make way for younger comrades. Well comrades, let's make it perfectly clear, the Party needs a few hundred additional cadre. There is a need for the young, but there is a need for the older, more experienced cadre. Under these circumstances how can we accept the concept of retirement. I am for putting an end to the whole concept of Communists retiring. Because of advancing age or poor health we should make changes in assignments, in pace of work, but no retirements.

There are also some other areas where we must fight for higher standards of leadership. One of these is moral standards. With male comrades it is often related to bourgeois concepts of women being a rug on which it is alright to wipe their feet. These are not personal matters, these are Party matters. The damage that such behavior causes to the Party is beyond measurement. Such practices and the ideological and moral concepts that support them must be rooted out.

In the area of weaknesses I want to say a word about the multi-national, multi-racial nature of our Party. We have not become such a Party without struggle. It is a feature of our Party that we can all be very proud of. In the U.S. it is a reflection of our vanguard role.

This achievement is first of all rooted in our principled struggle against racism. It has been achieved also because of our struggle against influences of petty bourgeois nationalism. We can maintain this basic essence of our Party only if we continue these struggles.

We are unique because we are a revolutionary party of the working class. The working class is a single unit. We are not a party of one section of our class, but we are a whole class. It is this class that is the revolutionary sector of society. There are more basic workers. There are, at times, more militant workers. There are workers who have only lately come in from non-working class environments. There are younger workers, women workers, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Indian workers. But

this in no way changes the basic Leninist concept of the working class as one class, as the advanced sector of society. It is this concept that is reflected in our Party as a working class Party. I raise this question because I think there are some weaknesses beginning to creep in. These weaknesses are reflections of downgrading of the working class and its role as a class. There are some weaknesses and some loosening up of the need to fight for the multi-racial character of our Party. We have had lately public meetings where the platform was all white. And we have had public Party meetings where the platform has been all Black. Some say that is an organizational matter, but I think it reflects much more.

I have heard of leading comrades — white comrades — who express doubts about the ability of Black comrades to organize, inferring that the reason for this is that the comrade is Black or Chicano. That is rank chauvinism. I have heard of Black comrades saying, "There is not a white comrade in the whole Party who can organize masses, or even organize themselves out of a paper bag." That is bourgeois nationalism. These concepts are not Communist concepts.

It is clear that the ideological pressures on the Party are very great. The enemy works hardest to penetrate our Party on this very vital front. We need to up the struggle on the whole front. Wrong theories about the working class leads to wrong concepts in our Party. The spirit of the drive must be the struggle against racism and chauvinism, but it is necessary to raise the struggle on all levels. We must never permit the enemy to, in any way penetrate or change this rock bottom class base of our Party.

SOCIALISM

The moment is complex, the struggles are sharp. But it is also an historic moment when mass thought patterns are going through qualitative changes. It is not only Nixon who has lost the confidence of the people. Capitalism is losing that confidence too. The time for an anti-monopoly upsurge has come. The time for political independence is here. The time for a qualitative shift in Party building and circulation of our press is here. There is a growing consciousness that the crises are related to capitalism as a system. The time is gone forever when socialism can be casually brushed aside. It is now looked upon by millions as a possible alternative.

The masses are ready to listen in a new way, and we must find the means of injecting our message in the best way, the Communist way. In this period the objective situation does not provide any excuses for not fulfilling our historic task, our Communist responsibility.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Following is the full text of the statement, made available to the **Information Bulletin** in January 1974.

The military coup on September 11, 1973 imposed on Chile a dictatorship which has since been drenching our country in blood, infringing elementary human rights and trampling on Chile's proud democratic traditions.

The coup brought back to power the most outspoken representatives of imperialism and the oligarchy.

The dictatorship is a Rightist government, a return to the past, a regime of big clans established by force, unrestricted by the Constitution and laws and wielding absolute power by force of arms. Set up at the price of the blood of thousands of Chileans, this regime is the worst Rightist government the country has ever seen. It is a fascist regime which stifles every manifestation of democracy, bans all Left parties, kills, tortures or jails the finest sons of the working class and people and abolishes their organizations. It is a regime which hates the working people.

Every Chilean has witnessed one or another of the regime's crimes. Thousands of people saw the corpses on the banks of the Mapocho, in La Aguada Canal, along railways or in the canals around Santiago. Repression has hit one or more members of every family of ordinary people. To Chile's shame, photographs of the burning of books and other deeds of the fascist dictatorship went the round of the world.

While the coup was carried out and the junta brought to power with the aid of various groups opposed to the Allende government, some doing it deliberately and others unwittingly, power passed into the hands of the most reactionary groups. This is admitted by even the reactionary pro-Frei wing of the Christian Democratic Party leadership, which joined in the conspiracy and supported it from the first. "Clustering around them (the military)," it stated on September 27, "are, characteristically, Rightist economic and political groups, some of them disguised as professional associations, as well as groups known for their totalitarian convictions and intent on adjusting government activity to retrogressive economic models

of a capitalist type and on encouraging the steady consolidation of dictatorial rule."

These trends have intensified since the coup. The veil has been lifted from sinister plans to eliminate the entire democratic structure and prevent restoration of people's rule. The order to burn voters' lists was the latest step taken by the fascists to show their scorn for democracy. On the other hand, it was an indication of how they dread all expression of the Chilean people's will.

All the rights and gains of the working people are being nullified. Massive lay-offs doom hundreds of thousands of Chileans to poverty. Over 20 per cent of the labor power is unemployed. Rising prices undermine the family income of every wage worker and most members of the middle strata. The living standard of millions of Chileans has sharply declined while the rich are as well off as ever. The economic policy imposed by the junta benefits solely a small group of monopolists and those who have a share in the dictatorial regime. As for the people, they are urged unquestioningly to accept the policy of starvation because "the effects of three years of chaos cannot be removed in a few months," although the generals and admirals avoid these "sacrifices" by granting themselves monthly salaries as high as 180,000 escudos.

