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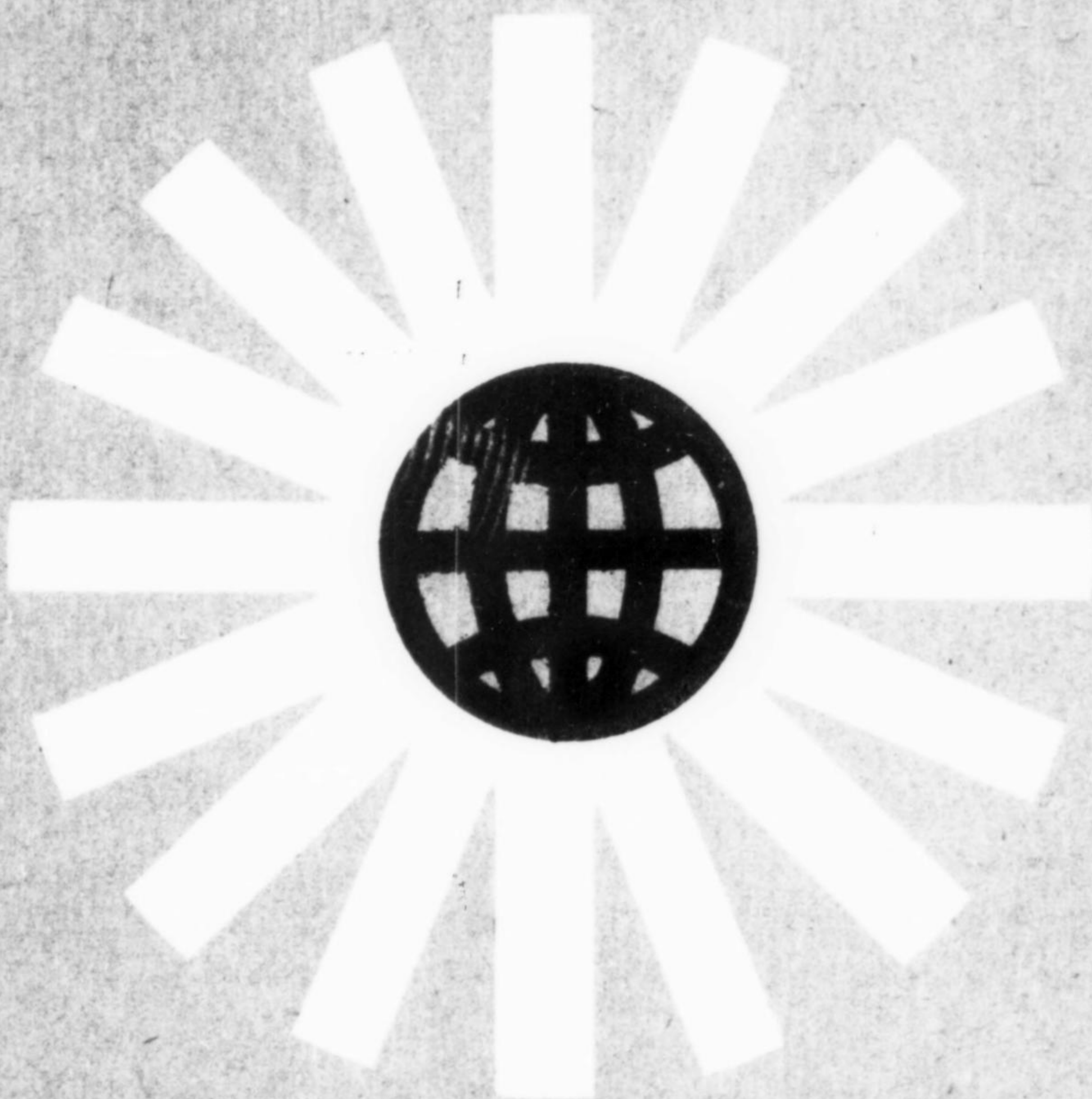


