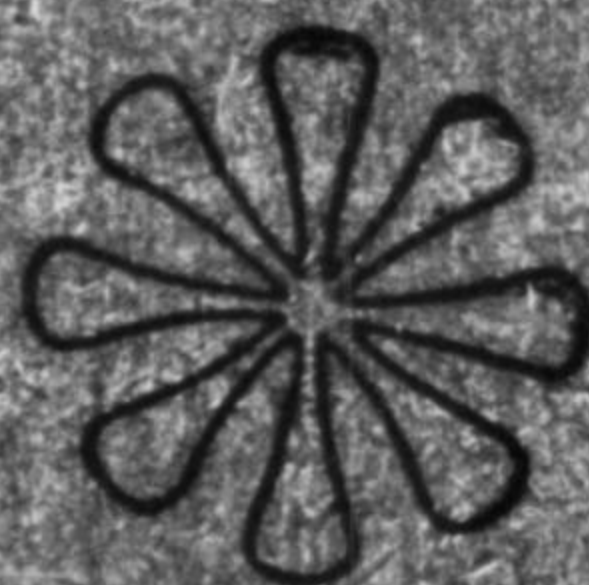


INFORMA



TION

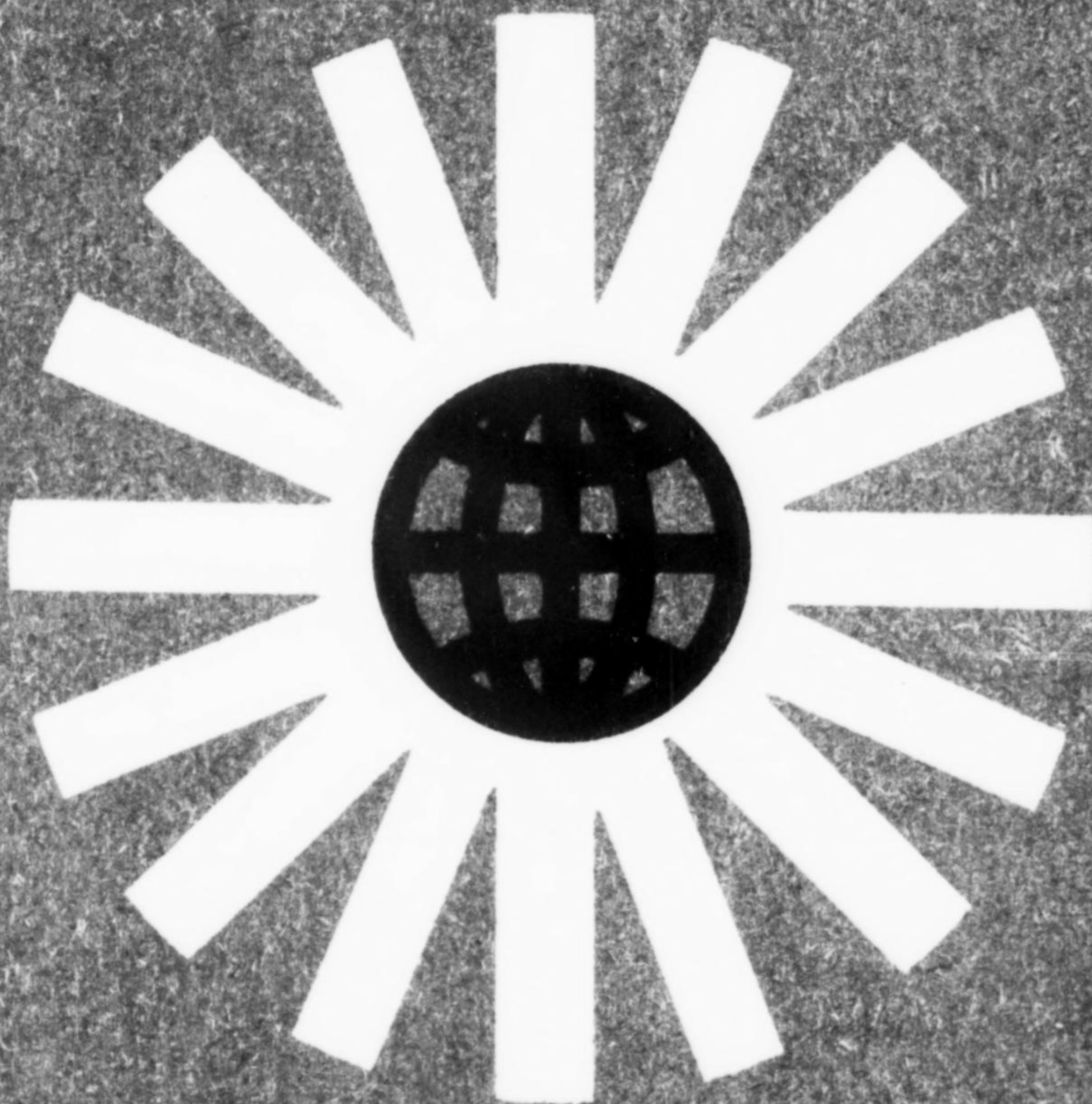
BULLETIN

Issued by
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**ULTRA-LEFTISM
IN CHILE**

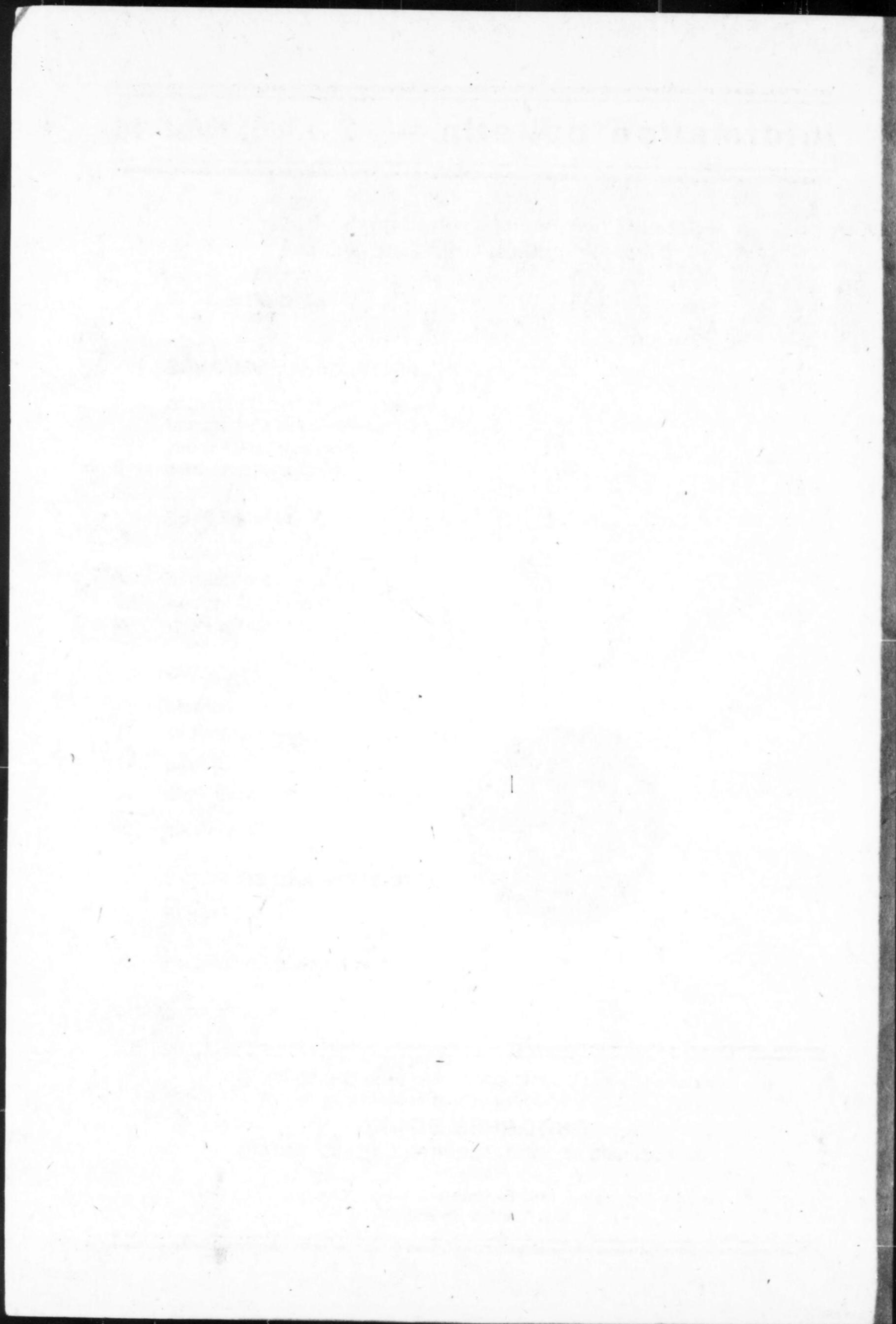
•
**CP COLOMBIA
12TH CONGRESS**

•
**R. ARISMENDI
STATEMENT**



2

(306) • 1976



information bulletin — 2 (306) Vol. 14

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

contents

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

- Meeting of Central Committee
Secretaries of Communist
and Workers' Parties
of socialist countries 5

CONGRESSES

- Colombia
Political resolution of
the 12th Congress
of the Communist Party 8

PLENUMS

- Britain
Meeting of Executive Committee 18
- Jordon
Plenum of Central Committee 20
- Summaries 22

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

- Chile
Ultra-leftism —
Trojan horse of imperialism 24

(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)

Uruguay
Statement by Rodney Arismendi,
First Secretary of
the Communist Party 48

Ireland
Northern Ireland:
terror can be stopped 52

IN BRIEF 54

PRINTED IN CANADA
JANUARY 31, 1976

PRICE: 10 CENTS



MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions was held in Warsaw on January 26. Taking part were; from the Bulgarian Communist Party — Alexander Lilov, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary, Konstantin Tellalov, Central Committee secretary; from the Communist Party of Cuba — Raul Garcia Pelaez, Secretariat member; from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — Josef Havlin, Central Committee secretary; from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — Kurt Hager, Hermann Axen, Werner Lamberz, Political Bureau members and Central Committee secretaries; from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — Miklos Ovari, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Imre Györi, Central Committee secretary; from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party — Dejidiin Chimiddorzh, Central Committee secretary; from the Polish United Workers' Party — Jan Szydlak, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, alternate Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Ryszard Frelek, Central Committee secretary; from the Rumanian Communist Party — Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and Central Committee secretary; from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — Boris Ponomaryov, alternate Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, Konstantin Katushev, Central Committee secretary. Also taking part in the meeting were the heads and deputy heads and leading functionaries of the international and ideological departments of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties concerned.

The meeting was opened by Jan Szydlak, PUWP Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary. It was addressed by Alexander Lilov, BCP, Raul Garcia Pelaez, Cuban CP, Josef Havlin,

CPC, Kurt Hager, SUPG, Miklos Ovari, HSWP, Dejidiin Chimid-dorzh, MPRP, Jan Szydlak, PUWP, Stefan Andrei, RCP, and Boris Ponomaryov, CPSU.

The participants exchanged views on topical questions of ideological and political work with account for the present stage of struggle for deepening international détente and the results of the European Security Conference.

It was noted with satisfaction that in the recent period there has been marked progress in multilateral and bilateral ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. This is reflected in many spheres of information and propaganda, social sciences, education, publishing activity, the arts, culture, tourism, and also in the activity of public organizations. All this facilitates further cooperation in solving tasks of socialist and communist construction in each country, favorably influences the cohesion of the community of socialist states, their cooperation on the international arena.

The meeting stressed the importance of the ideological and political measures carried out in connection with the 30th anniversary of victory over fascism, the jubilees and other significant political events in the life of the fraternal parties and countries.

The participants unanimously noted the historic importance of the European Security Conference, which provided opportunities for developing the process of strengthening European security, responding to the interests of all people of the continent, the cause of peace and international cooperation the world over. The results of the Helsinki Conference created prerequisites for mutually advantageous cooperation of states, irrespective of their social system, in the economy, culture, science, education, information media and contacts between people, while strictly observing equality and sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of other states.

The participants stressed that their countries, as repeatedly noted in official documents and statements of their leading bodies, are prepared to translate into reality all the principles and commitments envisaged by the Final Act of the European Security Conference, to uphold the initiatives of all public forces directed toward this end.