A section of the military and civilian putschists tries to avoid so retrogressive an orientation and prefers a demagogical "popular policy" showing some reformist characteristics, a policy aimed at re-establishing some democratic practices within a relatively short time. Their objective is at least to win government posts for other bourgeois circles without allowing a popular movement. However, these people have little say in substantive decision-making. A fascist regime is being set up and the military junta therefore dissociates more and more from the interests and aspirations of the vast majority of Chileans.

In view of fascism's open offensive, which has stopped the process of structural changes, embarked on brutal repression against the popular movement and democrats, doomed millions of Chileans to poverty and hunger, and enabled the military to flout Chile's finest traditions and set about perpetuating fascist rule, every fair-minded Chilean must join in action uniting millions to end the nightmare. This nightmare is certain to pass but it depends on the will and action of patriots to cut it short and ensure the early replacement of tyranny by a new national, democratic, pluralist majority government capable of effecting the revolutionary changes which the country needs so badly.

There are conditions for the unification of the immense majority of Chileans against tyranny, a unification free from sectarianism, for the fight against fascism is a fight for the genuine interests and aspirations of Chile and its people.

UPHOLD THE COUNTRY'S INTERESTS

The fascist junta encroaches on the interests of Chile as an independent nation.

The plan for the coup, its execution and the savage methods used are of foreign origin. More and more Chileans are daily coming to the conclusion that the dictators are being guided by alien hands. These Chileans say that the dictators' brutality disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world.

The coup threw Chile back to the days of dependence on U.S. imperialism and isolated it from the socialist community and the Third World. It seriously weakened the international standing of our country and its sovereignty.

As for the economy, the coup put it back under foreign monopoly control. Big companies exert pressure to obtain unfair compensation for their nationalized property and the junta takes steps to satisfy claims of this nature to the detriment of Chile. The junta tries to justify its anti-patriotic decision by alleging that this is a requisite of securing imperialist "aid." The country is back in a position in which the solution of its problems hinges on foreign investments leading to underdevelopment and poverty, as we know from the experience of bourgeois governments of the past.

This is why to fight against the dictatorship means fighting for the country's interests.

RE-ESTABLISH CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RENOVATE DEMOCRACY

The fascists did away with all democratic forces. They liquidated the state based on law, which reactionaries boasted of upholding, and established a tyranny and a police state. They maintain the state of siege and, worse still, the "state of internal war," that is, a fascist war against the people which enables the fascists to continue committing murder. Every Chilean will agree that all public activity is lacking in the country and yet the Supreme Court confirms the criminal sentences passed by military councils.

Almost three months after the coup, mass shootings go on, new concentration camps are built, political leaders are being detained and new repressive laws are enacted.

However, fascism cannot with a stroke of the pen destroy the country's democratic traditions, a fruit of long years of struggle by the working class and people. Millions of Chileans can and must be united to enforce respect for elementary human rights and basic guarantees of democracy.

The immediate task is to end the "state of internal war," used as an

excuse for atrocious crimes. It consists in securing the release of Luis Corvalan and other political leaders of the people. The committees for human rights which should be set up on the greatest possible scale and as early as possible should demand an end to repression, the release of the political prisoners and a fair public trial of the accused. It is necessary to win for all popular and democratic parties and organizations the right to function normally. Freedom of the press must be restored and freedom of opinion respected.

The experience of these fatal days shows that the fight for revolution and socialism is inseparable from the fight for democratic development.

The overwhelming majority of Chileans have a stake in the struggle for democratic renovation. The coup showed that Chile needs a more progressive and more democratic state based on law than the one destroyed by the dictatorship. The new state should be a state capable of safeguarding itself against a fascist coup and of guaranteeing pluralism and genuine humanity. It will be brought into being through struggle against the dictatorship, and the people will shape it according to the criteria and interests of the majority.

STRUGGLE FOR BREAD AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

The dictatorship's economic moves are evidence of its reactionary nature.

The price increases announced by the putschists are an attack on the whole people. The purchasing capacity of wage and salary earners shows a sharp drop, and higher prices also affect large sections of the middle strata. The traditional ruling classes want to regain at one stroke privileges curtailed in three years of popular government.

There is a ban on wage increases in line with the higher subsistence minimum to have been introduced as of October 1. Trade union activity has been prohibited and the right to submit petitions revoked. This is how the fascists are "solving" the problem of supplying the needs of the population. Higher prices and the pay freeze force the people to buy less. The statement that "there will be no shortage of necessities" applies to the well-to-do, who stand to gain what the people lose.

The problem of clothing and food for children has assumed dramatic proportions for Chilean mothers, whose sentiments were abused by the reactionaries and who were the first to suffer from the dictatorship's policies and suffered harder than anyone else. The day is not far off when most of our country's women will hear the hollow sound of really empty pots.

In addition to rising prices there is unemployment. Tens of thousands of Chileans lost their jobs as a result of political repression. In view of the

enormous number of dismissals, the Peace Committee of the Catholic Church undertook to protect the rights of the dismissed. But, for all its goodwill, it could hardly do anything because the tyrants' blind hatred would not let it.

One of the current tasks is to fight for the restoration of trade unions. The fight for fair wages unites by far most of the Chileans. This majority should organize on a unitary basis and express its will in common.

There is a need for a widespread national movement to reinstate the discharged. This is an issue affecting the needs and sentiments of every democrat.

It is necessary to uphold the working people's every gain. The former owners of monopoly enterprises nationalized by the people must not be allowed to recapture them. The working people must unite to maintain their right to co-management of these enterprises.

SAVE CHILE'S CULTURE AND YOUTH

In the cultural field, fascism intends to introduce obscurantism. It has elevated the persecution of intellectuals to the rank of official policy. Hundreds of scientists and diplomaed specialists were expelled from universities and other centers and the development of whole branches of science was blocked. This poses a threat to the future of Chile and makes it impossible for young people to study.