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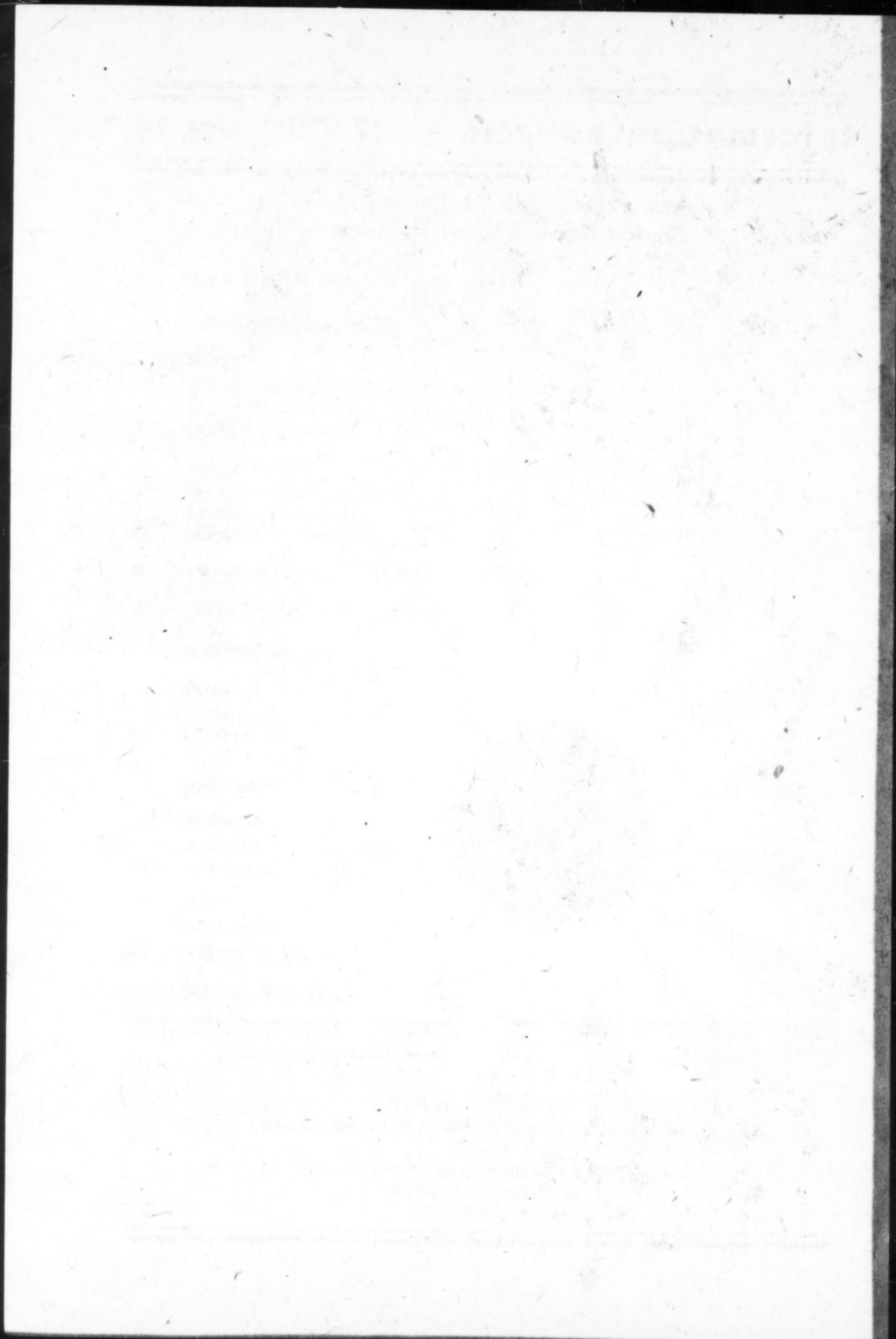


**LAOTIAN
DELEGATION
VISIT TO
SOVIET UNION**

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**PRESENT
SITUATION
IN URUGUAY**

17

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BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT COMMUNIQUE BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, visited Finland from August 19-24, 1976, on the invitation of Chairman Aarne Saarinen and the Party leadership, and in the framework of regular top level inter-Party meetings. The Party leaders discussed a wide range of questions and problems of mutual interest. Also present at the talks were Party Vice-Chairman Taisto Sinisalo, General Secretary Arvo Aalto, Honorary Chairman Ville Pessi and Secretariat member Olavi Poikolainen representing the Communist Party of Finland, and member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party Jacques Denis.

The consequences of the capitalist crisis on the workers and population in general were discussed at length. There are apparent similarities of the crisis in both countries affecting all spheres of public life. Therefore both Parties consider it imperative to step up the struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the population in order to continue clearing the way to profound democratic reforms and socialism.

Both Parties have accumulated a wealth of experience in united working-class action and cooperation of left forces. This unity is the foundation for strengthening cooperation among broad sections of the democratic forces in the struggle against rule by big capital and imperialism and for peace, broader democracy and social progress.

In their activity the French CP and CP of Finland stress the importance of a relaxation of international tensions, peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, cooperation and peace in Europe and social progress. The peoples of both countries, just as people

everywhere, are deeply interested in common action against the arms race, for disarmament and liquidating military blocs.

Both Parties stress the urgency of political and material solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian people. A peaceful settlement there requires the immediate withdrawal of Syrian troops, respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians and of all peoples and states in that region.

Both Parties agree to continue deepening fraternal relations on principles common to Communist and Workers' Parties — international solidarity, full sovereignty, equality and non-interference. Such cooperation is in the interests of the Finnish and French working class and people.

L'Humanité, September 26, 1976.

FRIENDLY VISIT OF A LAOTIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

A Party and government delegation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic headed by Kaysone Phomvihan, General Secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party and Prime Minister, was on a friendly visit to Moscow from September 5 to 7.

MEETING BETWEEN LEONID BREZHNEV AND KAYSONE PHOMVIHAN

A meeting was held in the Kremlin on September 6 between General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, and Kaysone Phomvihan.

Taking part in it was Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary Mikhail Suslov.

Comrades Brezhnev and Suslov warmly greeted the leader of the fraternal Laotian party and congratulated him on the great victory crowning the prolonged heroic struggles of the Laotian people against

imperialism and internal reaction, a victory which opened the way to a new and free life.

Comrade Phomvihane informed the Soviet comrades of the activity of the People's Revolutionary Party and its objectives after the victory of the national-democratic revolution and the formation of the republic. He expressed the resolve of the Party and the people to give all their energies to peaceful endeavor, to strengthen the popular-democratic system, and to accomplish the strategic goal of the Laotian revolution — the building of socialism. On behalf of the Laotian people the General Secretary expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU and its Central Committee headed by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the government and the people of the Soviet Union for the multiform and effective aid and support during the liberation struggle and at the present stage of the Laotian revolution.

Comrade Brezhnev wished the young republic successes in building a popular-democratic system, in laying the foundation of a socialist society. He stressed the importance of the international activity of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic which, together with socialist Vietnam, is an advanced post of peace, the cause of national liberation and social progress in Southeast Asia.

Leonid Brezhnev told Kaysone Phomvihane about the policy of the CPSU, and the persistent endeavors of the Soviet people who stint no effort in implementing the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

Brezhnev and Phomvihane noted with satisfaction the successful development of Soviet-Laotian relations. They stressed the striving to continue strengthening the fraternal ties between the CPSU and the PRPL in every way in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Both sides stated their resolve to develop friendly relations and all-round cooperation between the USSR and the LPDR on the principles of respect for each other's interests, equality and mutual benefit.