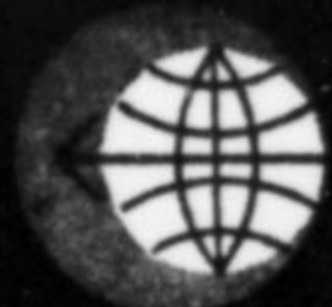
The meeting emphasized the need for further struggle to deepen and materialize détente in every way, to end the arms drive and for disarmament, for a stronger peace and security on all continents. The participants consider it important to activate the struggle against attempts to distort the content of the home and foreign policies of the

socialist countries, against reactionary imperialist ideology and propaganda, the policy of strength and diktat, colonialism and neo-colonialism, anti-communism, fascism and racism. They expressed solidarity with the people of the People's Republic of Angola in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Fundamental importance attaches to all-round popularization in the socialist countries and elsewhere of the real achievements of each socialist country in the economy, science, culture, in raising of living standards, development of socialist democracy and international activity.

The meeting of Central Committee secretaries of Communist and Workers' parties was held in a purposeful and comradely atmosphere.

Pravda, January 28, 1976.



**communist
viewpoint**

**Subscribe
now . . .**

6 issues a year \$4.

(NEWSSTAND VALUE: \$4.50)

COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT is a Marxist theoretical-political journal dealing with Canadian and world affairs from the standpoint of scientific socialism.

In Canada: Single Copy 75c; One Year \$4.00; 2 Years \$7.00 (Save \$1.00). U.S. and Foreign: \$5.00 1 Year; \$8.50 2 Years. Half-price for students and unemployed. Enclose 15c with U.S. cheques.

Send to:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITYZONEPROV. or STATE

Enc. \$ Bill me

**Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. W., Toronto M5V 1T4
Canada**

number 2, 1976 7

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 12TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA*

1. POLICY OF THE RULING CLASSES

Since the parity bipartisan monopoly has outlived itself, the oligarchy reverted to the subterfuge of party rivalry and made relative gains in the 1974 elections, at which, despite the polarization of forces, the National Opposition Union received a large majority, proving the possibility of Popular Unity.

The ideological and political influence of the two traditional parties is a major obstacle to raising the political consciousness of the people, because it generates opportunism and cultivates backwardness in large sections, impeding their understanding of present-day political trends. However, the drawn-out and complex process of disintegration of the two traditional parties is continuing.

The Party foresaw that a large part of those who had voted for Lopez, as well as representatives of the opposition and those who remained on the sidelines, would demand implementation of the demagogic promises, while putting forward their own demands and that life itself would expose the oligarchic character of the government.

Facts show that the reactionary structure of power is maintained, that the Lopez government intends to continue its course and that its predominant nucleus consists of the financial oligarchy in alliance with imperialism and the latifundists, who are encouraged to accelerate capitalist development of agriculture on the basis of their landed estates.

The Lopez government tried at first to cultivate a "republican" image, because it had to reckon with the broad masses who elected it

*For information on the 12th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party see *Information Bulletin* No. 24, 1975.

in order to maintain their support, and especially due to their energetic actions. But 10 months later it made a reactionary retreat, introducing the emergency situation in an attempt to check the rising popular struggle. This is a sign of weakness rather than strength, it is evidence that the dominant classes, increasingly losing mass support, are incapable of governing without resorting to repressions.

In this situation, the most reactionary elements in government have come to the fore, and the capacity of the popular movement to organize a rebuff and find a democratic solution is put to the test. This requires unity and audacity, measures to protect the offices of Party committees, workers' and popular organizations, and new efforts in organizing the self-defense of the masses. In face of the reactionary offensive, we must make the following demands:

- end the emergency situation, extend and defend democratic freedoms;
- release political prisoners;
- ensure the rights of the workers and trade unions, stop police surveillance over trade unions and dissolve the arbitration tribunals;
- ensure the rights and freedoms of the rural workers;
- repeal all repressive legislation;
- abolish court-martial "justice," fight against the arbitrary practices and crimes committed by the military administration inspired by reactionary circles and the U.S. military mission, and get that mission expelled from the country;
- counter terrorism and encroachment on the personality as a reactionary instrument for the intimidation of the popular movement;
- work for university autonomy and democracy.

2. DEPENDENCE, BACKWARDNESS, HIGH COST OF LIVING

The complex development of the national economy is going on against the background of the profound crisis of world capitalism. Foreign monopolies are gradually taking over the more developed branches of industry. Capitalist development in agriculture is accompanied by concessions to the latifundists and imperialism. Expropriation of small peasants, formation of a rural proletariat and a strengthening of the rich farmers — such is the present panorama of rural Colombia. Adoption of the law on share cropping has institutionalized semi-feudal relations and concluded the attempts to carry out a bourgeois agrarian reform.

Private foreign, especially U.S., capital investment in industry, trade, finances and agriculture is advancing at full stride, resulting in a still greater outflow of capital.

The profound structural crisis hampers any progress in the economy due to dependence, limited internal market and the ballast of the semi-feudal and backward agriculture.

Among other "emergency economic measures," Lopez took step favoring, first of all, the profits of foreign and national monopolies, reduced real wages and employment, and is maintaining inflation with its concomitant high cost of living.

The economic development plan for 1975-78, based on the so-called plan to provide food supplies and ensure the "integral development of agriculture," is on the whole favorable only to imperialism and the oligarchy. The imperialist loans, excessively high taxes and increased prices on coffee make it possible for the government to present this plan as a substitute for genuine agrarian reform and to continue combining demagoguery with repressions.

The growing debt of the country, increasing its dependence, is a heavy burden on the people who pay for the imperialist loans which are guaranteed by the growing cost of public services, higher taxes, wage freeze and devaluation of the peso.

The position of the Lopez government with regard to natural resources is anti-national in character. Contrary to national interests, it is raising prices on fuel from petroleum derivatives, while cancelling subsidies. The policy of "association" with imperialist capital is prejudicing the interests of the country and Ecopetrol, which is prepared to assume management of our oil industry both technologically and with regard to cadres. The "Colombianization" maneuver is designed to link foreign monopolies with the national oligarchy for the further exploitation of the people. It is important therefore to nationalize without indemnity the natural resources and imperialist capital.

Foreign companies and missions occupy entire regions of the country, exploiting the working people and natural resources. This applies, for instance, to the Texas firm in the Magdalena Medio or to the imperialist concessions in the forest and fishing zones; cultural missions, like the Summer Linguistics Institute, which also ideologically manipulates the population; and, finally, the practice of mass sterilization. We must raise the patriotic banner of struggle against these imperialist maneuvers that are directed against the working

people, and demand the expulsion of the Summer Linguistics Institute.

The positive aspects of the Andes Pact have been nullified mainly as a result of Lopez's tolerance of the Chilean fascist junta, which has violated the statute on foreign capital investment.

The new coffee agreement strengthens the alliance of coffee-producing countries enabling them to counteract imperialist concerns. We must resist the monopoly orientation of the National Federation of Coffee Producers so that the better prices and the policy of higher taxes serve the interests of the coffee pickers, the poor and middle peasants, thereby helping their professional organization.

Despite official promises, trade with the socialist countries is not developing consistently; rather, circles linked with the United States are hampering extension of this trade, which could in part curtail imperialist monopoly in foreign trade and demonstrate the achievements of the socialist countries.

The financial group of the big oligarchy is trying to shift the difficulties ensuing from our dependent economy on to the workers, the urban middle sections and peasantry.

The share of wages in the gross output has been noticeably reduced and, though productivity has increased during the past four years, the high cost of living has sliced off a quarter of real wages.

Unemployment is going up, involving a million and a half people already. On the other hand, the profits of big enterprises are mounting, while distribution of the national income is becoming still more uneven and the housing shortage is worsening; medical services are lacking and there are more dropouts from schools; the peasants suffer from lack of land, insurance on their harvest, credits and privileges in obtaining implements, as well as from the low prices on their produce. Many small and medium peasants are being ruined.

This shows that there is a marked tendency toward the *absolute impoverishment* of the working class and the working people in general, which can be overcome only by introducing a new economic and social system.

3. MASS STRUGGLE: EXPERIENCE AND TASKS

This was the economic basis for the upsurge of mass struggle, which differed in importance and level but bore important fruit wherever the working class acted in close unity.

Despite official restrictions, ever wider sections of the population

are giving up the wait-and-see attitude and taking to protest actions. Prominent among these are civic strikes, which are virtually general strikes of entire cities or regions advancing various demands.

The struggle to solve the housing problem, against speculation in urban lands and for the satisfaction of other demands, has also assumed a mass character. The wave of actions has involved the agricultural workers and peasants, students and teachers. These actions are gradually taking on a political color, exposing the differences between the government, the traditional parties and the clergy, as well as the strife in top military circles.

We Communists, who by virtue of our principles and program uphold and represent the popular interests, should be in the van of the democratic and revolutionary opposition to the government and the oligarchic parity system. We are working for a new power, for a new structure of government, a democratic and anti-imperialist alliance that would expose the profound aspirations of the people.

But all this makes it imperative to stimulate, organize and head mass actions and to counter right and "left" opportunist tendencies. We must persistently counter such negative factors as division of the working-class movement, lack of coordination between Communists and other sections in opposing the system, and weakness of the worker-peasant alliance.

The split in the trade unions is financed by imperialism, the entrepreneurs and reaction in general and is fomented by ultra-left elements. The important contribution made by us in recent years in the policy of joint working-class actions can be clearly seen, and we must continue along this road without sectarianism, premature action or exaggeration.

The Second Congress of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers was held at a time of upsurge in the struggle for unity, stimulating it, and rebuffing the anti-labor policy of the government and petty-bourgeois rhetoric inimical to the interests of the working class. It served to strengthen the ties of our working class with the international proletariat: the Confederation joined the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We must continue the struggle against agents of the entrepreneurs, against economism and sectarianism, by acting decisively in the locals of the Colombian Confederation of Workers and the Union of Colombian Workers. We must raise still higher the slogan of working-class unity so that it can play its role in strengthening popular unity.

The National Center of Struggle for Housing is making headway; it

is learning to use various methods, upholding close ties with the working-class movement and educating the masses. With the aggravation of the housing problem and the concomitant speculation in financing housing construction, its field of action can be extended.)

The Party must pay more attention to organizing and mobilizing the peasants. The National Association of Peasant Owners, which was beginning to develop, gradually declined as a result of the official splitting policy and ultra-left adventurism, in struggling against which we Communists did not display sufficient resolve.

We must correct these mistakes, lead the peasants' struggle for land, support the demands of the rural proletariat and help to set up a national agrarian federation.

While working to strengthen our ranks in the rural areas we must also learn to counter the maneuvers of the government and oligarchy, who often resort to paternalistic actions, attempting to divert the militant peasants from revolutionary struggle by reformist concessions. We must work in the National Association of Peasant Owners, the rural communal councils, and other organizations. There is an imperative need to step up Communists' activities in the regions inhabited by Indians and to support their demands for defending these regions against the brutal actions of big landowners and colonizers, as well as religious sects that are used as a covert imperialist tool in instilling conformism and submission.

The staunch and persistent guerrilla movement in the rural area is a peculiar feature of the Colombian scene, successfully developing or retreating in an organized manner at various stages, without suffering a single military defeat, and has always been a notable factor in the general popular struggle. This form of action is a response to the violence of the latifundists and the top military in their service, and is a component of the tactics of correctly combining all forms of action.

The student movement has a prominent part to play in the popular battles. The National Union of Secondary School Students has won important gains in organizing and mobilizing secondary school students, unlike the National Union of University Students, which faces serious difficulties that can be overcome only by broad and decisive united actions. The student front demands greater attention, and it is in the big state universities, technical and industrial schools where the Communist Youth League should concentrate its activity.

Though the Union of Democratic Women has not been inactive, it still has a very limited number of activists because few women join the Party; it is due also to lack of attention on the part of the Party to

the Union and to its sectarian positions. It is imperative to study the forms and demands of the broad women's movement and elaborate a clear platform of action.

The urban middle sections, which are gradually becoming the majority of the population, are also energetically developing their struggles. This is the case with teachers, bank clerks, transport workers and telephone employees. We must organize the people in residential areas against land assessment and reassessment, against raising the cost of public services, and establish contact with the Communal Action and the cooperative movement.

It is gratifying to note the development of popular forms of art, primarily in the theatre. The important work in the cultural field consists in the scope and facility with which ideas are brought to the masses. The Communists must strive to attract more workers in the arts and culture, facilitate their organization in professional unions, and encourage reflection of the popular struggle in their work. Regional committees of the big cities should set up cultural commissions.