Thousands of university students can no longer study because their way of thinking is at variance with the dictatorship's policies. This attack on culture must be stopped in the national interest. Youth must unite to safeguard their future.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ARMED FORCES

The putschists placed the armed forces and carabinieri at the service of this brutal policy. With fire and sword they brought back the past, imperialist and oligarchical exploitation.

Despite this, we have never considered, nor do we now believe that the basis of our social struggle is the struggle between the civilian population and the armed forces. There are people wearing army uniforms who are faithful to their duty and to their country but have been forced to take part in the terror unleashed against the people despite their democratic convictions.

The generals and officers who yielded to external and internal pressure in order to involve the military institutions in the plot against Chile and its people, bear a grave responsibility to history, and history will judge them. They have trampled on the prestige of the armed forces and the respect felt

for them by the people and the whole world, and they will destroy the armed forces if this ruinous policy is continued. In trampling on the best traditions of Chile and transforming the armed forces into murderers and executioners of their own people they are guilty of crimes against the motherland.

Many soldiers, as well as democratically-inclined officers have been subjected to repression, imprisonment and even shot by the putschists. They have pushed the military institutions into a disastrous abyss, placing them at the disposal of an insignificant minority. But the democratic traditions destroyed by the coup are not dead and in the course of their struggle to do away with the dictatorship the people will regain them once again.

The popular movement will have to spread the influence of the democratic and progressive ideals of the majority among the soldiers and officers. Everything must be done in the interests of the motherland to prevent the armed forces ultimately becoming a watchdog, defending imperialist and oligarchic interests. National security can be assured only if the present bloody gap between the military and the people, caused by the putschists, is closed. This is the duty not only of the popular movement, but of democratically-inclined soldiers and officers.

BROAD UNITY OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

The situation arising from the military coup and junta policy create conditions for, and make imperative, a broad social and political unity to save Chile.

The main enemies of the Chilean people, who unleashed the military coup and now benefit from the present situation are the same as before: imperialism and the monopolist and landed oligarchy. It is vital to unite forces against them.

Conditions are present which can enable the working class once again to play the role of the unifying center and to be the motive force for revolutionary change, essential for Chilean society. One of the factors making for the defeat suffered by our people, in fact, the main factor, was undoubtedly that during the period prior to the coup, the enemy succeeded in isolating the working class and other revolutionary strata. This created a balance of forces unfavorable to the progressive strata. The enemies of the Popular Government, bent on its overthrow, took advantage of this. In the struggle against the dictatorship it is possible and essential to change this situation. The working class must now, as never before, strengthen its unity with the peasantry, who are already suffering and likely to suffer still more from the effects of a reactionary agrarian policy. Thousands of peasant families have been hit by dismissals and everywhere the former latifundists, aided

by the dictatorship, are re-establishing their domination.

Broad circles of the middle strata, including the whole of the petty bourgeoisie, have in the course of a few weeks experienced for themselves the effects of the policy of the oligarchy. Thousands of specialists have been thrown on to the streets and have no likelihood of work. This forces them to emigrate which is bad for them and for Chile. The intellectuals, in the broadest sense of the word, experience the pressure of fascism and see more clearly that they have interests in common with the proletariat and the people. The same applies to broad circles of the youth.

Thus, objective conditions have been created making a broad united front possible.

Politically, this situation confirms the effectiveness of Popular Unity as an unitary institution, but at the same time it calls for continued progress along the path of joint action and cohesion with sections hitherto not supporting Popular Unity. The dividing line between the people and its enemies must not be drawn with an eye to the past but, on the contrary, with an eye to the future. The main watershed is not between the government and the opposition prior to the coup, but between the fascists and the putschists who have usurped power, and those who themselves experience the results of their reactionary policy, and who stand for a resurgence of democracy, for progressive social transformation, for national independence.

This unity implies, for instance, working with broad sections of Christian Democrats who have come out against the coup, and with the Independents, who have witnessed with horror the meaning of fascism. These elements must be approached as equals.

Unity will be based, in the main, on concrete problems affecting the masses and also on a dialogue with people prepared to participate in the interests of unity.

THE CORRECT LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES

Whether the working class succeeds in becoming the center of the unity of the whole people, and in its struggle against the dictatorship, depends decisively on the consistent implementation of a principled policy, which is able to avoid both conciliation and extremism. This success will be assured provided, first of all, there is further development and strengthening of the unity between Socialists and Communists, the parties of Popular Unity and all democratic forces.

The conditions prevailing since the fascist coup, in which the revolutionary struggle has to develop, are grim and difficult. Nevertheless, the present situation will not last forever. Clearly, the sole firm basis for the

development of a revolutionary counter-offensive is organization and unity, the struggle of the popular masses accompanied by the growth of their political consciousness.

The forms of struggle will have to be determined, taking into account the necessity to unite all democratic forces against fascism. It is essential at every stage to bear in mind the level of consciousness reached by the masses, to take into consideration the balance of existing forces and to achieve a situation where each action improves the balance in favor of the masses.

These criteria, which assure success, show quite clearly that the popular movement must avoid acts of individual terror or a putsch. The putschists would very much like the people to take action of this kind for they would then be able to justify their policy of terror on which their power rests. Ultraism and provocations helped the people's enemies in the past and at the present moment adventurism is precisely what Gustavo Leigh, the fascist, would like to see, in order to impose his "rules of the game."

The popular movement must renounce petty-bourgeois ideas about "an impetus from outside" which, it would seem, the masses need in order to get moving and develop the struggle. A genuine mass movement, able to create a revolutionary situation, is a movement which is created in accordance with the tactical aims of the popular movement at every stage of the process of its reshaping and development. It is necessary to see the difference between decisions of a strategic and tactical nature, between agitational slogans calling for action; and at the same time it is necessary to bear in mind their close interdependence in order to avoid confusion.