The meeting was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere of complete mutual understanding.

The CPSU Central Committee gave a dinner in honor of the Party and government delegation of the LPDR in the Kremlin on September 6.

General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev addressed those present.

SPEECH BY L.I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane,
Dear Laotian friends,
Comrades,

We are happy to welcome you here in the Kremlin, Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, and the members of the Laotian delegation, our old and good friends.

After long years of stubborn and heroic struggle the Laotian people achieved a splendid victory, won their freedom, created the People's Democratic Republic and steered a course toward building the foundation of a socialist society. This historic turning point in the fate of your country reflects the very essence of our epoch — an epoch of profound revolutionary changes. It reaffirms that the way to freedom and progress is, in the final count, the way to socialism.

The Laotian people owe this victory first of all to their militant vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party, which firmly adheres to the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Your Party has with honor gone through the hard school of armed struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction. Today you are faced with new objectives — development of the country's economy, implementation of profound socio-economic changes, education of the broad popular masses in a socialist spirit.

We Soviet people know from our own experience how hard it is to overcome the consequences of a prolonged and destructive war and what effort is needed to create a new society, while countering the attacks of the forces of imperialism and reaction. But we have no doubt that the heroic Laotian people will achieve its aims.

Now, with the existence of the mighty socialist system and of a fraternal neighboring country — the Socialist Republic of Vietnam — the Laotian people have favorable opportunities to successfully solve the tasks facing it.

The Soviet Union has given the Laotian people the necessary aid at all stages of its struggle. You can be sure, Comrade Phomvihane, that now, at its new stage, the Soviet Union, like the other fraternal socialist countries, will render your people every possible support in building a free life, that it will do everything possible to develop relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the Laotian Republic.

May I propose a toast:
to unbreakable Soviet-Laotian friendship,

to the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and its Central Committee,

to the health of General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihane and the Laotian comrades present here.

Then General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihane addressed those present.

SPEECH BY KAYSONE PHOMVIHAN

Dear and esteemed Leonid Ilyich,

Dear Soviet comrades,

The delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party and government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos is happy to visit the homeland of the October Revolution and the great Lenin. We are happy to have been received today by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

I note with satisfaction that you, Leonid Ilyich, reaffirmed that the CPSU and the Soviet Union will continue to render aid to the Laotian revolution and the Laotian people. This constitutes a moral support and a good stimulus for our people who are fighting to consolidate the young People's Democratic Republic and to establish a new system.

We are proud of and happy with the successes achieved by the Soviet people in building the foundations of a communist society, in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The economic potential, the might of the Soviet Union grow stronger with every passing day. The living standard of the working people keeps rising. Your foreign policy is directed at ensuring peace the world over and has won the broad support of all peoples.

And your successes serve not only the Soviet people. They are a help to all peoples fighting for national liberation and democracy, for peace and social progress.

The Soviet Union owes all its successes first of all to the Communist Party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau headed by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

Dear comrades, the past eight months in the life of our young republic has been a time of continual struggle. Hostile forces have resorted to various intrigues to overthrow the popular-democratic system, to hamper the restoration and development of our economy. But the schemes of the imperialists failed to undermine the resolve of our people to go ahead along the road of building a new society, in the direction of socialism. We see this as our internationalist duty.

We are convinced that under the leadership of our Party, thanks to

the aid and support of the fraternal socialist countries, as well as the progressive forces of the world, our people will honorably resolve all the tasks facing it.

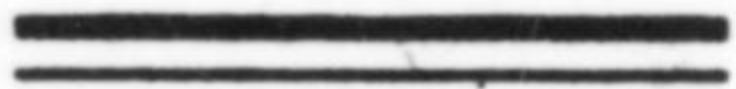
Dear comrades, the fraternal and close friendship linking our parties and peoples rests on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism. We will do everything possible to strengthen this friendship, to make it ever closer. We are convinced that this friendship will be as eternal as the Mekong or the Volga, as elevated as the Laotian or Caucasian mountains, as beautiful as the nature of our country and yours.

May I raise a toast to firm, inviolable friendship between our parties and peoples. We wish you new splendid successes in building communism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee! Many years of good health to you, Léonid Ilyich Brezhnev!

On September 7 Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers M.A. Lesechko had a meeting with General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihane, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Pravda, September 7 and 8, 1976.



CONGRESSES

FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE REUNION COMMUNIST PARTY

The Fourth Congress of the Réunion Communist Party was held in Le Port on August 27-29. The agenda consisted of the Central Committee report, adoption of the program document "The Democratic and Popular Autonomy," and election of the leading Party bodies.

About 650 delegates took part. Among foreign guests, a delegation of the CPSU had been invited but was unable to attend because the French authorities had refused to give visas. At the opening of the congress the delegates protested this discrimination against representatives of fraternal parties.

General Secretary Paul Verges delivered the Central Committee report. He hailed the notable gains of the forces of peace and social progress in the last few years, the growing strength of the socialist world system, the successes of the national-liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and of the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

The General Secretary made a profound analysis of the distressing situation of the population of Réunion, and overseas department of France in the Indian Ocean. He denounced colonialism and its pernicious consequences: high child mortality, lack of medical equipment and decent housing, unemployment, forced emigration, an economy in which the questions of import and export, prices, taxes and customs duties are decided in Paris or Brussels, the capital of the Common Market, encroachments on freedom, arbitrary actions by the prefect, the all-powerful vice-gerent of the central government, violence, fraudulent elections, corruption and humiliating aid, which is doled out depending on election requirements instead of adopting and strictly implementing genuine social laws. Backwardness and poverty, the speaker said, are rapidly increasing. The average income is four times lower than in France.