4. COMMUNISTS AND POPULAR UNITY

The political crisis of the traditional parties and the National Popular Alliance and administrative corruption are undermining the bourgeois institutions and aggravating the moral crisis of the country. This is increasing the importance of the struggle for popular unity.

The aim of the Party is to unite the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy; this is a complex process which should combine flexibility and allegiance to principle.

There is a close relation between the various stages of the unitary process: simple coincidence of views, joint actions, agreement on the basic program. Strategic alliances presuppose a minimum of ideological unanimity; experience shows that they cannot be concluded with those who engage in splitting activities, anti-communism or anti-Sovietism.

The two-party system and disarray among the left forces seriously handicapped achievement of popular unity, but the unitary trend is gaining ground. However, we Communists must continue to fight our own as well as alien brands of sectarianism.

The National Opposition Union is a model of successful alliance for achieving political and organizational objectives. An offspring of the Patriotic National Liberation Front, it is an inspiring example of strengthening the unitary process and involving the broad masses.

But it is going through a crisis because some of the former leaders of the Broad Colombian Movement slid toward a manifestly liberal stand and the Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement adopted sectarian and splitting positions.

We want a stronger National Opposition Union, as we are convinced that popular unity is a fundamental element in obstructing the reactionary offensive and in uniting the revolutionary forces.

As the Christian masses approach socialist ideas, conditions appear for establishing contact with large numbers of progressive-minded Catholics and those in the armed forces who do not keep out of politics and begin to realize that many of the officers are subservient to the Pentagon and become tools of repression against the people, benefiting from the emergency situation and enriching themselves in business transactions.

We shall participate in the forthcoming elections under the NOU banner, in alliance with all sincere advocates of popular unity, and by presenting, if possible, joint lists.

In the election debate, our aim is to demonstrate our revolutionary solutions, elect Communists and our allies to representative bodies, and use them for exposing the exploiters and the governments in their service.

The elections, however, must become a form of protest against the emergency situation introduced by Lopez Michelsen, which is discriminatory because it is directed against the democratic opposition and often acquires violent forms (for instance, the murder of comrades Uraba and Yacopi). The elections will be very important in forming a powerful movement of the democratic opposition.

5. CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The international situation is characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism and substantial and definitive changes in the correlation of forces in favor of socialism.

In the world scene, the main contradiction — that between developing countries and declining capitalism — still remains, and the remarkable achievements of the USSR and the experience of the Party of Lenin have gained recognition.

We are witnessing the worst postwar crisis of capitalism which is interrelated with the disintegration of the international monetary system, sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions, the energy and raw materials problems, growing unemployment, inflation and food shortage. The crisis has enveloped all capitalist countries and is

evidence of the failure of state-monopoly methods of running the economy, showing that it is increasingly difficult for imperialism to shift the consequences of the present situation on to the undeveloped countries.

Among the notable developments of recent years is the great victory of the peoples of Indochina, especially the Vietnamese, which is the most important event since the defeat of fascism in 1945, providing useful lessons as regards forms of struggle and the importance of the solidarity of the socialist camp; universal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, as a gain of the policy of détente; the victory of the Portuguese people, opening up the prospect of democratic advance on the way to socialism, which is what the fascists, imperialists and right-wing Socialists are conspiring against.

The struggle of the Arab peoples and the solidarity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union are opening up new prospects of achieving agreement to remove the danger of war in the Middle East.

Peaceful coexistence — the basis of the foreign policy of the socialist camp and non-aligned states — curbs the aggressive attempts of imperialism and stimulates the working-class struggle, as well as the peoples' freedom struggle.

Imperialism is retreating, but has not renounced its aggressive designs; therefore international détente is a protracted process, which presupposes vigilance and a fight for peace.

Unity of the international communist movement is gaining in strength, though there are obstacles, such as concessions to nationalism, which is bourgeois in essence and contrary to proletarian internationalism. Therefore we condemn the attitude of the Maoist leaders, who are leaning more and more toward imperialism, and their attacks on the Soviet Union; they sow discord in the revolutionary ranks and support fascist regimes, including the Chilean junta.

We declare for a new international meeting of Communist parties, convinced that it will be a valuable contribution to unity and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The successes in Latin America are determined by the progressive positions of the governments of Peru, Panama and Ecuador, the disrepute of the OAS, and the great historic advance represented by the triumph and consolidation of the Cuban revolution. We must continue to display unconditional militant solidarity with it, demonstrating its achievements in socialist construction on American soil.

The Chilean experience should encourage us further to combine all

forms of struggle and to prepare the masses to repulse the enemy in any sphere. Solidarity with the fraternal Chilean people and with all other peoples fighting against repressions remains our intrinsic duty.

The 1975 Conference of Latin American Communist parties greatly facilitated unity and gave an impulse to the consolidation of the international communist movement. Circulation of the documents of this forum should be our permanent task.

6. FOR A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

We have always advanced the slogan of building a mass Communist Party and its planned growth. In this there are achievements as well as shortcomings.

In order to build a numerous and influential Communist Party it is necessary to involve the majority of its members in the struggle for the masses, intensify their political activity, work to penetrate into new sections, appoint cadres more properly, improve the style of work, and combine numerical growth with qualitative development. This demands of the Party broad contacts and close ties with worker leaders, representatives of the middle sections, intellectuals and women.

The growth of the Party, for which there are favorable conditions, calls for more extensive ideological struggle, primarily against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and also against petty-bourgeois tendencies under the guise of Maoism, Trotskyism and anarchism, which manifest a capacity to adapt themselves to a new political situation without renouncing the anti-communist essence of their postulates.

This ideological battle calls for a better use of the paper *Voz Proletaria*, the *Political Documents*, *Marxist Study*, the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and all Party literature as a whole.

The Communist Youth League has raised its political and ideological maturity, gaining influence among the secondary school students, in rural regions with traditions of struggle, in urban districts and in some enterprises. At the same time, there is a certain lag in this respect in the universities. We must overcome organizational shortcomings, act on a bigger scale using youth methods, and boldly pose questions of struggle for the rights of young people, in particular, for full political rights at the age of 18 years.

If we develop these tasks, if we strengthen our ranks, the revolution will be closer and an end will be put to the exploitation of man by man.

Voz Proletaria, December 11, 1975.

PLENUMS

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The following members were elected to the Political Committee of the Communist Party at the Executive meeting on January 11: Michael McGahey, Gordon McLennan, Reuben Falber, Bert Ramelson, George Matthews, Jack Woddis, Tony Chater, Gerry Cohen, Bert Pearce, Victor Eddisford, George Wake, Vi Gill, Dave Cook, Jack Ashton, Chris Myant and Irene Brennan.

NATIONAL PLAN LAUNCHED FOR A STRONGER COMMUNIST PARTY

A comprehensive national plan to achieve a bigger, more vigorous, and more effective Communist Party was launched.

The plan, which is to form a central feature of the Party's work over the next 18 months, was explained by Communist Party national organizer Dave Cook at the Party's Executive meeting in London. He stressed that a mass movement of sufficient power to parry and to reverse the whole direction of government policy was a vital need. The crisis must be tackled in the new, left direction.

Right at the heart of the answer was the size and influence of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the circulation of the *Morning Star*.

Cook said that two of the biggest priorities in the plan were the strengthening of Communist Party organization in factories and work places, and *Morning Star* circulation.

Plans for raising £60,000 for the Communist Party during a National Fund Campaign between March 14 and April 20 would form an essential basis for achieving the national plans.

Main points of the plan which were outlined by Cook were:

BRANCH DEVELOPMENT (WORKPLACES)

Each district of the Party would need to work out an 18-month plan for factory and workplace branches with two main objectives:

1. To select concentration points for new branches and for strengthening existing branches. This would involve deciding on the allocation of resources, cadres, and work by full-time Party workers. It would involve strategic planning of the Party's whole approach to new industries and new areas. Only in this way would a new generation of young workplace leaders be won into the Party.

2. To strengthen the way workplace branches operated it was essential:

- to reach a position where automatically each national leaflet was distributed in each workplace where the Party had an organization, or had made a concentration point.

- to work to establish factory bulletins published by branches.

- to hold a further national conference on workplace branches in the autumn of 1976.

A very important aspect of local work was branch contact with and participation in the activities of the local labor movement, including the trade union branches, trades councils, and Labour parties.

BRANCH DEVELOPMENT (COLLEGES)

To counteract the emergence of the right wing as an organized force within the National Union of Students required urgent attention to the size of the Party's student branches, many of which were too small to be able to intervene decisively in college politics in this more difficult situation.

Bold public work: Measures for bold, imaginative public work should include:

- a series of Party pamphlets on central political questions, e.g. the social service cuts.

- the Political Committee should consider selecting a month in each of the two years covered by the plan for a blitz of Communist public activity with rallies, public meetings, demonstrations, exhibitions, lectures, and so on. Each district should aim to put on a proportion of these events in the centers it has chosen as concentration points for branch development.

- the Party should prepare some really outstanding national activity in the summer of 1977 as a culmination of the national plan.

Electoral work: Measures for a major improvement in this field should include:

- working to achieve extensive and well-prepared contests in the next round of local elections.

- finalizing parliamentary candidates and constituencies by the

May Executive meeting, in keeping with the Party's overall strategy, resources and criteria, and then ensuring consistent work around the candidates.

— ensuring that constituency committees are set up and functioning wherever they were appropriate.

Women: The Party needed to find ways of making the issues of women's oppression and, in particular, the central class question of child care, much more part of the activities of its districts, areas, branches and advisory committees.

Marxist education: There was an urgent need to both develop imaginative forms of public discussion and for sustained work to deepen the understanding of Marxist theory among Communists.

Increasing membership: The question of the size of the Party had to be seen in the context of all-round development. It was through the deepening of the attractive power of the Party, which the proposals in the plan would represent, that significant additions to the Party's ranks would be made. By July 1977 the Party should aim to be decisively over the 30,000 membership figure.

Morning Star circulation: The directions of activity which called for the most concentration as key features of *Star* campaigning were:

— selecting workplaces, including all which have a Party branch, and those where it is intended to create one, for special attention to increase regular daily sales.

— organizing the most systematic listing of key people in mass movement organizations for discussions to convince them on their need above all to be daily readers.

— careful, methodical canvassing of constituents in wards where the Party contested elections and the organization of public sales of the paper.

Abridged from *Morning Star*, January 12.

PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party met in plenary session which discussed, along with political issues, the successes and shortcomings in Party building and charted measures for

overcoming existing shortcomings. The meeting discussed at length a number of aspects of Middle East policy; in particular, the relations between Syria and Jordan, the situation in Lebanon, new achievements of the Arab people of Palestine in their just struggle. The communique on the plenum includes a section "On civil administration in the occupied regions," which says:

After ratification of the Egyptian-Israeli-American agreement on Sinai, and the worsened situation in Lebanon generated by the dastardly conspiracies of the imperialist-reactionary alliance, the Israeli Zionists have again posed the question of establishing a so-called civil administration in the occupied regions, openly admitting that their aim is to replace the Palestine Liberation Organization by a "Palestinian body" which would cooperate with them.

This Zionist plan is fraught with several dangers. The most important are:

1. It is intended as a tool in the hands of the invaders in order to legitimize their occupation of our country. This is in line with Israel's stubborn refusal to recognize the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, confirmed by the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

2. The aim of the plan is to split the Palestinian Arabs and their leadership, circumventing the PLO, which is recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in Palestine, the Arab world and in the international arena.

3. The civilian administration is being used as a weapon in the hands of the imperialist-Israeli alliance to pressurize the PLO and emasculate its militant anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist content and turn it into a submissive, "moderate and acceptable" body, which would cooperate with the reactionary and right forces, submissively plodding along in the harness of the imperialist and Israeli schemes.

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party notes with pride that the Palestinian masses on the occupied lands unanimously opposed this dangerous Israeli plan. A section of our Party — the Palestine Communist Organization on the west bank of the River Jordan — has released a statement exposing the Zionist plan and its aims. The National Palestinian front in the occupied lands also published a statement sharply criticizing the plan and called for struggle against it. Many patriotic, trade union and public figures also have openly denounced and rejected this dangerous plan. After that, mass demonstrations were held in the occupied regions, and there were disturbances in cities, towns and settlements.