When we say: "Down with the Dictatorship," we are voicing the general feeling and this is a correct agitational slogan, but quite clearly it is not a practical call to immediate action at this moment. Therefore, by itself it cannot unite the majority for mass action to bring this about. On the other hand, if we say: "End the state of internal war," then we are putting forward an agitational proposition engendering action, which really could unite the majority. This, in its turn, would make the achievement of a minimum of democratic rights possible, and would aid the development of the people's struggle for the complete destruction of the dictatorship.

Similarly, we must not allow attempts to impose dogmatic schemes on the popular movement about the forms to be adopted in the future struggle against the putschists, and for the establishment of a new government. Among the Left there are comrades who assert that in order to achieve democratic and revolutionary renewal, a civil war is already inevitable. It is true that the fascists will possibly try at this price to enslave the Chilean people. However, this is not the moment for such a discussion.

Even though democratic paths are closed, a civil war is not the only way out for the people in all cases. A general political strike, supported by the

overwhelming majority of the population, can tie the hands of those who wish to unleash reactionary violence. In any case, to be a revolutionary means to take as a starting point the real struggle of the masses, to be prepared to act in accordance with the changes in the political situation, not attempting to impose schemes onto reality and, primarily, to avoid allowing such schemes to divert revolutionaries from the correct, daily, painstaking work with thousands and thousands of workers of town and village, among the ordinary men, women, young girls and lads. This is the key to the success of all the work.

THE ORGANIZATION OF OUR PARTY AND THE PARTIES OF POPULAR UNITY

The decisive factor for the rebirth of democracy, for the organization and appropriate leadership of the struggle of the masses, is the functioning of the Party. Repression, naturally, has interfered with its structure. The main task of the moment is the re-establishment of Party organizations in every region, in every enterprise, in every populated area, educational establishment, agricultural estate — everywhere where there are Communists.

We must also help to reorganize the parties of Popular Unity and in the course of the work overcome the difficulties inherited from the past.

Revolutionary struggle calls for the continued existence of organized advanced detachments. The Communist Party and its glorious youth organization will be able to hold out and carry on the banner of struggle.

The Communist Party of Chile

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN URUGUAY

The political situation in Uruguay by the beginning of 1974 is so grave that it requires the broadest international solidarity.

1. The determining development was the decree of December 1, 1973, banning political forces and organizations making up the Broad Front coalition, particularly the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Young Communist League, the University Students' Federation and others.

2. To give an idea of the decree, suffice it to say that it is a purely fascist measure launching a qualitatively new stage in the country's life, opening the way to mass persecution and reprisals against organizations and indi-

viduals advocating Marxism-Leninism (categorically "banned" by the decree) and also to persecution and reprisals against all who lay bare the true situation in Uruguay and even in other Latin American countries (Chile, for instance).

3. The decree was preceded by a broad propaganda campaign and provocations against Marxism-Leninism, progressive political organizations (including the Christian-Democratic Party which is part of the Broad Front and which it would be totally absurd to associate with this ideology), and also by the following concrete actions:

a) the decree of July 27 dissolved Parliament, meaning that the ruling classes abandoned their own institutions of bourgeois democracy;

b) this was followed by outlawing of the labor trade union center (National Working People's Convention);

c) in the latter half of November the government interfered in university affairs arresting the Rector and all the deans.

4. The December 1st decree is yet another step to the Right in the direction of the Brazilian-type "gorilla" regime. However, in spite of the predominance of Right and ultra-Right forces among army top officers and the political orientation of the ruling oligarchy, it cannot be said that this means the buttressing of the dictatorship. That is why it cannot be excluded that in the course of events and further aggravation of internal contradictions a new step will be taken to form a military junta that will abolish the last formal vestiges of the so-called civil regime.

5. The people whose indignation was aroused by the decree of December 1, again came forward, expressing their protest in various forms, which were a concrete continuation of the policy of the popular forces, particularly of the working class; this policy reached its climax in the 15-day general strike following the government coup of June 27.

6. The country's economic and social crisis is growing more acute, while the failure of the notorious "new policy," in the spirit of the most typical desarrolism ("strategy of development"), has become obvious not only to the most conscious segments of the working class and people, but also to the broad masses who are experiencing the effects of the slump in industry and agriculture, of rocketing prices and inflation (while foreign exchange rates of the national currency continue to fall), growing unemployment and emigration reaching unprecedented proportions (particularly among the younger generation, affecting not only specialists with secondary technical education, but also highly qualified workers, other categories of workers, and unemployed), mounting difficulties with food supplies and other vital necessities. The rising oil prices, threatening to let loose an avalanche of internal problems and problems connected with the trade balance, are important among other factors in view of the already critical situation in Uruguay's power balance.

7. To the economic and social failure of the military-oligarchic regime we should add also its political fiasco, for it has lost any support it had and its social base, not counting extreme Rightist circles, outright fascist groups and totally corrupt elements of the oligarchy. This was particularly apparent in the slow progress made in creating an organ of proposed legislative power and a body of "control" of government activity. This took all of five months after the coup and then the government failed in its attempts to enlist any persons of importance. It could put on these organs only old politicians lacking any authority and people with large fortunes from fascist-type or openly fascist groups.

8. Anti-communist and anti-Marxism laced with absurdly clumsy legal chicanery and used to conceal the true economic and social situation and to draw attention away from those actually responsible for it, make up an essential part of the systematic campaign against the working class and other democratic and progressive sectors, including the University. Attempts are still being made to prevent the working class from participating in the main spheres of the country's life. These attempts made already by the previous government from 1968 on led to the ban on the Working People's National Convention and the ensuing practically fascist-type control of trade union activities in order to create official and yellow trade unions. This plan failed dismally. The working class acted jointly showing a high level of political and class consciousness and again united in its class trade unions which in most cases emerged stronger still, actually re-establishing the National Convention existing independently and in spite of reaction.