Verges proposed a concrete program for overcoming the backwardness, stagnation and lopsided character of the island's economy,

poverty and unemployment, which are the bane of the broad working masses.

The Réunion Communists, the report emphasized, hold that the island's difficulties at the present stage can be solved only in conditions of "democratic and popular autonomy," for which the Communist Party and all progressives are fighting. "Democratic and popular autonomy" will open up real opportunities for social and economic progress.

Touching on problems of the international communist movement, the speaker said that the Party adheres to the principles of equality of the Communist Parties and independent elaboration of their anti-imperialist political course in line with the concrete socio-economic and political conditions and national peculiarities of their countries.

The representatives of the four regional organizations of the island who spoke at the congress approved the conclusions and proposals contained in the report.

The delegates warmly hailed the message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, which highly assessed the contribution of the Réunion Communists to the struggle for peace and the security of the peoples, against the imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean.

A delegation of the French Communist Party headed by Political Bureau member André Vieuguet participated in the congress, as well as a delegation of the Martinique Communist Party.

Vieuguet greeted the congress on behalf of the French Communist Party. Touching on Réunion's problems, he condemned the policy of the "French government, which is strengthening its military system in the Indian Ocean," and "sending arms to South Africa."

Further Vieuguet said: "All important decisions concerning Réunion continue to be made by the prefect, who has the powers of a proconsul. Freedom of initiative, dignity of the working people, of the entire people are constantly flouted. Complete disregard of the people is the rule.

"The crisis of colonial relations is sharply reflected in Réunion, prolonging and aggravating the crisis of state capitalism in France and the entire imperialist system."

In conclusion the head of the FCP delegation recalled the proposals of the common government program of the left forces on the overseas department and territories:

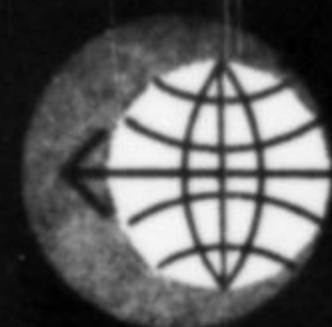
"In fulfillment of this program the peoples of these countries shall be able to elect genuinely representative assemblies. For this it is necessary to put an end to the fraud and machinations at elections.

“The peoples of the overseas territories shall attain the possibility of freely deciding their fate, including the elaboration of a new status... The decisions of each people shall be respected.

“New relations, free of colonialist and neo-colonialist methods, can be established with France.”

The delegates unanimously approved the Central Committee report and adopted a concluding resolution on it.

Congress elected a new 34-member Central Committee and an 11-member Political Bureau. Paul Verges was re-elected General Secretary.



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STATEMENT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, at its meeting in Brussels on August 30, discussed the report of Party Chairman Louis Van Geyt on the political situation in the country.

A communique released after the plenum says:

The government and the big employers looked for an excuse to make tougher the austerity policy they have been pursuing for many months under the pretext of combating the crisis. In fact, this policy is aggravating the crisis that has engulfed the authorities to such a degree that the only prospect facing them is social regress everywhere and in everything.

They decided that the right moment had come to strike new blows. Frequent references to the drought are being used to attack the principle of automatic connection between wages and the price index, a principle which was questioned by the General Industrial Federation long before this calamity could be predicted. The holiday season was even more favorable for such attacks and for cutting expenditures on public transport, education and other public services.

There are also grounds to presume that the government believed it was afforded new prospects by the probable return of the Socialist Party to the government after October 10. The possibility increased on the eve of the holiday season as a result of pressure applied by certain trends in this party demanding a share in running the country.

The right forces' plan, however, came up against strong opposition unprecedented in scope. The reason is that the deepening crisis of the entire system is compelling the government and the monopolies to take measures infringing on the working people's interests.

Attacks on the principle of an automatic connection between wages and the price index are being accompanied by other dubious operations with the budget, which the working people know will directly or indirectly affect their living standards and employment.

All this is a manifestation of the same austerity policy which is having negative effects in all apheres and is detrimental to the communes (the surtax, curtailing communal funds ..).

That is why in conditions of the government and monopoly offensive it is especially important to unite all actions developing in the state and private sectors. Otherwise it will be impossible to bar the austerity policy which will grow tougher if it is given a free hand, and which in advance renders ineffectual all reformist decisions by the "lesser of two evils" method.

There must be no compromise in fighting this policy. Claiming that it is possible to rule "better" during the crisis means deceiving the people and leading them into a trap set by the right forces who are striving to spread the illusion about the "equal share of difficulties." This is being done to prevent concerted action by the working people who are demanding a change in policy, primarily that government measures be replaced and in particular that the falsification of the price index be exposed, a 36-hour week be introduced without wage cuts, that all citizens aged 55 to 60 be granted pensions amounting to 80 per cent of their wages, and that government subsidies be dependent on employment guarantees stipulated in the collective agreements.

Under any circumstances repeal of government measures and the possibility of pursuing a new policy mean that the political forces acting on behalf of the workers' and democratic movement must support the people's struggle already today and give a clear prospect to action in the various industries throughout the nation.

The approaching communal elections are a factor to be reckoned with more and more in the political struggle against the crisis and the austerity policy. The working people's interests demand that candidates be elected to the communal councils who, after October 10, would help them to outline the necessary profound changes as outlined with maximum clarity by the Communist Party.

Drapeau Rouge, September 2, 1976.

PLENUM OF THE SUPG CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held its second plenum in Berlin on September 2-3. Reporting on progress in carrying out the Ninth Party Congress decisions, Political Bureau member Hermann Axen said that by the end of July the annual industrial output plan had been fulfilled by 58.3 per cent. The Political Bureau noted that the decisions of the Ninth Congress in the field of the economy and social policy were being put into effect with determination and at a high level.