However, the Central Committee points to the danger that under cover of the "civil administration" the elections to municipal and village councils will be thrown in the dustbin. There is a persistent tendency to renounce everything at one fell swoop, without differentiating one from the other. The "civil administration" is a political plot, serving the aims of the invaders, while the municipal and village councils are popular institutions not connected with the occupation. The national interests demand preservation of these patriotic institutions, and not to boycott their work. Calls for boycotting them create the danger of these councils becoming tools in the service of the "civil administration" plans, as was the case in the Gaza municipality, which is appointed by the military administration. The patriotic forces and popular masses in the occupied territories clearly see this and are trying to bring patriotic and trustworthy forces and elements into the city councils.

The Central Committee, hailing the staunchness of the popular masses and the patriotic, progressive forces in the occupied territories in face of the invaders and their criminal plans, calls on the popular masses of Jordan and fraternal Arab countries, their progressive and patriotic forces to strengthen solidarity with the masses suffering under the yoke of occupation and step up the struggle to liquidate the consequences of the imperialist-Israeli aggression, to reinstate the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. The Central Committee also appeals to the popular masses in the occupied territories to unite even more closely around the PLO and the National Palestinian Front in the occupied lands.

Abridged from *Al-Jamahir*, November 1975.

SUMMARIES

DENMARK

The successful conclusion of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe laid the foundation and opened up opportunities for the future peaceful development of the European continent, as well as for extending mutually advantageous cooperation between states, the Communist Party of Denmark stated in a resolution of its Central Committee plenum held on January 24-25.

The document emphasizes the need to complement political détente with military détente, and calls for the early holding of a world disarmament conference.

The participants declared their support for the MPLA's struggle for the independence of Angola and called on the Danish government to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola.

The plenum decided to convene the 25th Congress of the Communist Party in Copenhagen on September 23-26 and prepared the congress agenda.

The resolution on domestic policy notes the worsening economic crisis and growing mass unemployment, which is now running at 180,000. The plenum demanded an economic policy responding to the interests of all Danish working people.

POLAND

The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met in plenary session in Warsaw. The meeting discussed and approved the report of the Political Bureau "For the All-Round Use of Reserves in the National Economy," delivered by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He noted that the primary goal of the new Polish five-year plan is radically to improve the quality of work in all branches of the economy, make rational and thrifty of funds, utilize reserves in full and raise the effectiveness of social production.

Addressing the meeting, First Secretary Edward Gierek said: The high rate of growth of the national income, industrial and agricultural production laid down by the Seventh Party Congress for 1976-80 is a difficult but feasible task.

We have, Gierek said, a large number of educated and well-trained cadres: about 700,000 workers in the public sector have a higher education, around 2.5 million — a secondary, and roughly 2.3 million have special technical schooling. Effective use of this potential is an important reserve, which will be decisive in the further dynamic socio-economic development of the country. It is of great importance to accelerate cooperation in the economic and other fields with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries, Gierek said.

Henryk Jablonski, Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Council of State, informed the meeting on the work of the special commission of the Sejm charged with drafting a law on amendments to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

ULTRA-LEFTISM — TROJAN HORSE OF IMPERIALISM

Statement of the Communist Party of Chile

At present, the central task of the popular movement in Chile is the creation of a broad anti-fascist unity capable of overthrowing the dictatorship and carrying out the revolutionary transformations needed by our society. The decisive role in this new democratic, popular, revolutionary unity belongs to the working class. To succeed in the effort to regroup and unite the supporters of revolutionary transformations of the popular government and to extend the political front of all forces opposed to fascism, it is indispensable to guarantee the unity of the working class on the basis of fundamental positions. This, in turn, facilitates its ability to take account of and perceive the progressive ideas advanced by all strata who suffered from the dictatorship.

The chief cause of our temporary defeat was that the enemy was able to increasingly isolate the working class from its allies, and to set against us many of those who had held neutral positions and even those who had sympathized with the revolutionary experiment of the Allende government. Therefore, of prime importance is the need to overcome our shortcomings and weaknesses in the ideological struggle against sectarian and dogmatic tendencies imposed on part of the popular movement by petty-bourgeois revolutionism, or ultra-leftism.

From the first it became necessary to wage an ideological battle against bourgeois ideology, which even during the surge of working-class struggle tries to "dominate" the situation. In addition, there was the need to counter petty-bourgeois revolutionism — anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism and MIRism (Revolutionary Left Movement*) — which attempted to infiltrate the working class. All these "brands" of ultra-revolutionism ended up in the bog of opportunism, primarily due to their anti-communism.

The most eloquent instance is the collusion of the Maoist clique

*MIR — Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario.

with the Pinochet fascist dictatorship. Maoism also presented itself in Chile as an ultra-revolutionary trend. Our enemies loudly repeated its "radical" postulates in front of the North Americans while at the same time using each of its anti-Soviet attacks. The Chinese clique launched a virulent campaign against the Communist Party of Chile.

After the fascist coup in September 1973, not a single progressive person has any doubt regarding the position of those who support the policy of the Maoist clique. In our country, we witness fraternization between the openly anti-working-class, sanguinary regime and the representatives of Peking. We are witnesses of how far adventurism and revisionism of Marxism-Leninism can lead! They do what even many representatives of the bourgeoisie cannot afford to do. By abandoning fundamental principles, they end up in the service of the most infamous cause: defense of Yankee imperialism.

Every conscious worker knows that in the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle, and all the more so in the struggle against fascism, united action with the democratic and revolutionary contingents of other classes and strata is obligatory. It is just as clear that unity cannot and should not exclude confrontation of ideas, opinions, elucidation of respective opinions, while maintaining the absolute independence of proletarian positions. From our experience we know what a high price the popular movement has to pay for internal weakness, when a part of the petty-bourgeoisie succumbs to revolutionism, to spontaneity, and, instead of approaching the positions of the proletariat, imposes on the working-class parties a policy of division and confrontation. Such tendencies surface owing to the weakness of the working-class movement, its inability to smash them through ideological struggle, to ensure unity and establish the leadership of the working class. This is one of the mistakes that must be corrected.

Some may ask, is it not wrong to insist on these accusations, to prove the harm of extremist tendencies, speak out against people who declare in support of the revolution when it is a matter of struggle against the dictatorship? Is there not a favorable climate for convergence with all democratic forces, with those who upheld Popular Unity, as well as those who did not? Does it not smack of "sectarianism"?

Answering these questions already before September 11, that is, at the time when the scale of the attempts to set up fascism could be clearly seen, Comrade Luis Corvalan said: "We are not against the ultra-left a priori, and do not deny that there are consistent re-

revolutionaries among them. We proceed from facts, from the actual situation. Today, as before, we place above all else the historic necessity for unity of all anti-fascist forces, democratic, popular and revolutionary organizations and elements. Those ultra-leftists who without resorting to sectarianism or splitting activities facilitate this unity and adopt an anti-fascist program, will have a place next to the Communists and other revolutionaries."

The necessity for unity of all anti-fascist forces is today more urgent than ever. But it is a matter of creating a front that would be widely recognized by the people, which would not commit mistakes tomorrow and would not become meaningless as a result of internal strife or incorrectly defined objectives. To achieve this, the revolutionary core, the working class and peasantry, broad urban and rural sections must overcome the tendencies noted by Comrade Corvalan: sectarianism and splitting tactics.

ULTRAS ATTACK THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

Precisely sectarianism and splitting tactics mark the activity of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), which appeared as a political organization in 1965, when the political situation in Chile was characterized by a certain ebb in the popular movement due to the defeat in the 1964 elections, when bourgeois reformism, as represented by the Frei government, had reached its apex. Created on the basis of a few groups of intellectuals of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origins, MIR united practically all the old, dispersed trends of petty-bourgeois revolutionism: Trotskyists, Maoists, Vanguardists, etc., as well as individuals earlier expelled from working-class parties. It was also joined by some who saw it as a militant revolutionary organization. On the other hand, there were not a few who came to MIR because of their anti-communist positions. MIR proclaimed itself a new revolutionary force opposed to the "traditional parties," and openly professed anti-communist views, practised anti-Sovietism and made terrorism its main political tactic. In line with these criteria, up to 1970 MIR opposed the creation of Popular Unity and announced its own line of boycotting the elections, but a month before the elections, when the victory of the Popular candidate became a reality, it revised its position.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism defined the Allende government as "reformist" and directed all its efforts to creating a "revolutionary pole," with clearly anti-communist features and oriented on splitting the Popular Unity. Left opportunism was presented as an alternative

to the working-class parties and their policy. Its main concern was to achieve a relation of forces favorable to extremist positions inside the broad revolutionary mass movement, while disregarding the need to strengthen the positions of the Popular government and to extend its social base.

Implementation of such objectives inevitably led to MIR playing into the hands of the enemies of the government and virtually turning it into a center of provocation which, as it became clear after the coup, was widely used for the infiltration of police agents who launched subversive activities. Such a center always provided fertile soil for shady adventures.

The striving of the MIR-ists to counterpose themselves to the working-class parties, and particularly the Communist Party, led to their indiscriminate use of revolutionary phraseology, in support of both right and "left" positions.

In line with their dogmatic conceptions, the MIR-ists declared everyone not belonging to the proletariat or semi-proletariat an adversary of the revolutionary process. To justify their contentions, they denied the need for an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic stage of the revolution, proclaiming its immediate socialist character. Losing sight of the principal enemies, they followed a primitive policy of isolated clashes with small and medium owners and the middle sections. This led to the isolation of the revolutionary forces, providing a mass base for the enemies of the Popular government and facilitating preparations for the coup.

This course was counterposed to the policy of compromise and alliance needed to direct all forces against imperialism and the oligarchy. The shortsightedness of the slogans advanced against the measures of the Popular government to strengthen its positions is evident in analyzing the history of the events.

Today it is clear that opposition to the dialogue of Popular Unity with the Christian Democrats was unjustified. The Christian Democratic Party, as is known, is a multi-class party, including, besides representatives of the monopolistic oligarchy, large groups of the democratically oriented small and middle bourgeoisie, middle sections, the peasantry and the working class. From dogmatic positions, this party was seen as a single mass. This facilitated the activity of the reactionary bourgeois groups led by Frei and striving to unite around itself the entire party and direct it along a path of blind opposition to the Popular government. In these circumstances, it was easy for the right forces in the CDP to frustrate the attempts of the democratic-

minded leaders to prevent the CDP from slipping into collaboration with the fascist plotters.

Today we can clearly see that the ultra-left actions to frustrate cooperation between the Popular government and the constitutionalist section of the armed forces were untenable. The attacks against General Carlos Prats, when he assumed the post of head of the government, palpably demonstrate the sectarianism and irresponsibility resulting from the ultra left's striving to counterpose themselves to the left parties, and to picture as "reformists" the revolutionary leadership, the Popular Unity and the President.

Equally, we should not underestimate the harm caused by opportunist tendencies inside the Popular movement, that demobilized and diverted its forces from the urgent task of forming new economic and social relations, which was of fundamental importance in defending and developing the revolutionary process.

Progressive government measures met with the resistance of the monopolies, latifundists and imperialist companies, which resorted to boycott, sabotage, disorganization and chaos in all branches of the economy. This was the key aspect of Kissinger's plan of "destabilizing" the Popular government. In these circumstances, the task of organizing production along new lines and struggle against the growing chaos was of decisive importance. Nevertheless, the ultra-left organizations, particularly the MIR, rejected the plans of the Popular government. They opposed the battle for production proclaimed by the government and revolutionary parties. The ultra-left leaders declared that "economic and production problems cannot be placed above the objectives of the class struggle," concluding that "big business is responsible for production" (*Punto Final*). In other words, they proposed that the popular masses disavow responsibility for the decisive field of social development precisely when the capitalists concentrated their forces there.

At the time, influential bourgeois parties like the Christian Democrats encouraged putting forward unrealistic demands to bring about a head-on clash between the popular masses and the government. The ultra-left entered the game, striving to win more supporters among backward workers and peasants and advancing all kinds of limited demands which, while satisfying the interests of separate groups, disregarded the interests of the movement as a whole. And on this the ultra-left based their policy. They concealed their right opportunism by revolutionary phraseology, which was no impediment to their acting in concert with reaction. One of the many instances of such

collaboration was the copper miners' strike, which CIA agents organized and used for their own aims, together with the ultra-left.

Such actions had a harmful effect on the popular movement because they sowed confusion inside Popular Unity and in the revolutionary leadership. One of the chief causes of our defeat was the lack of a united leadership of the movement capable of conducting a principled policy, which created the danger of opportunist deviations of both right and left varieties. And behind this looms the subversive activity of petty-bourgeois revolutionism that is called upon to hamper the establishment of the necessary hegemony of the working class and its parties in the guidance of the revolutionary process.