Similarly, reactionary attempts failed to a certain extent in relation to the University. Resorting to various laws, broad campaigning, pressure and crude slander the reactionaries attempted to replace the University leadership and change its orientation, which aroused mass resistance by the students, professors and teaching staff who came out in defense of the University and its orientation. Resorting to planned provocation, the government was nevertheless able to interfere in University affairs and it was occupied by troops. But to appoint a new leadership it was forced to turn to incompetent persons because hundreds of others who were "invited" to occupy these posts in the University, turned down the offer. Besides, military organs of justice themselves dismissed the blatantly slanderous accusations levelled against the University leadership by the reaction, and set them free.

9. In view of the sharpening economic and social crisis, participation in government by the most corrupt elements (the oligarchy, business circles, etc.) hated by the people, and large groups of the military and other factors arousing dissatisfaction with the regime, one can speak of a deepening of contradictions, particularly among the armed forces.

10. This does not, however, weaken the people's struggle. The policy of the working class and the people relies exclusively on their own forces and on the development in the country of the broadest unity and is aimed at making it more effective, strengthening and consolidating the unity of the people in the struggle against the dictatorship and its policy.

11. As events developed, especially after the February 1973 crisis, there came to the fore the basically positive, progressive orientation of the Armed Forces (as expressed in Armed Forces communiques Nos. 4 and 7) not supported however by action. This situation, therefore, makes it necessary:

- to warn against the dangers of the situation and a possible new and sharper turn to the Right, against waiting passively for some sort of salvation through a "Messianic" military solution;

- to call for redoubled international solidarity with the people of Uruguay and their struggle for democratic freedoms and steps capable of opening the way for a progressive solution of the problems facing the country;

- to conduct a wide campaign to expose fascism's deeds and plans and, particularly, a campaign for the liberation of General Liber Seregni, an outstanding figure in the country, leader of the Broad Front and a wonderful personality and also other political prisoners;

- to demand legality for political forces and the workers' trade union center;

- to follow closely the plans of the oligarchy supported by imperialism, the Brazilian "gorrilla" government and other governments, including some members of the EEC who are helping the oligarchy ease the dire situation, particularly with wheat supplies.

(The information paper then gives facts and figures on the economic situation in the country).

Lastly, to make a correct evaluation of the situation in the country, it is necessary to take into account the significance — both in quality and quantity — of actions by the workers and the masses, the many work stoppages and general strikes. The latter involved almost half a million workers, i.e., just under a fifth of the country's population, repeatedly paralyzing the country. A no less important sign of possible changes and especially of the instability of the regime which is in direct proportion to the level of the people's organization and struggle, is the fact that except for General Seregni who was the 1971 presidential candidate, General Licandro and Colonel Zufriategui (leaders of the Broad Front), all the other political and trade union leaders were released before the end of 1973.

The working class of Uruguay and its organization — the Communist Party — have long been deeply involved in social life and are playing an ever increasing role in it. Now, no one can ignore this reality, whatever

their attitude to the country's policy. Precisely for this reason it is quite possible that new, inevitable critical outbursts in the Armed Forces could be a reflection of this factor, encouraging their progressive segments to follow more actively the political line of February 1973. The overwhelming majority of people in the country do not and will not remain passive in face of this or other prospects.

There can be no doubt, however, that the country today is going through one of the most trying periods in its history. We must realize that the situation could become even worse. Uruguay is a Latin American country and precisely due to this it is the target of the plans of imperialism and its new tactics.

It is possible that tragic and bloody ordeals lie ahead and consequently no one can forecast the dramatic nature of future events and the sharpening of all contradictions.

That is why we believe that the broadest possible international solidarity of all democratic forces is of great significance to the people of Uruguay in their struggle for restoration of their rights and would help them realize their dream of social justice in a sovereign country in conditions of peace and social progress.

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN WORKERS*

COMMUNIQUE

An international symposium on the problems of foreign workers in the European capitalist countries was held in Essen, West Germany, January 8-9 1974. The conference was attended by Communist Party delegations from Belgium, FRG, Denmark, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Turkey.

The participants denounced the policy of European big capital designed to ensure its domination and profits, a policy forcing 12 million workers and their families to live and work in foreign countries under discriminatory conditions. At present the monopolies, often with government aid, are attempting to place an even greater part of the burden of the mounting

**Unsere Zeit*, January 11, 1974

crisis onto the shoulders of foreign workers. Growing job insecurity in undermining the foundations of existence of many families. Nationalism, racism and hatred for foreigners are used to split the working class and drive a wedge between foreign and local workers.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the capitalist system cannot resolve the problem of foreign workers. The interests of foreign workers and their families can be assured only in a common struggle against big capital, against the power and influence of the multinational concerns, for a policy of peace, progress and socialism in the European capitalist countries.

Only a struggle against big capital will help overcome the economic and social backwardness of many countries and regions in European capitalist countries, which is forcing millions of families to migrate. The struggle of the workers and toiling people in the countries of origin of foreign workers where democratic rights are suppressed, their struggle against fascism and military dictatorship, for democracy and social progress requires therefore greater solidarity on the part of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

Participants in the symposium stressed the identity of interests of the entire working class. Both foreign and local workers are exploited and their common enemy is big capital. The problems of foreign workers are inseparably bound with the struggle for the rights of all the working class.

In view of the new and grievous complications, the growing insecurity and the mounting discrimination against foreign workers, the participants confirm the need for broader exchange of experience, coordination of fraternal cooperation of respective Parties in the struggle for the basic interests of foreign workers, namely:

- the right of foreign workers to work, to residence in the country, to social security in times of crisis;

- legal, social and political equality for foreign workers on a par with local workers;

- respect for and stimulation of national culture and dignity of foreign workers;

- the right for foreign workers to establish their trade union and political organizations (or to participate in such organizations) in the interests of working-class unity;

- freedom of expression, assembly and organization;

- the right for foreign workers themselves to determine length of residence and work abroad;

- banning forced deportation from the immigration country;

- the right to professional training and improved skills;

- the right to have a family and to live with the family;

- decent housing and qualified, democratic schooling for children;

- against any form of activity by agents of fascist or militarist regimes;

—the right to political asylum.