Axen stressed that in foreign policy, which is centered on deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the most important event was a friendly meeting between Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea. This meeting, he said, was a fresh expression of the fraternal relations between the SUPG and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR, and demonstrated the complete unanimity of views of the two Parties on all questions.

The communique on the meeting, Axen continued, pointed out that the attempts of certain circles to infringe the sovereign rights of the GDR, to interfere in its internal affairs run counter to the spirit of Helsinki and the interests of European peace. Such attempts are futile and will be countered by both countries in future too. The SUPG Political Bureau highly assessed the results of the meeting, stressing the immense influence exerted on international developments by the comprehensive initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet government in implementing the Peace Program of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The friendly meeting between Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev has helped to strengthen the close alliance between the SUPG and the CPSU, between the peoples of the GDR and the great Soviet Union. To consolidate this fraternal alliance, the earnest of our successful advance on the way of socialism, is to make an important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security. This task has been and remains the primary one in implementing the Ninth Party Congress decisions, Axen said. In its relations with the capitalist countries, including the FRG, the GDR will continue to be guided by the striving to develop businesslike and mutually beneficial relations, in line with the foreign policy course of the congress.

The Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties and the document adopted by it was an outstanding event of international

significance, the report noted. After the Helsinki conference the European Communist Parties showed the working class and peoples of the continent the way to the consolidation, materialization and deepening of détente.

The main document of the conference is clearly anti-imperialist in character. It represents a platform for developing mass actions of the working class, of all anti-monopoly forces in individual countries as well as on an international scale.

The SUPG attaches especial importance to the proposition on the need to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The Soviet Union, the main force of peace and social progress, is making an immense contribution to international security, the report says. We are confident, Axen said in conclusion, that the Berlin conference will give a powerful impulse to the struggle for peace and progress on our continent. In the light of the Ninth Congress decisions, our Party will do everything for the achievement of the aims set by the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

General Secretary Erich Honecker made a concluding speech at the plenum.

SPEECH BY ERICH HONECKER

The decisions of the Ninth SUPG Congress have met with a wide response of the entire people of the GDR. Our working people are displaying initiative in carrying them out, Honecker said. Congress gave a profound answer to the domestic and foreign policy questions of interest to everyone. Its decisions convincingly prove that we will continue successfully along the road of peace, social progress and socialism.

Erich Honecker dwelt in detail on the results and significance of his meeting with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea on August 19. The results of this meeting are of vast national and international importance, he said. They are also of great significance in achieving the aims of socialist and communist construction in our countries, in ensuring peace and security.

Favorable preconditions have been created for the further deepening and extension of mutual relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union both on a bilateral basis and in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This year alone trade between the two countries will be in excess of 5.8 billion rubles, the highest ever. The Soviet Union holds first place

in our foreign trade. The GDR also holds first place in the foreign trade of the Soviet Union, Honecker stressed.

The GDR's steadfast development, its alliance with the USSR and other states of the socialist community is the earnest of our people's freedom, the basis of raising their well-being. At the same time it is the foundation of our policy of peace, security and cooperation, which corresponds to the results of the European Security Conference and the entire range of agreements adopted there. We are fully resolved, in line with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress, to make a constructive contribution to the cause of peace. This was convincingly stressed during our Crimea meeting with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, Honecker noted. While discussing international issues, he continued, we naturally could not overlook the phenomena in some capitalist countries which hamper the universal striving of the peoples for peace, security and cooperation. The attempts of certain circles to infringe on the sovereign rights of the GDR and to interfere in its domestic affairs, are a case in point. As was stressed at the Crimea meeting, this is not in keeping with the spirit of Helsinki, the interests of European peace. Such attempts are completely futile, and will in future too be countered by both sides, the General Secretary noted.

It would only serve the interests of the cause if certain circles in the West would proceed from the fact that there is complete unanimity of views between the SUPG and the CPSU, the GDR and the Soviet Union on all these questions. There is no need for anyone to search for any "new scale in the conception" of our course. The aims of the peace policy of our parties and states are clearly formulated in the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the SUPG and the 25th Congress of the CPSU. Joining our efforts in the community of fraternal states, we are working on the implementation of these tasks with due regard for conditions on the world scene, Honecker said.

Stable peace and security are aims toward which we have significantly advanced in the past few years. This was confirmed at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which pointed out what remains to be done in this sphere. The Communist Parties of Europe expressed their opinion on questions of decisive importance in a unanimously adopted document. Its realization is of great significance in ensuring the vital interests of the peoples. The interests of peace, security and cooperation and social progress demand a resolute struggle against imperialism. We can say already now that the Berlin Conference is very important for de-

velopment in Europe and beyond it. The SUPG will continue to actively contribute to the international communist and working-class movement, Honecker said.

The nub of the policy of our Party and state is the struggle for peace, freedom, social progress and socialism. The Ninth Congress decisions confirm this and they also show that our domestic and foreign policy aims correspond to the vital interests of the peoples. Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we advocate continuation of the policy of détente. In this the GDR proceeds from the fact that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence. We adhere to this decisive stand in all our political moves on the international arena and in developing bilateral relations with states with different social systems. The present-day world cannot exist otherwise, the danger of a world nuclear war cannot be warded off otherwise, Honecker noted.