EXTREMISM — AN OFFSPRING OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

The methods the ultra-leftists use in achieving their aims are yet another evidence of their sectarianism. Proclaiming the principle of "self-reliance" as their objective, they practised infiltration of political parties to effect changes in their policy in the interests of the ultra-left. The policy of infiltration was practised mainly with regard to the Socialist Party, a decisive party in the leadership of the movement, on whose orientation implementation of a united leadership of the revolutionary process largely depended. The positions of the ultra-left frequently found an audience in this party, causing great harm to the process, as well as to Socialist-Communist unity.

The revolutionary leadership, as well as our Party, unquestionably bear responsibility for the shortcomings in the ideological struggle, which should have ensured and deepened unity on the basis of fundamental positions and made it possible to resolutely prosecute an independent working-class line. In general, experience shows that petty-bourgeois revolutionism flourishes only where the work of consistent revolutionaries is weak or insufficient. And though it is evident that revolutionary rhetoric finds a ready response in the non-proletarian social sections, a solution can be found to any situation by decisively defending unity. Unity of the proletariat with the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie will be the stronger the better the working-class party defends its fundamental positions. One aspect of ultra-left activity requires a somewhat different assessment. They conducted work in the armed forces, trying to strengthen their influence. True enough, it was imperative to promote left ideas among the military, but this was largely underestimated by the popular movement. However, it is also true that the narrow sectarian line

serving as the basis of the ultra-left work among the military linked this work with their struggle against the efforts of the government to develop cooperation with the constitutionalist sector of the army, and turned into provocative actions against the officers who supported the government, thereby weakening our positions. In ultra-left propaganda, the armed forces were artificially divided "horizontally," presenting as a decisive factor contradictions between officers and men; the very forms of their work in the armed forces permitted infiltration by agents-provocateurs, facilitating the creation of a correlation of forces favorable for the fascist coup.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism rejected the lesson of this experience. There is not a single document attempting a self-critical assessment of these positions, or proving the seriousness of these organizations. On the contrary, their policy after the fascist coup contains all the features of their former opportunism. Nor is there any modification of their striving to establish themselves as an alternative to the workers' parties, or of their adventurism that places them outside the mass movement.

The slogans put forward by MIR in the wake of the coup are directed primarily against the popular movement. The dastardly campaign of the fascist junta — striving to depict the Popular government as a corrupt regime and to call in question the activity of Comrade Allende and the most outstanding leaders — was also used by the ultra-left. Their leaflets claimed that "MIR cannot be accused of unseemly dealings," thereby inferring the legitimacy of the fascist calumnies. The ultra-left hoped thus to win over supporters of the popular parties.

With the same aim they spread the slogan: "MIR is not asking for asylum," striving to call in question the legitimate and indisputable actions of the left parties, temporarily sending abroad some of the more prominent cadres to safeguard their lives and guarantee continuity of the revolutionary leadership. Besides the falsity of these statements, the very fact that they were made is evidence of the divisive intentions of the ultra-left. As to asking for political asylum, this has been done by hundreds of MIR-ists.

The most striking evidence of ultra-left political adventurism in the period immediately following the coup was, undoubtedly, the negotiations between MIR and the Intelligence of the Air Force (SIFA). This is adventurism pure and simple, because attempts were made to reach agreement without mass participation, in complete disregard of the process of mass struggle. And although in the end most of the leaders

adopted a sound stand, these actions led to open betrayal by others.

Negotiations between MIR and SIFA centered on the fascists' proposal to discontinue repressions against MIR with the aim of isolating the Communist Party and concentrating attacks exclusively against us. The very fact that the arrested MIR leaders agreed to begin talks with the fascists on these conditions is indicative. Their emissaries were in contact for almost two months and though in the end MIR publicly rejected the junta proposal, there is no doubt that this episode caused the betrayal of four persons, who made pitiful appeals to the revolutionaries to submit to fascism. This fact was widely used by the junta to demobilize the popular movement. We were all outraged at the murder of many MIR leaders. Everybody is now helping to protect them from repressions. Most of these crimes occurred after the negotiations between MIR and SIFA. Among the victims is Miguel Henriquez, General Secretary of MIR, who was killed after the dictatorship announced an alleged assault on a bank. This was done clearly with the intention of distracting attention from another crime — the killing of General Carlos Prats.

Many arrested MIR-ists obviously lack revolutionary consciousness, for time and again they betray new data to the enemy. This information has resulted in the destruction of many units of their organization and frequently does harm to activists of other parties, who helped some of the MIR leaders.

In a recent resolution the MIR leadership adopted a self-critical attitude to both its line of open opposition to the working-class parties, particularly the Communist Party, and the use of terror tactics. But this process was not developed further. Moreover, in letters to Popular Unity and our Party, MIR is once again reverting to positions that separated and frequently counterposed it to the popular movement.

Confirmation of this is a letter addressed to our Party leadership at the end of February 1975, where MIR comments on our document of December 1974.

This letter, formally couched in terms of unity, emphasizes resolute opposition to the tactical line being elaborated by the revolutionary movement and directed at struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for its overthrow.

TO DRAW INSPIRATION FROM LENIN'S TEACHING

Apart from the secondary questions — attempts to justify attacks

against the popular movement and to impose their own point of view as the only criterion of truth — this lengthy letter leaves no doubt that the assessment of the MIR-ists differs profoundly from that of the Chilean Left.

Let us examine the principal difference.

The fundamental point of difference is around the policy of unity conducted by the popular movement. The ultra-left say that in our document "many pages are devoted to appeals to the Christian Democrats," and add: "It is with concern that we note in this document an appeal to the Christian Democrats as a whole, without distinguishing between those in the CDP who represent the democratic and anti-fascist small and middle bourgeoisie, and the supporters of Frei and Aylwin, who represent the interests of the reactionary big bourgeoisie."

"What surprises us," they continue, "is that it has so soon been forgotten that these CD groups, in the service of the big imperialist bourgeoisie headed by Frei and Aylwin, bear the main responsibility for the boycott and subversive activity against the Popular Unity government, and also for the coup, as a result of which Allende was overthrown and murdered."

This is the strongest argument, and on its basis opposition is voiced on the next three pages to the policy of Popular Unity and our Party aimed at building a broad anti-fascist front.

The above assessments represent simply a development of the criteria adhered to by MIR before the coup, and which were analyzed earlier. In an attempt to conceal their inconsistencies, they distort our positions.

We distinguish in the Christian Democratic Party not only between the small and middle bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the big bourgeoisie, on the other; we single out — and this is much more important — the workers, peasants, broad middle sections, including artisans, professionals, the intelligentsia, etc., who belong to this party or support it. We take account of this pluralism, without idealizing it or concealing its essence. Our document mentions the successes won by the people when the CDP and the left acted jointly, pointing out, however, that it is "one side of the coin. There is another side: the CDP is a pluralist party, frequently reflecting contradictory interests. Therefore ... when sectarian forces, linked with the monopolies and supported by the sectarianism flourishing in the left forces, established themselves in the CDP leadership, a split was imposed and even a clash (between various sections of the

people), benefiting the reactionaries." And the document specifies: "CDP participation in a blind opposition to the Popular government, into which it was drawn by a part of the leadership, resulted in the fascist coup, the grievous consequences of which affect the entire people, Marxists and Christians alike."

In our document the problem is analyzed in detail, and therefore the attempt of MIR to counterpose us to Popular Unity has no justification or sense.

In a way this is natural, because essentially it is not a matter of posing the problem, but of the form in which it is posed, of the understanding of the role the CDP plays as a mass party in Chile. Clearly in the CDP itself there are two trends conflicting over the basic lines of policy. One facilitated the coup, then collaborated with the junta in a bid for power, and is now searching for a bourgeois way out that would deny the working-class movement a corresponding role in the democratic future of the country. This trend is led by Frei. The other trend, uniting democratic sections and expressing the interests of the majority of the Christian Democratic masses, is seeking an understanding with the left forces in line with its liberal principles and favorable attitude to social change. In these circumstances, MIR urges a split in the CDP as a condition of building an anti-fascist front and demands that Popular Unity accept its stand. We, however, are of the opinion that the Christian Democrats must themselves decide on their political direction in a way that suits them, that they themselves determine. We are not imposing organizational conditions on them and restrict discussions to political issues which pave the way to a united front. We see the struggle for anti-fascist unity as a process based on the political realities and correlation of the main classes. Anti-fascist unity is projected primarily into the future, built up at grassroots level and its success is determined by ideological struggle, by the defeat of conciliation and sectarianism, which are still sowing discord among the people. To accentuate discussion around one individual, while obscuring the fundamental problems that are of decisive importance for the masses, means to help those who are seeking a bourgeois way out of the crisis, i.e., an alternative that can only be defeated by building a strong anti-fascist unity. In other words, in this case a situation will be repeated when part of the people, including workers and peasants and particularly the middle strata, serve as a springboard for establishing a new bourgeois government. Division among the people, contributed to by dogmatic positions, in a very real sense serves to subordinate them to the

bourgeoisie. Unity, on the contrary, will guarantee the revolutionary prospect of the democratic process.

In justification of its sectarian line, MIR writes: "In our opinion, this erroneous policy of seeking alliances with the bourgeois factions of the Christian Democracy is directly linked to the incorrect characterization of the Chilean military dictatorship as a fascist dictatorship." MIR itself refutes this proposition: it shows that the dictatorship is ruling exclusively in the interests of the monopolies and imperialism (no mention is made of the latifundists, but presumably they too are taken into consideration); that the junta deals blows not only at the proletariat, middle urban and rural strata, but also at the national bourgeoisie; it does not dispute that terror is used as a political instrument, a tool to liquidate the democratic forces; but a conclusion is drawn nevertheless that this is not a fascist dictatorship. What is it then? MIR answers: "On our continent these regimes are widely known as gorilla military dictatorships and they were resorted to by the creole bourgeoisie and imperialism in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, etc." Note the scientific precision of the definition.

THE ULTRAS — APOLOGISTS OF THE JUNTA

Fascism, essentially, is a form of political rule expressing the interests of finance capital and the monopolies and is aimed at absolute domination over society. As the power of monopoly capital, it tends to eliminate every form of democratic government. It is totalitarian: it does not and cannot accept democratic coexistence even within the bourgeois class. Traditional forms of coexistence of the interests of various sections of the bourgeoisie (parliament, plurality) are liquidated because the aim of fascism is to bring the entire society under the sway of the oligarchy and imperialism. The antagonism between fascism and democracy is absolute; hence, resort to terror derives from its very character, is an inevitable concomitant of all such regimes, and is used against whoever does not accept its positions, with only some difference as to degree.

Fascism is a product of counter-revolution, the violent interruption of the revolutionary process. The hatred of the old ruling classes is increasing due to fear of losing their privileges and they are resorting to ever more brutal repressions. Such is the experience of Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria, to mention only a few of the more distinctive cases.

Fascism uses an ideology in which the decisive part is played by the

most reactionary bourgeois nationalism. It extols the so-called racial and national values, proclaims an expansionist policy, seeking aid and justification in geopolitical theories. From this derives the tendency to military provocations. Another feature of the fascist theories is the definition of the state as a supra-class body, designed to suppress the class struggle (not the classes themselves), claiming that this struggle exists solely due to the will of individual Marxists. The struggle against politicians in general, inherent in fascist propaganda, implies the imposition of the interests of monopoly capital on the bourgeoisie as a whole and on the entire society.

True, this phenomenon is and has been an inherent feature of the developed countries, but today it has shifted to the less developed capitalist countries, where it is characterized by the use of the armed forces as the decisive factor of power. This should be seen as a consequence of the role of imperialism and its influence on the national development of dependent countries. In this sense, this form of fascism can be defined as military fascism. That is why the definition of the junta given by the popular movement of Chile and the whole world is correct.