The participants unanimously stressed the need for joint action and improved cooperation of corresponding trade unions, and also for joint action by Communist, Social-Democratic and Christian workers in the interests of foreign workers.

The struggle for the political, economic and social interests of foreign workers in the European capitalist countries requires greater mutual exchange of experience and cooperation and stresses the importance of meetings of representatives of Communist Parties of the European capitalist countries.

The symposium supports the initiatives taken by certain Parties to step up the struggle for the rights of foreign workers through drawing up and circulating the basic regulations on the rights (statutes) of foreign workers, through proposals for a radical change of reactionary legislation concerning foreigners, or by means of other actions.

These goals can be realized only by the workers' struggle against big capital. These goals demand an intensification of struggle and activity within the national borders and simultaneous intensification of international cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON PROBLEMS CONFRONTING INTELLECTUALS*

COMMUNIQUE

An international seminar was held in Geneva on January 11, 12 and 13 on "The Position of Intellectuals in Capitalist Europe: Freedom of Creative Work and Quest," attended by delegations from the German Communist Party, the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Spain, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece, the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Norway and the Swiss Party of Labor.

Firstly, the seminar stressed the profound crisis in all spheres of life in the capitalist countries of Europe. While the growth of the scientific-technological revolution makes it imperative that millions of men and women have access to all kinds of knowledge and culture, thus opening up broad perspectives more than ever before for the flowering of the individual and social advance, state-monopoly capitalism, whatever the

**Volx Ouvrière*, January 14, 1974

political forms of its domination in our countries, proves unable to solve these important problems in a manner corresponding to the interests, immediate needs and aspirations of the workers and other non-monopoly strata of society.

The crisis is an exceptionally serious one. All these strata are subjected to intensified exploitation in all forms in our countries, where production relations are geared to the extraction of profit and the power of big capital prevails.

It is a general crisis. It is a crisis of society, a social, political, ideological, cultural and moral crisis.

Although the working class bears the main brunt of this crisis, the intellectuals, whose number and role in society are growing, are also experiencing it more keenly. Their position in society is deteriorating, frequently materially and always morally. More and more they are becoming merely hired labor and under capitalism this process is accompanied by a whole series of negative phenomena.

On the other hand, those who still work as independent professionals have, as a rule, no guaranteed income, social benefits or conditions of work. In all our countries the freedom of creation, quests and artistic self-expression is seriously limited in the most diverse forms — starting with the growing unemployment of intellectuals to direct repression, including the most subtle attempts at corruption and integration in the Establishment.

Most intellectuals experience the full weight of the process of monopoly concentration, particularly in the cultural field, the pressure of the multinational companies developing in the cultural sector, the authoritarian control by governments of the main information media, Malthusianism in the educational sphere, scientific research and artistic creativity, economic censorship, repression. All these phenomena are developing in our countries, but also increasingly so throughout the whole of capitalist Europe due to the influence and activities of American imperialism.

The intellectuals are more and more discontented and are waging important struggles, particularly so the young people. Many intellectuals are forming trade unions. In view of their position in production, the intellectuals, and especially engineers, administrative workers and technicians, are increasingly aware of the deep nature of the crisis. They are beginning to dissociate themselves from the Establishment, and at the same time they display an increasing interest in the achievements of the socialist countries and in socialist ideas.

Big capital understands and senses this evolution among the intellectuals, while it is unable to create attractive ideological systems or offer a genuine perspective for the future.

For this reason it steps up its attacks on intellectuals in all spheres;

firstly, it exerts pressure on them, then encroaches on their aspirations, on the freedom and diversity of their quests and creativity, on their striving to work for humane social ideas. Finally, big capital places the blame on the intellectuals in some countries, going to the length of naming them as the main culprits.

It is precisely within the framework of this profoundly reactionary offensive that we must view the unprecedentedly savage campaigns against science, technology, reason, education, culture. These campaigns against the intellectuals are directed against the progress of society as a whole, and are an attempt to spread reactionary ideology filled with pessimism, as if the end of capitalism signified the end of the world.

This broadens the objective basis for an alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia, so important today, an alliance not only for immediate mutual defense but, also, to build a new future together where the intelligentsia would no longer be viewed in isolation, but would be associated with an active and specific role within the framework of the historical process.

As persistent and dynamic supporters of such an alliance, the Communist Parties provide the crucial answers to the demands, concerns and hopes of the intelligentsia, answers epitomized in their common cultural policy offered to all the population. They consider this cultural policy to be a concrete and important part of their general policy of building an anti-monopoly, democratic society which, thanks to the broadest alliance of the most diverse public, political and ideological forces, opens the way to socialism. This policy can be expressed in the following points which were set forth during the discussion by the delegates of every Party.

Communists are fighting and call upon the intelligentsia to fight in alliance with the workers for the following goals:

- Free culture from Big Business domination.
- Follow a policy of encouraging creativity in all fields.
- Ensure freedom of creation, self-expression and search.
- Defend national cultures which at present are oppressed.
- Afford the people greater access to culture and ensure towards this end that they have more time and means of livelihood.
- Recognize the irreplaceable public role played by research workers, creative workers and the intellectuals.
- Guarantee the moral and material status of the intellectuals and creative workers.
- Democratize and renovate the schools, the information media and cultural establishments.
- Vigorously promote research work in all spheres in the people's interests.
- Decentralize cultural activities.

—Make culture available to children and the youth.

This would ensure for everyone freedom in all its aspects. While the capitalist system is ruinous everywhere and in everything, the democratic regimes practising this general cultural policy will afford the intelligentsia an opportunity for unhampered development of creative and research work in the conditions of confrontation of views and diversity of trends, tendencies and schools.

This new freedom and cultural flourishing are now on the order of the day.

The Communist Parties in European capitalist countries, going over from daily demands to demands of a broader nature will promote the struggle of the intellectuals in alliance with the working class.

They call upon the European intelligentsia to participate in all actions for liberties, for their extension, for democratic regimes guaranteeing them, for socialism.