We set store by the agreements between the socialist and capitalist countries, and have done much to help conclude them. But we will never permit the revenge-seeking forces to abuse these agreements, to threaten our sovereignty and territorial integrity. Unfortunately, as was noted at the Ninth Party Congress, the situation in the FRG is such that due to the strengthening of the revanchist forces not all the possibilities of the treaties and agreements between the two states can be fully utilized. This development is only in the interests of the "ultras," who seek to push the world back to the "cold war" times. Anyone in the FRG who does not want this must realize that the attitude to the security of borders is the test of one's attitude to détente. Moreover, it is not only the interests of the GDR and its citizens that are at stake. European peace is at stake, which depends primarily on the security of borders. The FRG politicians who do not take this into account are endangering the life and property of their people and country. As to the GDR's cooperation with states with different social systems, we say outright: we want to develop it on a broad base in line with the Final Act adopted in Helsinki. We advocate continuation of the policy of peaceful coexistence with all capitalist states, including the FRG. The existing system of agreements constitutes a good basis for this, Honecker emphasized.

This applies fully to West Berlin as well. To all whom it concerns we said clearly at the Ninth SUPG Congress: Whoever attempts to create an explosive situation harms not only the population of West Berlin but by inflaming the atmosphere harms the cause of peace in Europe. A whole series of provocations have been carried out from

the western side lately, in flagrant violation of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and other international agreements. Our consistent and reasonable stand is well known. We will continue to abide by concluded agreements. Whoever tries once again to turn West Berlin into a hotbed of war will come up against the growing opposition throughout the world, the General Secretary pointed out.

Socialism holds a firm place in the minds of our people, Honecker continued. The citizens of the GDR realize that the general line of the Ninth Party Congress is to raise the well-being of the working class and the entire people. The direction pointed out by the Ninth Congress — the further construction of a developed socialist society and creation of prerequisites for gradually going over to communism — has strengthened the working people's confidence in the future, inspiring them to new exploits.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Honecker said, is now translating into reality the ideals inscribed on the banners of the working-class movement: freedom, equality, fraternity. Socialism and freedom constitute a single whole.

The SUPG General Secretary dealt at length on questions of developing the national economy, stressing that primary importance now attaches to the intensification of production, higher quality, economy of raw and other materials, early implementation of the achievements of science and technology in production. Honecker stressed that consistent implementation of socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries is an important objective of the GDR's foreign economic ties.

Ensuring internal and external security remains the core of our policy. The SUPG will continue to do everything for the good of the people, for ensuring a stable peace, Honecker said in conclusion.

Recapitulated from *Neus Deutschland*,
September 4-5, 1976.



RESOLUTION OF THE FOURTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. The Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, meeting over August 6 to 9, reviewed the Communists' activity in the recent election campaign and the election results, discussed the internal political situation and approved the main tasks the Communists will have to cope with in the next few months.

After hearing the Executive Commission's report presented by General Secretary Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo and considering the draft plan of work for the next six months and different aspects of the Party's work during the election campaign, the plenum endorsed both documents and recommended the Party members to study them. It was pointed out that the political line and tasks set forth in these documents and the 17th Congress resolutions, should serve as guidelines for the members in their activity in the immediate future.

2. The election campaign and the elections were characterized by an *evolution of the masses to the left*. This happened because they had realized that only far-reaching democratic reforms can solve the political crisis and open new prospects before the wage workers of town and country, whose economic condition had worsened.

The political role of the left revolutionary forces grew considerably during the election campaign. The Communist Party, following the correct line adopted by its 17th Congress and drawing on the experience of the many years of struggle, has reached a new level. Today it is an acknowledged force in national life capable of influencing domestic political affairs. It has proved itself a truly national party speaking for the general public, the working class above all. And, lastly, the Party has shown that it is fully entitled to demand equality and legal political activity.

3. The aims set by the 17th Congress in the election campaign have been achieved. The Party has grown stronger, its membership rising by more than a third. Thousands of people have applied to join it. As a result, its membership will increase further. The program and political line of the Party were popularized all over the country. Through pamphlets and other forms of propaganda hundreds of thousands of people came to know our draft for social reforms. Millions of Mexi-

cans today know the Communist Party as a revolutionary party fighting for the complete emancipation of the workers and other working people. Thanks to Communist activity the organizations of the independent mass movement developed and gained in strength during the election campaign.

Our presidential candidate toured the country, visiting 26 provinces. Together with the Socialist Organization Movement and the Socialist League, the Communist Party put forward candidates for 83 deputies and senators in 23 states. During the tour of our presidential candidate around the country and the campaign for the election of deputies and senators, meetings and other activities were organized, involving more than 200,000 people. The election campaign ended with a meeting in the Arena Mexico. It was attended by 18,000 people and delegations from 26 states. In scale and importance this rally has no equal in the history of the Communist Party and the left opposition forces. Especially active in the election campaign were the regional Party committees of Valle de Mexico, Jalisco, Puebla, Michoacan, Zactecas, Sinaloa, Yucatan, Guerrero and Baja California.

All this bore out the 17th Congress decision on participation in the elections, nomination of a presidential candidate and of deputies and senators, and conduct of the election campaign during which the masses could opt for a democratic way out of the political and economic crisis.

4. There was a large vote for Valentin Campa, the presidential candidate put forward by the Communist Party jointly with the Socialist Organization Movement and the Socialist League. Though, because of the undemocratic electoral system, the votes cast for an "unregistered" candidate and for any candidate in general cannot be established exactly, even the incomplete initial data, public opinion polls and unofficial assessments show that our candidate received about 1,600,000 votes.

By rigging the election results, the authorities want to create the appearance that our candidate polled less votes and to conceal that a large section of the population supported the solutions offered by the left coalition and its political presence. Despite this the sympathies of the broad masses for the Communist stand is evident. Also evident is the fact that the anti-communism whipped up by the top government quarters and the oligarchy has not spread among the people.

The Central Committee expresses its gratitude to Comrade Valentin Campa, the main spokesman of the Party and the masses in the

election campaign, for his big contribution in popularizing the Communist program and tactics.