How did MIR arrive at the negation of this reality, which in the final count plays into the hands of the junta? Why does it feel a "theoretical obligation" to negate the fascist character of the dictatorship? It does so to buttress its narrow conception of possible allies of the proletariat. For this, fascist demagoguery is used in order to obscure its class character. Making uncritical use of bourgeois interpretations of history, which stress the mass character of nazism up to 1933, or the influence of Italian fascism on the middle peasantry, they embellish the system and allege that it owed its stability to mass support. In their delirium they are outdoing even the bourgeoisie in attributing to fascism something it never had to any significant degree: influence among the working class. Its successes in this field were the result of maneuvering designed to widen the split of the proletariat — between the Social Democrats and Communists, between the reformists and revolutionaries. This phenomenon, profoundly analyzed at the Seventh Comintern Congress, serves as a lesson in our present struggle and is decisively at variance with the ultra-left positions. MIR has distorted this without a twinge of conscience. Its digressions do not make it clear why "such a stable system" as fascism must resort to brutal terror in order to stay in power, which is widely recognized as its characteristic feature.

That is the problem. While some are dealing with superficialities,

the revolutionary working class is delving into the essence of the phenomena in order to formulate its policy.

True, substitution of a popular approximation for a scientific definition (which we in no way disparage) is no theoretical achievement. Of gorillas there have been many, but not all of them have been able to establish a fascist system.

Now MIR itself is calling attention, as we have already mentioned, to the fact that fascist dictatorship is opposed to all social strata, with the exception of the oligarchy and imperialism. It declares: "Even sections of the petty bourgeoisie (we frankly say, the majority) which yesterday supported the coup are today turning away from, or against, the fascists." Or: "The monopoly bourgeoisie was unable to establish its hegemony even over the other bourgeois sections, and the contradictions among the bourgeoisie are increasing with each passing day" (that it did, there is no doubt, another thing is whether it is to the liking of the national bourgeoisie).

And what is the conclusion MIR arrives at? That we need not create an anti-fascist front!

The ultra-leftists claim that building an anti-fascist front means "subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie." And they accuse the European working-class movement of having done so by creating anti-fascist fronts during the Second World War. Regarding such accusations, they should hear what the bourgeoisie of the respective countries have to say on this score. The Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Rumanian, Yugoslav, Hungarian, German, as well as the French and Italian bourgeoisie could produce arguments demonstrating the exact opposite.

These contentions, unless combated, lead to sectarian narrowness of the working class. It cannot and must not renounce its democratic demands, must participate in the popular movement and play the leading role in it, which is the immediate objective today. That is the essence of Leninism. This was stressed especially during the struggle against tsarism. According to the ultra-leftists, inclusion in the program of the front of such objectives as agrarian reform, is a typically bourgeois-democratic measure, signifying "subordination to the bourgeoisie." Life has shown that this is simply ridiculous.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE MASS STRUGGLE

The working class cannot win hegemony by clamoring for it. And to demand it before achieving unity is to put the cart before the horse.

The working class will establish and consolidate its hegemony as a result of mass actions, through struggle, by pursuing a policy taking into account the interests of diverse classes and social strata opposed to fascism, that is, the interests of a stable majority.

The problem of armed struggle is plainly one of the problems on which the MIR lays special emphasis in the letter we have mentioned. "Your document," it writes, "is not quite clear in regard to the problem of developing the people's military rule and the forms of armed resistance of the masses . . . Indeed, the document seems to suggest that your leadership fully rejects the use of armed forms of resistance to the military dictatorship and, moreover, to mistake every form of armed struggle for terrorism, for action by small groups, for adventurism."

A few lines further, the above takes the form of a categorical statement. "Nowhere does your leadership explain," the letter says, "why resistance to the military dictatorship should reject armed forms of struggle." Indeed, we do not explain this anywhere because we have never asserted any such thing. Yet the letter goes on harping on this subject: "Such pacifist tendencies . . . can only help the bourgeoisie and dictatorship. The working class and the Chilean people have already paid for that harmful pacifist policy with the most painful defeat ever, with thousands of victims, tortures, concentration camps, poverty and hunger." This is how the MIR gives us its views of military problems.

The party of the working class has always borne in mind the need to solve the military problem, the problem of the balance of forces from the military point of view, which is of decisive importance in the fight for power. This is a Marxist axiom following from our concept of the state and its class character.

But what is no longer an axiom but a result of creative application of Marxism in a specific historical situation and in a particular society is the issue of how the working class and the people go about achieving a balance of military forces favorable to the revolutionary process and enabling the revolutionary forces to prevent or crush the attempts of the reactionaries to maintain their privileges by force of arms.

The mistakes made by the Chilean popular movement (our Party assumes its share of responsibility for them) were not due to a pacifist conception of the class struggle, as the ultra-leftists irresponsibly allege. In fact, it was precisely the influence of narrow-minded and sectarian militarist concepts that undoubtedly did much harm, greater

perhaps than the harm done by overestimating democratic trends in the Chilean social system and in the armed forces.

Be that as it may, an analysis of the military problem aimed at learning the lessons of the past and choosing the right policy today should proceed from the fundamental principle that there is no, and nor can there be, a favorable alignment of military forces guaranteeing the success of the revolutionary process, without a favorable alignment of political forces, without the revolutionary forces rallying the majority of social strata and opposing them to the forces which the people's enemies succeed in grouping around them. This kind of consolidation is a primary condition which we were unable to meet under the Popular government and which became the main cause of our defeat.

At that time, the popular movement was oriented toward strengthening the positions of constitutionalists in the armed forces loyal to the Popular government and resisting fascist efforts to make the armed forces protectors of oligarchic and imperialist power. Leaning on the constitutionalists for support, the government tried to bring the armed forces into solving the country's economic and social problems. In this way they embraced the interests of the majority of the nation and joined in the effort to end the backwardness and poverty inherited from the old regime. It was in that period that a trend developed toward a growing community of the interests of the armed forces and the exigencies of the country's advancement and hence the revolutionary process.

In keeping with these criteria, the military were invited to help in forming a government, with the result that the employers' strike in September 1972 was defeated. It will be recalled that the ultra-leftists opposed that orientation and thereby facilitated fascist subversion.

Yet the position chosen by Popular Unity and President Allende was best suited for combating reactionary trends in the armed forces themselves, blocking the rebels, winning support for the government, the working class and the people, and fighting reactionary army officers should they venture on a fascist military coup.

The reason why this orientation failed was that the balance of political forces deteriorated sharply to the detriment of the popular movement and that the revolutionary forces did not promote this general orientation consistently. We were unable to exert direct influence on the armed forces or counter fascist plotting, especially when the positions of the constitutionalists were weakened. Indeed,

we overrated the constitutionalists' potentialities in the armed forces and democratic influence in military institutions.

The military policy of revolution must be in harmony with the process of mustering forces in support of revolutionary positions. We are opposed to the MIR concepts because our experience and international revolutionary experience has convinced us that the MIR proposals and policy in this respect frustrate the prospects of the working class and its allies to bring about a balance of political and, hence, of military forces favorable to the revolutionary process.

Let us verify this against the proposals and criteria set out in the letter the MIR has sent our Party.

THE DIVIDING LINE RUNS BETWEEN FASCISM AND ANTI-FASCISM

Work in the armed forces is a matter of prime importance. The MIR persists in its sectarian position, which did so much harm under the Popular government. It proposes that the popular movement should join in struggle against army officers and regard the antagonism between officers and non-officers as a "fundamental" contradiction of the same nature as the contradiction between fascism and democracy, between patriotism and subservience, between defense of human rights and the practice of crimes and tortures.

This is not a policy for victory. The popular movement cannot shackle itself by the dogmatic criteria of those who refuse to draw conclusions from events, such as the recent events in Portugal.

The rebels fully committed the armed forces to politics. They renounced all constitutional traditions, seen as unquestionable gains, and thus paved the way for open discussion in the armed forces. This happened for the first time in 40 years of Chilean history. The duty of the Chilean popular movement is to strengthen the influence in the armed forces of the ideas and sentiments of the majority of the people and organize systematic work among these tens of thousands of Chileans in uniform. A few months ago we succeeded in acquainting thousands of servicemen with our more important political documents.

In carrying on this work, the popular movement must undoubtedly take into account privates and petty officers first of all, whose social standing and association with the people's drama makes it easier for them to realize the need to end fascism. In a somewhat different sense this also applies to most of the army officers connected with the middle strata, which are likewise oppressed by fascism.

This is why, to quote Dimitrov, we are ready to join up even with generals who live by their job and have no hand in crimes or embezzlement, for the dividing line between the people and their enemies does not run at anyone's whim but is necessitated by history and leaves the oligarchy and imperialism and the fascists in their service on the other side of the barricade.

It follows that armed forces who are loyal to the people (this is the goal of the anti-fascist front) and really respect political rule freely established by the people and from whose ranks all fascists, torturers and venal elements have been removed, will also include many of today's officers. In such armed forces there will be no more injustice or discrimination against petty officers or privates while hierarchical principles, the principles of discipline and organization guaranteeing the normal functioning of this institute will be preserved. In fact, these principles will acquire a new content under a democratic system.

The anti-fascist orientation of most servicemen will be primarily influenced by the development of the working-class and popular struggle. When the broad masses come into movement, anti-fascist sentiments in the army will revive the unity of the people and the soldiers will be strengthened in the course of class battles. We are already witnessing the beginnings of that. Already many employers go out for wool and come back shorn. Confronted with workers' strikes, they call in the army, but the workers' firmness in pressing their demands induces the soldiers to come out against the employers. That attitude is shared by the officer in command of the detachment. Of course, such cases are still the exception — on the whole the army remains subservient to big capital. But it would be wrong for the revolutionary movement not to take account of such phenomena and their development. The movement must not confine itself to conspiracies and consider the problem of the armed forces out of context with the general purpose.

In saying that we are not belittling the importance of work within the armed forces and the problems connected therewith. We consider them as part of our general plan and subordinate to it.

TERRORISM — A PRODUCT OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

The ultra-lefts hold up terrorism as the decisive element of all their political plans. The MIR people say in their letter that they are combating adventurism, are "against actions by small groups not

connected with the masses and against terrorism because we do not punish innocent people, something the dictatorship does day in and day out." A few lines further on they give a more precise formulation of their demands in the present period: "We must confine ourselves to defense or armed support of certain forms of political and economic struggle against the dictatorship (propaganda, certain specific demands, etc). that will weaken the dictatorship and wear out its machine of repression (simple mass sabotage, actions against the repressive machine), punishment of the murderers, torturers and henchmen of the dictatorship . . ."

These actions add up to a plan of terror, even if they mean the death not only of innocent persons. Every such action can only be performed by individuals or small groups with no ties with the masses, and the latter will not, in the present conditions, have any part in such actions. The terrorist character of the organization does not vanish by claiming that the terror is in behalf of the "masses."

Terrorism as a method of struggle was rejected by Lenin in his fight against the Socialist-Revolutionaries way back in 1902. And his criticism has lost none of its relevance today, for the MIR arguments look very much like a carbon copy of those advanced by the Socialist-Revolutionaries 70 years ago.

There is no doubt in our minds that we have to be guided by the tried and tested Leninist principles. There is the proof of analyzed experience that, far from adding to the strength of the revolutionary movement, terrorism only brings on more repression by the dictatorship.

They resent our exposure of terrorism, our revelation of their opportunistic actions, which we maintain only help fascism. "To develop the armed struggle of the people does not mean providing the dictatorship with a 'pretext.' We know that it does not need any pretext to kill and torture, destroy democratic freedoms and impose a reign of terror," the MIR people say. What sort of society are ultra-lefts living in? Haven't they ever heard of plan Z, the Leopard Plan, the raid on the Bank of Chile, Bloody Easter, the war in Peru, and so on and so forth? No matter how criminal the fascists really are, they need to carry out their — let us euphemistically call it — "policy of the masses," a policy of demagogic deceit, and if the maturity of the people provides no pretext for operating that policy, they manufacture such pretexts.

This is beyond all doubt: terrorism does not help the people and serves reaction. The opposite is true of real mass struggle. Don't the

MIR people know how carefully the dictatorship conceals the news of mass actions, strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations? There have been dozens of these and there is a growing militancy in many of our proletarian centers and among diverse social strata. And yet the MIR-ists draw no conclusions from this. They fail to realize the precisely this is what the dictatorship fears above all. Mass work is much more useful and helpful to the revolution than preparation of terrorist acts in which the masses refuse to have any part. And when terrorism goes under the label of "popular," it does even greater harm to the fight against the dictatorship. For it has nothing in common with the people, with the masses, and this is decisive. The ultra-lefts have deprived the word "people" of its dignity and prestige, and they will need both at a definite stage in the development of the mass struggle.

Insistence on these erroneous concepts of work in the armed forces and on the supposed value of terrorist tactics have led the ultra-lefts to the mechanistic conception of the forms through which the popular movement can achieve a favorable correlation of military forces. The whole theory is capsuled into the formula "our own military power."