They invite the intelligentsia to take part in the democratic struggle from working-class positions; they highly value the irreplaceable contribution by Communist intellectuals whose ranks are expanding.

They reviewed the possibilities of bilateral and multilateral contacts needed for a comprehensive study of all the plans of big capital in culture on a European scale and for rallying the working people and intelligentsia to oppose these plans.

They welcome and support the democratic struggle being waged by students, the intelligentsia and all who are fighting for democracy in the particularly difficult conditions in Spain, Greece and Portugal in the face of persecution, including medieval tortures. They demand an end to these reprisals and the release of all political prisoners.

In the countries of the so-called "free world" capitalism has found no means to maintain its power other than fascism, i.e., brute force. Its power is maintained also by the assistance given by U.S. imperialism, European reaction and NATO.

These regimes which trample underfoot the slightest semblance of political or cultural freedom show the dangers which the capitalist system creates for democracy, and warn of the threats which this oppressive system poses for freedoms wherever they exist and to the degree in which they exist.

The Communist Parties are certain that in culture just as in other areas it is already possible to formulate the tasks of democratic renovation which could be supported and furthered by all forces representing the working class, the toiling population, the middle strata and the intelligentsia of every country. This policy, based on mutual respect, recognition of equality and diversity and originality of each force's contribution, is of principal significance to the Communist Parties.

Democracy, culture and socialism are concepts inseparable from one another, providing the basis on which the workers and intelligentsia could unite, emerge victorious and build for the benefit of every nation a future in which the whole of society and the intelligentsia of our countries will enjoy freedom unknown heretofore.

CONFERENCE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES*

A conference of Central Committee Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries was held in Moscow on January 22-23. The following parties were represented: Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The conference was opened with an introductory speech by M.A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary of the CPSU.

The following spoke at the conference: B. Velchev, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Bulgarian Communist Party; I. Malmierca, member CC Secretariat, Communist Party of Cuba; F. Ondrich, Secretary CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; H. Dohlus, Central Committee Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; A. Pullai, Central Committee Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; S. Zhalan-Azhav, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party; E. Babiuch, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party; G. Pana, member Executive and Standing Presidium and CC Secretary, Rumanian Communist Party; I. V. Kapitonov, Central Committee Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There was an exchange of views on topical problems of Party organization and activity and their practical solution in the fraternal Parties represented at the conference.

The entire course of historical development, -speakers noted, demon-

*Pravda, Jan. 24, 1974.

strates that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party grows with the widening scope and tasks of building socialism and communism. Fulfilment of the Party's role of political leader of the working class and all working people depends in decisive measure on its strength, the character of inner-Party relations and the effectiveness of its political and organizational work.

Much attention was devoted to growth of Party membership and further improvement of its quality. The importance was emphasized of consistently adhering to the principle of democratic centralism as the unshakeable foundation of the Party's ideological and organizational unity, the decisive condition for its action capacity. Conference participants exchanged experience on developing inner-Party democracy, collective leadership, promoting the activity of Party members and strengthening Party discipline. Also discussed were cadre policy, improving forms and methods of political leadership in the economic and cultural fields, of state and public organizations and promoting closer contact with the working class and with all working people.

Conference participants were unanimous that practice has convincingly confirmed the international character and fundamental importance of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of Party leadership applied by the fraternal Parties with due account to present-day requirements and concrete conditions.

The conference stressed the vast importance of expanding bilateral and multilateral ties between Communist and Workers' Parties, consultation and exchange of experience on Party organizational work, collective discussion and elaboration of pressing problems of Party organization and activity.

The conference was held in a comradely and businesslike atmosphere.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

THE PATH OF BETRAYAL*

The steadily growing international prestige and influence of the USSR, the successes of the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU are arousing the frenzied hatred of international imperialist reaction and its ideological hirelings. It is the hatred of those who sent the armies of intervention against the young land of the Soviets, of those who tried to strangle it by blockade, who goaded the fascist hordes into their piratic attack against it; of those who for many years waged a cold war against us and are now trying to turn back the wheel of history opposing the relaxation of tension and inciting enmity among peoples. It is the hatred of those who organize plots and subversion against the freedom-loving peoples, of those whose efforts have helped to nourish the bloody gorillas of the Chilean junta, and the fascist and racist dictators who, with merciless terror, are suppressing the will of the peoples for freedom and national independence.

In its ideological struggle against socialism, imperialist reaction is willing to adopt any means available, right down to falsification and slander.

Recently, in connection with the publication in the West of another slanderous book by A. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, the bourgeois press has launched an anti-Soviet hullabaloo. The name of this renegade, who for many years has been cooperating with foreign publishing houses and press, including the white-emigré press hostile to the Soviet people, has again surfaced to the top of the dirty stream of anti-communist propaganda.

This is not the first book that Solzhenitsyn has published abroad against the Soviet social system and against our people. In his books, *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* Solzhenitsyn, as a reactionary on the war path, rejected our socialist gains and questioned the very foundations of Soviet society. Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914* about the early days of the first world war also has an anti-socialist orientation. Lacking either historical or artistic truth, this novel is dominated by one, absolutely definite, tendency. Solzhenitsyn comes out against revolutionaries and against the socialist revolution, while writing with tender emotion about the Kaiser's troops and lauding their generals and officers. Formerly, he persistently praised

*Pravda, January 14, 1974.

everything that was prerevolutionary, favorably comparing it with what was Soviet, but here what was militaristic and Prussian is opposed to everything Russian. The novel *August 1914* is an anti-patriotic and anti-popular work, in which the author's feelings "hurt" by the Revolution, an off-shoot of big landowners, which denied him hereditary privileges and wealth, are quite obvious.

August 1914 clearly revealed Solzhenitsyn's political platform to be that of a supporter of the landlord-capitalist regime, an apologist of the cadet ideology prepared, at the price of betraying his Motherland, to work for the restoration of the bourgeois system.