Though the democrats and other leftists did not achieve the broad unity sought by the Communists during the election campaign, the alliance the Party concluded with the Socialist League and the Socialist Organization Movement was instrumental in attracting the working people. The influence and prestige of these three organizations increased, their positions drew closer together and a basis was laid for durable cooperation. The Central Committee is satisfied with the joint work done by these organizations and is interested in promoting cooperation between them.

5. The election campaign proceeded in a complex and difficult situation created by the political crisis. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition and the ruling party proved incapable of offering a solution to the problems of the country and the working people. On the eve of the elections the Socialist People's and National Action parties found themselves divided and torn by internal strife. According to official data, more than a third of the electorate do not go to the polls. This shows that the crisis of the electoral system and the parties integrated in it, far from being resolved, continues to grow deeper.

To create a semblance of popular support, the official candidate, Jose Lopez Portillo, was given every backing by the government apparatus, a thing never recorded in the past. During the official campaign public money was squandered on flashy propaganda. Yet, the candidate of the Revolutionary Institutional Party evaded pledges to the working people, the vast majority of the population. At the same time he made pledges to the bureaucracy which had nominated him, and to big business and the oligarchy which had accepted him as their own candidate.

It can be stated, however, that regardless of pressure and manipulations the official party and its candidate receive a large vote from those who still believe that a solution to the nation's problems lies through the "Mexican revolution" and preservation of the existing system. The left forces, and the Communist Party in particular, should conduct intensive political and ideological activities to prove that the policy of the Revolutionary Institutional Party and the ruling bureaucracy is a policy of monopoly capital, leading to even greater suffering and oppression of the exploited masses.

As a truly opposition party, the Mexican Communists will actively campaign for the interests of the working people and for stronger mass action to reverse the reactionary policy of the ruling group. We

shall strive to ensure that the growing mass movement acts in defense of the political and economic rights and interests of the working people and substantially influences the running of state affairs under the government of Jose Lopez Portillo.

6. The Central Committee is of the opinion that after the election campaign and the successes achieved conditions have ripened for serious work for the rapid numerical and organizational growth of the Communist Party as a national force of primary importance. Hundreds of thousands attended the meetings and rallies held by the left coalition and voted for Valentin Campa. They also backed other candidates of the Communist Party, the Socialist League and the Socialist Organization Movement, and gave material aid to their campaign. As part of the force that will pave new ways in winning political freedoms for all Mexicans, these organizations will take their place in the struggles to come.

7. The Central Committee resolved to tackle a new task of great importance in internal political life. It is the struggle for recognition of the political and election rights of the Communist Party. During the election campaign the Communist Party proved that it is a permanent political factor, a patriotic force with firm roots among the working people, a real militant opposition which can become an alternative to the present government.

8. The most urgent task ensuing from the July 4 election results is a reform of the Federal Electoral Law. This law inhibits the new political trends growing in the masses and is conducive to corruption and fraud; it is merely a form of legalizing the present power.

The Central Committee decided to draft a reform of the existing electoral law, to be submitted later to the parliament.

When the parliament convenes on September 1, the Communists must concentrate on the campaign for reform of the electoral legislation. A revision of the Federal Electoral Law would create favorable political conditions for the Communists and other democratic parties to win registration.

9. The Party has given its assessment of the continuing political crisis. The economic crisis and its consequences — high prices, unemployment, etc. — are laying a heavy burden on the masses. The system of parties, the officially approved trade unions, and other forms of control over the masses betray their rotten nature, accenting the need for replacing them by democratic government of the working people.

Far from being solved, the problems of political life, the national

economy and living standards are aggravated still more. A future government will be confronted with an even more complex situation than the present one.

The transition from one government to another has begun. After the elections the ruling group feels it less necessary to maintain a semblance of legality. The government is again applying the same curbs on democratic freedoms as it did until recently.

The crisis situation, contradictions within the ruling class, the difficulties of maintaining the repressive apparatus of the regime, the heightened vigilance of the public and its condemnation of the repressive methods of government limit the tendencies toward mass repressions and foil the attempts again to attribute everything negative, anti-patriotic and criminal to the Communist Party, democratic forces and the independent trade union movement.

10. In relation to the sharp problems raised by its fourth plenum, the Central Committee resolves to:

- strengthen solidarity with the workers, engineers and technicians of the National Institute of Nuclear Energy — victims of arbitrary actions by the officially approved trade unions and the government;

- fight against the announced intention of the university administrations and the government to introduce legislation curbing the trade union rights of the workers and the teaching staffs of universities;

- condemn the U.S. government's decision to expel millions of Mexican workers as a violation of international norms which regulate the residence and labor relations of immigrant workers;

- prevent and denounce the campaign of violence organized by the landlords against limited measures for land distribution initiated by the government under the existing anti-peasant legislation.

11. In the opinion of the Central Committee there are now favorable conditions which open a new way for winning political freedoms. In particular, conditions have ripened for united action and joint mobilization of the democratic and left forces in the struggle for the necessary recognition of the political rights of democratic parties and movements; trade union freedoms, abolition of official syndicalism and caciquismo in the countryside; amnesty for political prisoners and for persons persecuted for political motives; an end to repressions for political views.

To make Communist activity more effective and to impart political vigor to it, the Central Committee decided to take steps for increasing the circulation of its weekly *Oposicion* and turn it into a paper more

suitable to the needs of consolidating the Party and providing correct political leadership to the movement as a whole, to start large-scale work for the political education of all members of the Party in order to strengthen its ranks and draw the new members into Party work. The Central Committee stresses the need of improving work in the trade union movement.

The Communist Party leadership believes that the aims and tasks set by the fourth plenum of the Central Committee and laid down in this resolution conform to the possibilities created by the participation of Communists and their allies in the election campaign, the upsurge of the independent mass movement, and the aggravation of the political crisis.

The Central Committee urges all members to step up work to accomplish these aims and tasks in order to enhance the Party's influence among the masses and strengthen it as an important national political force.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Central Committee,

Mexican Communist Party.