Let us see what they have to say on the subject: "Even if the vast majority of the people come out against the dictatorship and want to topple it, the bourgeoisie can still for a long time maintain its repressive regime if the dictatorship is not weakened militarily and politically." And there is this piece of reasoning: "In the final analysis ... the working class and people can cease the armed suppression only if they establish a popular and proletarian military power and destroy, by armed struggle, the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie."

It would be hard to be more confused. If the vast majority of the people want to topple the dictatorship and act in accordance with their wish (to question that inevitability is to grossly underestimate the masses), the days of the dictatorship will draw to an end. That is the first consideration. Only mass struggle can create a revolutionary situation, and consequently, the basic conditions for a favorable military and political correlation of forces. But apparently MIR attaches secondary importance to that. Its main concern is "military power," though, as it itself explains, it is fighting against all militarist deviations.

The "popular and proletarian military power," which according to the MIR blueprint will be the result of terrorist acts capable of destroying the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie (which means, having a military and technical machine superior to that of the armed

forces) is simply an illusion, especially since it is discussed out of all context with the real class struggle. Such an attitude will never produce anything worthwhile for the real revolution, as long as it is based on division of the political and military forces, as if we are dealing with two independent categories.

THE PEOPLE WILL THEMSELVES OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP

Our Party is working to give the people a correct understanding of the key problems. We are bringing to the fore what is of fundamental importance, viz., the mass struggle. "No revolutionary process can win without reliance on the masses. In this sense violence is necessary for any form of establishing the power of the working class and people. But the form of violence depends on the degree of resistance offered, or let us better say, might be offered, by the reaction, and this in turn depends on the activity of the proletariat, on the degree to which it can isolate the enemy, on the situation that takes shape within the armed forces, on the international situation, etc. And since these conditions cannot be determined today, it would be wrong to preclude any plan because the development of the revolution will introduce the necessary correctives."

We do not rule out the probability that the fascist dictatorship will offer armed resistance and unleash a civil war against the offensive of the masses which will inevitably develop and sound the death knell of the dictatorship. But even in these circumstances the revolution will not triumph with the help of a phantom military power unrelated to the mass struggle.

Lenin pointed out that if the revolution does not acquire a mass character and does not influence the army, there can be no talk of serious struggle. We must take that into account in our social, political and also geographical situation in the event of an armed clash. It need hardly be said that action ability of the popular and workers' detachments will play a crucial role. That is beyond doubt and has nothing in common with the concept of "military power" advocated by MIR.

On the other hand, even MIR sees the "theoretical possibility of overthrowing the gorillas' military junta with the help of a popular political and economic struggle (accompanied by simple forms of armed struggle and revolutionary work in the army), without recourse to wider military clashes." And though this possibility is later abandoned without any serious argument, it doubtlessly exists.

Whatever the circumstances, no serious revolutionary can precisely forecast how the dictatorship will be overthrown. We make no such predictions, for we are convinced that any dogmatic determination of the process will only do harm and delay the hour of victory. Organizations that claim a vanguard role must form indestructible links with the mass movement, overcome the weaknesses and mistakes of the past, master all forms of struggle, and particularly concrete day-to-day patient work among hundreds of thousands of people. It is to this that we address our efforts; we are working to build up unity and develop anti-fascist actions, for this is decisive for victory, the very basis of success.

It is only natural, we hold, that the political criterion of the ultra-leftists has led them to the idea of forming an anti-dictatorship organization of selected cadres based on action by these cadres, and not on mass struggle. Their sectarian conception of strategy and tactics has led to a sectarian conception of organization, and will therefore lead to defeat.

In one of their documents, dated March 1974, they said: "We intend to promote popular power that could today assume the tasks of resistance, tomorrow a mass offensive, and in the future an insurrectionist movement. Today, we must sow the seeds of this popular power in every factory commission and in every resistance committee."

This is not a serious approach. What would popular power stand for today? It is just another phrase, like "youth power," "women's power" and other gimmicks of the bourgeoisie, which has never really opposed the reactionary power of the state, whereas the working class and the people are interested, first and foremost, in radically changing it.

To set out to create an alternative power worthy of the name at this moment is to breed harmful illusions, to confuse the masses. Where and over whom could this power be exercised?

What is really necessary instead of dreaming about a mythical "popular power," is to investigate revolutionary action in fields where it will pave the way to victory: democratic activity where the people live, work, learn, and rest. The fascists may impose terror, but will never be able to prevent trade union activity, the activity of tenants' groups, of women in maternity centers, students' centers, the activity of Party clubs, and cultural and art activities. That is where indestructible foundations will be laid for the people's struggle against

fascism, setting the stage for a really serious battle for power against the oligarchy and imperialism.

This is entirely contrary to the idea of resistance committees as "seeds of popular power," which lead through revolutionary rhetoric to splits in the mass organizations, to parallel organizations isolated from the people's mass organizations.

The resistance committee concept arose in March 1975 on the proposal of the MIR. In a letter to us they said: "You have advanced the idea that the prime duty of resistance is to participate in mass organizations." It would appear from this that we could reach an understanding. Unfortunately, however, 30 lines below they added: "But we note the absence in your document of a concrete proposal for a mass underground resistance organization." What do they mean? Either we work in the mass organizations, or create underground organizations which, naturally, cannot be mass organizations in the full sense. Quite right, we make no concrete "proposal," because we have decided to work in the mass organizations which the people have been able to form and which encompass the vast majority, uniting millions of Chileans. We have decided, furthermore, to help revive the organizations that fascism succeeded in destroying, but, despite brutal repressions, constitute the historical basis for popular organization. It is our firm belief that in Chilean conditions parallel organizations would be a fallacious and suicidal policy leading to defeat of the popular movement.

In the present conditions it is the vanguard political forces, from local branches right up to the leadership, that should work underground. The liaison between the anti-fascist forces at local level should also be underground. We have made a concrete proposal on this score: to form anti-fascist committees connecting party organizations and individuals, and serving as centers of leadership for the various mass organizations. But that is an entirely different matter.

DEADLY STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-COMMUNISM

Each of the MIR deviations concerning mass work betrays opposition to the popular parties and the latter's role in the revolutionary process, and the wish to destroy their organization, to make them abandon their vanguard role. Substantiating the idea of resistance committees, the MIR people write: "We hold that unity in resistance should not be expressed solely through the front of political parties,

but — and this is the main thing — it should be created on the basis of underground organizations of the masses.”

What are the political parties the MIR can refer to if it thinks they are able to form a top-level front and cannot form a front on the basis of the mass organizations, which is really the decisive question? Surely not the workers' parties. Their scheme would possibly fit some petty-bourgeois party, which rejects ties with the masses “in principle.” For us leadership at primary level implies the presence of a party. To deny this is to abandon our vanguard role and sink deeper and deeper into opportunism.

We are prepared to work at primary level with all anti-fascists. More, we have always emphasized this. That is the road to a united front confirmed by experience. But we consider it wrong and unacceptable for ourselves and other Popular Unity parties to use organizational forms in which we have no experience, and to destroy our primary organizations. Yet this would be the result if we were to form the resistance committees suggested by the MIR.

The MIR suggests, in fact, that these committees should consist of tested representatives of the left forces in each enterprise, whether Communists, Socialists or independents. But who would pick them? The MIR itself. Each group should form its own leadership “democratically” (which would be no problem by means of appropriate elections). And these bodies of leadership are to establish ties among themselves first at local level, then at provincial, etc. But who would tie them together? Naturally, the MIR.

This type of organization has two basic features: first, it is to be completely independent of the political front, and, second, the parties must not interfere in the affairs of the primary organizations, because these are groups of individuals formed to avoid “sectarianism” and facilitate the forging of “unity.”

To put it more bluntly, the MIR proposal is less concerned about the ability or inability of the popular parties to head the struggle at mass level, and amounts, in fact, to just another demonstration of party chauvinism strongly colored with anti-communism, previously expressed in the impertinent thesis of a “revolutionary pole.” The MIR people hope that in this conglomerate of resistance groups divorced from the political parties there will prevail principles that by disorganizing the popular parties will give the MIR some influence among the masses. Needless to say, the nation will never be able to win if it follows this path. It is bound to fail, and the masses understand this and refuse to be drawn into this suicidal scheme.

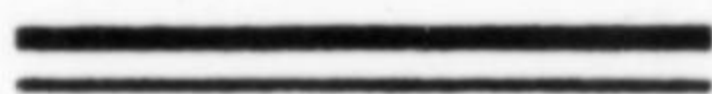
The severe trials that have fallen to the lot of our people under fascist rule have generated a striving for anti-fascist action unity. Decent people who did and still do consider themselves members of the MIR participate in concrete actions along with representatives of Popular Unity parties and the Christian Democrats chosen by the workers to express their demands. That is how, on a popular basis, through anti-fascist unity committees involving parties and all or the vast majority of the working people, anti-fascist unity is being forged. Like all the Popular Unity parties, our Party encourages unity. Attempts to impair this process by advancing sectarian criteria, instigating struggle against parties, imposing division or unilateral "criteria" concerning allies in order to "turn them into the prow of the ship while we hold the helm" (from MIR documents on organizational work), are malicious and harmful, and sure to be rejected by the people.

These are some of our ideas concerning irreconcilable struggle against sectarianism, divisive actions and dogmatism, which have done so much harm to the struggle of the Chilean people. An objective analysis of the recent past shows that our Party, the party of the working class, has not fought firmly enough for its own independent policy, against right and left opportunism within the working-class movement. And it would be a crime to repeat this mistake. To fight more effectively against the main enemy, to consolidate the unity of the people, we shall conduct our ideological struggle more vigorously than before in order to combat confusion, sectarianism, division tactics and conciliation.

This struggle is not designed to dissociate a single decent fighter from the revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it is our purpose to attract every real revolutionary to the positions of the working-class movement. And we are convinced that in this case his or her contribution to the revolutionary process will be really fruitful.

The Communist Party of Chile,
Santiago de Chile,
November 1975.

(Abridged text of document)



STATEMENT BY RODNEY ARISMENDI, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

A new wave of indescribable terror has swept over our dear homeland. Another 600 people — men, women and children — have been arrested, kidnapped, confined in barracks and secret torture chambers. Mostly members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, they have added to the thousands already imprisoned in a country with a 2,700,000 population. The homes of the kidnapped and those in hiding are being looted. All their belongings — furniture, refrigerators, clothes — have been seized and distributed among officers and soldiers. A description of the tortures the detained have been going through day and night for almost three months outrivals the Gestapo and Pinochet dungeons. Among the prisoners are Communist Party leaders Jose L. Massera, Alberto Altesor and Wladimir Turiansky, former deputies, intellectuals, political and public figures, whose lives, like those of the others, are in danger. Their names are added to those of Jaime Perez, General Victor Licandro, Hector Rodriguez and other prisoners and hostages of the ruling regime.

The sinister shadow of concentration camps hangs over the homeland of Artigas and the Thirty-Three.* that has always taken pride in its tradition of freedom. The numbers of those who have given their lives for freedom have multiplied. Among them are Alvaro Balbi, Pedro Lerena and Carlos Curuchaga, who were tortured to death.

Not content with its crimes, this brand of "foreign legion" that has occupied and is looting our country also resorts to calumny and provocations. For instance, it falsely asserts that the attacks against organizations battling for freedom and national unity, especially the Communist Party, were undertaken as a result of confessions by imprisoned Party leaders. Earlier — and we have already exposed this — the rumor was spread that I had been exchanged for meat earmarked for sale to socialist countries. They needed this fabrication in order to refute it later, claiming that I had been released in exchange for a list of Party members.

*On April 19, 1825, 33 Uruguayan patriots entered the territory of Uruguay (then a province of Brazil) from Argentina, initiating the struggle for independence against Portugal and Brazil. — *Ed.*

Understandably, nobody anywhere, let alone in Uruguay, believes this. Despite their calumny, we have on our side international solidarity, the trust of people and parties of different trends. Their solidarity takes the form of constant moral support and condemnation of fascism and its agents-slanderers. And the Uruguayan people know them as well as they know me. We are known by the workers, fighting heroically for higher wages, by the peasants, intellectuals and students, by the middle sections who are affected by the high cost of living and the cruel crisis. We are known by people of all trends, including the patriotic-minded military who are pained at the dishonor to their uniform.