The Victors' Feast, a play in verse, was also sent abroad, but not published there because Solzhenitsyn himself has, hitherto, regarded its publication as undesirable.

This, of course, cannot be explained by the obvious artistic poverty of the play, for the anti-sovietists who publish any trash provided it slanders Soviet society, are not concerned with artistic merit. The fact of the matter is that *The Victors' Feast* clearly exposes Solzhenitsyn not only as an active anti-Sovietist, but as a profoundly immoral man who tries to slander and humiliate the heroes of the Soviet people, the soldiers of the Soviet Army, who with their blood and lives saved mankind from the threat of Nazi slavery. At the same time the play lavishes unconcealed sympathy on the Nazi hirelings, the Vlasov traitors, and deplores the fact that the Nazis began the formation of the Vlasov bands, which he, Solzhenitsyn, wished to see as a force capable of "ridding" Russia of Bolshevism, too late.

Solzhenitsyn jeers at all that we hold most sacred, insults the memory of the best sons and daughters of the people, Alexander Matrosov and Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya. Even among the most diehard anti-communists one rarely encounters such blasphemy of people who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism.

Now, in *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn, no longer through the lips of a character in his play, but himself says that the Nazis were "indulgent" and "kind" to the enslaved peoples, and that the Soviet Army won the battle of Stalingrad thanks to the penal battalions. Again, just as in *The Victors' Feast*, he mocks the sacrifices made by the Soviet people in the anti-fascist war, excuses the crimes of the Vlasov and Bandera gangs. "This war," he says, "showed us that in general, the worst thing on earth is to be a Russian."

The book *Gulag Archipelago* is clearly designed to fool and cheat gullible people with all kinds of lies about the Soviet Union. Its author was literally choked by pathological hatred for the country where he was born and grew up, for the socialist system and the Soviet people.

This book which purports to be documentary could be described as the outpourings of a deranged mind were it not full of cynical lies invented to

serve the forces of imperialist reaction. If there is anything in this work likely to amaze the reader, it is possibly the extreme degree of self-exposure by a man who is looking at a new, rising society through the eyes of people who supported the criminal cause of counter-revolution, shot and hanged Communists, revolutionary workers and peasants.

Such is the logic of moral degradation, such is the measure of spiritual poverty of this internal emigré, who has no ties with the real life of our society.

With deadly accuracy V.I. Lenin in his time described the breed of politico that grovelled before the capitalist world: "All your talk about freedom and democracy is sheer claptrap, parrot phrases, fashionable twaddle, or hypocrisy. It is just a painted signboard. And you yourselves are whited sepulchres. You are mean-spirited boors, and your education, culture, and enlightenment are only a species of thoroughgoing prostitution. For you are selling your souls, and you are selling them not through need, but for 'love of the thing' " (*Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 53).

The reactionary circles whom Solzhenitsyn servilely serves, are naturally silent about their true, far-reaching aims. But any unbiased person can see that the main task of the guardians of capitalist exploitation is to use all available means to slander the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and socialism on earth, to blacken the history of our creative people, to weaken the attractive force of communist ideas, to harm world socialism which is growing stronger and to undermine the cause of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

But those gentlemen in the West who are assiduously praising Solzhenitsyn to the skies will hardly capitalize on this unseemly affair. The loathsomeness and insignificance of this creature, both morally and politically, is far too obvious. It is appropriate to recall the words that have come down to us from antiquity: "Traitors are scorned even by those whom they serve." Thus it has been and so it will continue to be.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet public and the Writers' Union have repeatedly warned Solzhenitsyn that his behavior, which has disgraced the name of a Soviet citizen, was inadmissible. But Solzhenitsyn heeded nothing and learned nothing. He was and is an anti-Sovietist and an anti-Communist, who has deliberately defected to the camp of the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism. His is the role of a provocateur and instigator, who appeals to the imperialists to conduct a "policy of strength" with regard to the USSR.

Bourgeois propaganda is trying to present Solzhenitsyn as a martyr who is dragging out a miserable existence. Solzhenitsyn himself has actively helped to spread this myth, playing the role of a kind of a "God's fool."

But can one describe as "impoverished" a man who can afford to buy three cars in a short period of time, to acquire a country cottage and,

incidentally, maintain his own lawyer in Switzerland to take care of his bank accounts? His true face is that of a diehard "operator," trading on his anti-Sovietism, adroitly stimulating speculation around himself and gathering in the dividends.

Bourgeois propaganda is trying to prove the Solzhenitsyn's works are not printed in the Soviet Union because he writes "the truth" about certain dramatic moments in the history of the Soviet state, particularly about the illegal repressions that have taken place.

This is a vicious lie. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has openly and uncompromisingly criticized the violations of socialist legality connected with the personality cult. It has completely restored the Leninist principles and norms of life within the Party and in society and has ensured the further development of socialist democracy.

A number of works, criticizing these shortcomings and mistakes of the past have been published in this country and the Soviet public has responded positively because their authors wrote the real truth, without bias and without losing a sense of historical perspective.

Solzhenitsyn approaches these questions quite differently. He tries to prove that the violations of legality were not a departure from the norms of socialist society, but stemmed from the very nature of socialism.

It is clear that his slanderous works, which are directed against socialism as a social system, against everything that has been created and affirmed by the creative work of the Soviet people, cannot be published in the Soviet Union.

The reactionary character of Solzhenitsyn's writings and his hostility towards the cause of peace, socialism, understanding and friendship among peoples, have aroused the indignation of the public in the fraternal socialist countries, where the press is exposing all the talk in the West around the name of this lampoonist. The true essence of this chatter is becoming ever more obvious to broad public circles in many countries, as can be seen in the sharp rebuttals to imperialist propaganda appearing in progressive publications in France, Britain, the FRG, Austria, the USA, Canada and other countries.

Solzhenitsyn merits what he has so zealously worked for, the fate of a traitor from whom all Soviet working people and every honest person on earth can only turn away in anger and disgust.

I. Solovyov

PRICE: 10 CENTS