This mendacious campaign is directed not only against us. A campaign of vilification is going on over the radio and on television against Ferreira Aldunate, presidential candidate from the National Party, Monsenor Parteli, the highest church dignitary, as well as against political parties, teachers, intellectuals and banned trade unions, whose offices were turned into prisons or police offices.

That is the usual technique of fascism! Goebbels said: calumny upon calumny, and something is bound to stick.

Though we don't know, but it is possible that among the hundreds of men, women and children some might have been unable to withstand the endless torture. What we do know is that neither Massera, nor any other Party leader took the road of betrayal. Spluttering with hatred, even their tormentors have had to admit this.

And in this we are unequivocal: if a Party member should choose to save his skin at the price of revolutionary dignity, the ignominy of betrayal will be the drama of his life. But we know that hundreds of Communists have been subjected to torture but have remained loyal to their cause, because you cannot break the heart of a Communist even if his body is mutilated and on the verge of death. We pay homage to these people, to them belongs our warm embrace, the respect of the working class, the Uruguayan people and of history, the respect of all freedom-loving people the world over.

Certainly, not one of their tormentors would have held out. Having lost all human and moral traits, they would have begged for mercy, ready to betray their own mothers.

The fascists claim that they have dealt a "mortal blow to the Party." Wishful thinking! Of course, they have dealt a heavy blow at the Uruguayan people's struggle for freedom and national sovereignty and at the strongest bulwark of the resistance — the Party, which from the first has been the backbone of the liberation struggle, a Party

free of sectarianism that is striving to unite all Uruguayans — civilian and military, clerical and secular — for the economic, social and political renovation of the country. Despite everything, the Party continues to exist and carry on the struggle, reconstituting its leadership, on the basis of the existing organizations, resuming the publication of *Carta Semanal*, and also of the YCL weekly and National Confederation of Labor bulletin. The walls of Montevideo buildings, despite the danger, once again carry the word of this invincible Party, because our Party is the party of the working class, fighting for the homeland and freedom. And, when not a trace of fascism is left in the country, there will remain the Party of the Uruguayan Communists, grown in stature by the deeds of its fallen heroes and loyal to its people and the legacy of Artigas.

You know well, senors fascists, that this Party stands firm as a mighty tree, which no storm can destroy.

In this orgy of terror and calumny they claim they have found weapons provided by the socialist countries. They know they are lying, and that they could never prove this fabrication before any high tribunal. It is simply an expression of their anti-communist and anti-Soviet hatred.

They are raising a clamor about weapons, but by what right? Is it not they who placed the question of weapons on the order of the day? They used the arms intended for the defense of national sovereignty and the Constitution to scrap that constitution, to turn the country into a territory where juridical norms have been substituted by the right based on arms. They abolished parliament, political parties, educational autonomy and the right to exchange of opinions by clamping down on the press, burning books, films and records. They made ineffective the judiciary, substituting it by military conclaves. They intervene in Church rites and censor pastorals. Finally, ... but it would take too long to describe the entire dramatic transformation of the homeland of Artigas into a territory ruled by force.

They say that the Communists were preparing an armed uprising. Again they lie. Our Party has time and again stated that liberation from the dictatorship cannot be accomplished just by one party or group, but will be the result of the unity of the entire people — Blancos, Colorados, Socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats, all patriots, including the military, that only a united people can save the homeland not only from the horrors of fascism but also from the deep economic, social and moral crisis into which the regime has plunged it.

We are not adventurers, nor putschists, nor terrorists. We are the party of the working class and the people, united with all the people suffering from the drama of their homeland.

Nor have the fascists any right to speak of violence and bloodshed. How many people have been killed in the streets, tortured to death or simply massacred like the eight from Paso Molino, whose names enhance our national martyrdom! Who has covered the image of our homeland with blood? You or we, senors fascists? We do not deny the people's right to re-establish freedom by every means at their disposal. But we are not adventurers, we do not play with the blood of our beloved people.

The brutal repressions launched against us and other people are an indication of the abysmal failure of the present regime; of its alliance with Pinochet, Stroessner, Vorster of South Africa and their ilk, which is directed against the independence of Latin America, détente and peace, present-day world trends, and has led to their international isolation; of its attempts to turn Uruguay into a fascist state; of its economic policy, which serves foreign capital, the big banks and top latifundists, and has plunged the country into disaster. This is also the result of the regime's isolation from all parties and all genuine Uruguayans, the patriotic-minded military such as the killed Colonel Trabal, who are weighted down by the catastrophe and frustration of the hopes they cherished in February 1973.

Those at the head of the regime brought back the remains of Latorre, that sinister tyrant, and paid him homage, apparently hoping to fight off the spectre of their own doom. Latorre, hated by all, had had to leave the country. There were also military men who contributed to the purge. This is because Uruguay will always prefer Artigas the liberator and revolutionary democrat to Latorre the tyrant.

The alternative is: Artigas or Latorre; the homeland or fascism and the top oligarchy; freedom and the people or a tyranny accompanied by corruption and disaster. Our Party rises in defense of the sacred cause of patriotism and democracy, helped in this by numerous instances of international solidarity and the sympathies of all honest Uruguayans.

We are with you, comrades!

We shall win!

January 1976.

NORTHERN IRELAND: TERROR CAN BE STOPPED

*Interview with Michael O'Riordan, General
Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland*

Terror is intensifying in Northern Ireland. Workers and farmers are being killed in their homes, at work places, on their way to or from work only because they are Catholics or Protestants. The assassins claim responsibility for some crimes, and deny others. The Communist Party of Ireland has repeatedly stated that, first, the atmosphere of terror is the result of the continuing colonial domination of Britain over Northern Ireland. Second, the various factions of Unionists closely linked with British imperialism capitalize upon terrorist acts by Protestant extremists to block any political settlement. Third, by its terrorist attacks the "provisional" IRA, which has split away from IRA and is showing anti-communist inclinations, is deepening the division of the Irish working class.

Q. What should be done to put an end to killings for religious motives in Northern Ireland?

A. We have been living under imperialist domination longer than any other country. Ireland is the first and last colony of Britain. That is why the imperialist "divide and rule" tactics have had particularly pernicious effects in our country, and the so-called religious war in the North is rooted in British imperialist rule.

But there is also a positive aspect — the existence of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions uniting the workers of North and South. It has a membership of 600,000, or 96 per cent of all trade union members. This is a high level of organization for our industrially underdeveloped country whose entire population is slightly over four million. This is also a solid basis for uniting the working people; for the sake of this unity the trade union leadership has thus far limited itself to economic demands.

We do not share this view, and our influence in the trade union movement has grown. For the first time in the history of the Irish trade union movement a Communist, our Party Chairman Andrew Barr, was elected ITUC President for 1974/75. In the view of some people — but only in the view of some — he has the "double misfortune" of being a Communist and a Protestant. The overwhelm-

ing majority, however, consider him a distinguished and respected leader of Irish workers.

We have repeatedly suggested that the trade union movement use its strength of mass organization against terror on religious motives and call for strikes against killings for political reasons — for an hour, half a day or a whole day. This could have brought about an important result — trade union political action.

Q. What, in the view of the Communist Party of Ireland, is the long-term prospect in solving the national question?

A. Marx and Engels considered Poland and Ireland models of national oppression in the 19th century Europe. Poland has solved her national question. A great weakness of the Irish labor movement lay in its tendency to ignore this question. Because of this the struggle for national liberation came under the control of petty-bourgeois groups, a fact which has for so long had adverse effects in our country.

Our policy is to unite the two trends — the labor and the national movement — under the leadership of the organized working class.

Our Party lays stress on independence from British imperialism rather than on uniting the Republic with Northern Ireland. Our country can unite and still not achieve complete independence. Independence is the main thing.

Q. What are the positions of the Communist Party of Ireland in the international communist movement?

A. Although ours is a small party working in difficult conditions, we are proud to say that there was an Irish section already in the First International. We have always considered ourselves part of the world communist movement and, as the resolution of our 16th Party Congress points out, share its achievements, its objectives and its responsibility. We stress this responsibility which, I believe, is shouldered by all parties — big and small.

Our Party has taken part in all international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties.

Unsere Zeit, January 1, 1976. (Abridged)



IN BRIEF

DRAFTING GROUP MEETS

The drafting group for the conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe met in Berlin from January 13 to 22.

Representatives from 24 fraternal parties took part in the meeting.

On the instructions of the editorial committee, the group thoroughly discussed and further elaborated the draft final document.

The meeting was held in a constructive and fraternal atmosphere.

ARGENTINA

The Communists are calling on all national democratic forces to form a united front against the threat of a fascist coup, Orestes Ghioldi, Executive Committee member and Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party, said at a conference of the Buenos Aires Party organization. We must be on the alert in face of the dangerous maneuvers of imperialism and the oligarchy.

Only joint actions by various political parties and broad sections of the public can obstruct the sinister designs of reaction, Ghioldi said in conclusion. Therefore, we must step up the struggle to put an end to the terror and create normal conditions for this year's general elections.

BULGARIA

The Communist Party published its theses on the main directions of Bulgaria's economic development in the seventh (1976-80) five-year plan, and up to the year 1990.

In 1976-90 the country will carry out the Party's program for the further building of a developed socialist society and raising the people's living standards.

The primary objectives for this period, the theses note, are higher productivity and efficiency and better quality. Productivity is expected to grow 3 to 3.5 times in 1976-1990.

CHILE

The Communists express gratitude to the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all progressive forces for their support in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. This was stated in the editorial of the first clandestine issue of *Principios*, the theoretical organ

of the Chilean Communists banned by the military-fascist regime immediately after the coup of September 1973. Renewal of its publication was timed to the 54th anniversary of the Communist Party.

Publication of the journal, the article notes, heralds the inevitable downfall of the dictatorship. The Communist Party has sustained losses, but it has not been defeated.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany consider that the Final Act of the Helsinki conference opened up a new stage in détente. This is emphasized in a joint communique on a friendly official visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by First Secretary Erich Honecker.

During the friendly and heartfelt talks, displaying full unanimity of views, Gustav Husak, CPCz General Secretary and President of the Republic, and Erich Honecker informed each other of achievements in building a developed socialist society.

The sides emphasized that success in socialist construction in the CSSR and GDR under the respective leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is determined by the consistent, creative application of Marxism-Leninism, indissoluble fraternal alliance and far-ranging cooperation with the CPSU and USSR and the other parties and states of the socialist community.

The sides reaffirmed the resolve of the CPCz and SUPG, together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, to work for stronger unity of the international communist and working-class movement and for the early and successful conclusion of preparations for the conference of European Communist parties.

ECUADOR

The Central Committee of the Communist Party endorsed a statement analyzing the situation in the country after the resignation of President Rodriguez Lara; it also defines the objectives of the Communists in the new situation.

The policy-making speeches of members of the Supreme Ruling Council, and an analysis of the reshuffle in the important political and state bodies, the statement says, are evidence that the policy principles and propositions that determined the activity of the former government, remain in force. The Communist Party will resolutely support all steps of the government to translate into reality the aspira-

tions of the people. At the same time, the statement continues, the Ecuadoran Communists will firmly oppose any attempts to jeopardize the interests of the working people, any intentions of the oligarchic and imperialist forces to maintain their positions in the national economy and in other spheres of activity.

The Communist Party demands firm and consistent fulfillment of the objectives set forth in its statement concerning suppression of the attempted fascist coup last September.

GDR

Neues Deutschland published the new draft program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which will be discussed before the Ninth Party Congress, scheduled for May 1976. It also printed the draft directives for the development of the national economy in 1976-1980.

In publishing the pre-congress documents, the newspaper notes that that their discussion will make for stronger unity in the Party, strengthen its ties with the masses, and give an impulse to new initiatives by the working people for the further development of the country.

HONDURAS

The Communist Party has called for profound transformations in the country. It notes in a statement that the present government is not carrying out the "national development plan." The agrarian reform is virtually at a standstill, while 30,000 peasants are in urgent need of land.

The Party states that it will continue to support the government's progressive steps. But it will oppose those who obstruct this process, as well as any attempt of the ultra-right to regain their former positions in the government.

JAPAN

We resolutely protest against police surveillance of and spying on members of the Communist Party, the Democratic Youth League and other democratic organizations, the Central Committee of the Communist Party stated. In letters addressed to the Prime Minister, Minister of Justice and chiefs of the police and the public security agency, the Central Committee stressed the anti-constitutionality and illegality of such actions and demanded that they be stopped immediately. The activity of our Party, the letters say, does not contradict the Constitution, which proclaims freedom of political association.