Mexico, August 9, 1976.

Abridged from *Oposicion*, August 14, 1976.



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Bureau has analyzed the economic and social situation. Economic stagnation, accelerating inflation, devaluation of the franc, persisting foreign-trade imbalance and negligence of the government, which does nothing to mitigate the effects of the unfavorable weather — all lead to disastrous consequences. Living standards are deteriorating, the problem of employment remains acute and the peasants' incomes have again been seriously depreciated. At precisely this time the government has announced a series of measures which will worsen the living standards.

The Political Bureau again declares the Communist Party's opposition to any policy which brings down purchasing power and wages and imposes austerity on working people in town and country. It believes that the present problems can be solved by increasing domestic consumption and, consequently, raising the purchasing power of the population.

In view of this the Political Bureau denounces the official demagoguery over the proposed "solidarity" tax that will hard hit the wage earners. Of course, it is a national duty to help the farmers now in their predicament because of the drought. For this reason the Communist Party comes out for taxing the additional profits made by the food manufacturers during the drought and the profits of those who speculate on the franc, and favors drawing on the assets of appropriate organizations, the Common Market in particular.

In the opinion of the Political Bureau, the rumors of a reshuffle in the government indicate that the authorities are facing difficulties as a result of the failure of the unpopular policy of the past two years. These maneuvers by the politicians have only one aim: to find new ways of carrying out the policy of austerity that would place an even greater burden on the working people.

The Communists have always upheld and will continue to uphold

the interests of the working people and of all strata of society fighting for their legitimate demands. To help increase the scale, coordination and effectiveness of this struggle the Communist Party advances several immediate objectives which refute the government's austerity policy and the achievement of which would mitigate the effects of the crisis on our economy and the people's living conditions. The Communists will do their utmost to popularize these objectives and launch a drive to achieve them.

The Political Bureau is satisfied with the initial results of its campaign of solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Following a trip by a delegation of the Communist parliamentary groups, the mission of Communist doctors is promoting the success of the nationwide fund-raising campaign. The Political Bureau is also satisfied with the broadening movement of solidarity on a national and international scale. It will continue to work in this direction and calls on the organizations, activists and elected functionaries of the Party to step up their efforts in order to help the victims of fascist genocide.

The Political Bureau has reviewed the results of the Communist press fund-collecting campaign during the *L'Humanité* festival and states with satisfaction that the number of cells, sections and federations which reached or surpassed last year's figures had increased. These results, which would become nationwide, promise to make the 1976 *L'Humanité* festival an outstanding event in the post-holiday period.

The holiday season that is now ending has seen no let-up in the Party membership drive. The numerous initiatives at enterprises and during rural festivities gave thousands of French people a chance to join the Communist Party. The Political Bureau recommends that energetic and determined steps should be taken to further increase the influx of new members into the Party.

Paris, August 24, 1976.
L'Humanité, August 25, 1976.

FOR EFFECTIVE REBUFF TO IMPERIALIST INTRIGUES AND TURKISH EXPANSIONISM

*Statement by the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Greece*

1. The situation in the region of the Aegean Sea remains dangerous. Representing the interests of big business and militarism and refusing to discuss the problem of the Aegean Sea, the Turkish government continues its provocations against Greece disguised as "scientific" and "geological" research work on the Aegean continental shelf. Ignoring international treaties and decisions of the Law of the Sea Conference, it intends to present the world with a fait accompli and is extending long-standing plans for expansion against Greece.

If this were a matter only of the continental shelf or of the Sismik-1 vessel then it would not have been difficult for Greece and Turkey to arrive at a peaceful and just settlement of their differences in which they would have been supported by the world's peace forces. The issue, however, is much broader for it concerns long-standing U.S. imperialist and Turkish expansionist plans. Turkey's aggressiveness is continuation of the invasion of Cyprus, the result of the betrayal by the junta, supported and encouraged by U.S. imperialism. The aim was to liquidate the non-aligned regime in the Republic of Cyprus and draw the island into NATO.

On the shelf issue Turkish expansionism is backed by imperialism, particularly American, and international monopoly interests who are taking advantage of the situation to enforce their strategic and economic plans in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The Aegean Sea is a link in the imperialist chain of intrigues and interference in the Middle East, Lebanon and Cyprus. Now the imperialist powers are abetting Turkey's chauvinistic plutocrats and militarists and spreading discord over the "Seismic" provocations. They are selling war material to both Turkey and Greece trying to kindle a war between the two nations in order to tighten and extend their hold over the resources there, bolster NATO's shaky positions and U.S. domination of the Aegean Sea to the detriment of Greek, Turkish and Cypriot national independence, and realize their broad plans against the Arab liberation movement and the socialist countries. For these same reasons they are inciting and strengthening the

more reactionary and chauvinist forces in both countries so as to smother the progressive aspirations of their peoples.

Consequently, unless Turkish expansionism and imperialism are rebuffed there can be no settlement of the Aegean crisis.

2. This is not the basis on which the Caramanlis government is trying to resolve the Aegean issue. When it came to power after the disintegration of the perfidious junta and a deal with its leaders and with imperialism, the circumstances forced it to make certain declarations and take steps promising a relatively independent foreign policy, i.e. internationalizing the Cyprus question within the UN framework, stating Greece's withdrawal from NATO's military structure, and more active cooperation with the Balkan countries.

In these two years, however, during which a "new democracy" was being erected as the authoritarian rule of the monopolies, the government went so far as to conclude a base agreement with the United States on April 15, 1976. It is also negotiating with Washington on the question of "modernizing" American bases in Greece which means they will be strengthened and enlarged. It permits the U.S. Sixth Fleet to maneuver in Greek waters and is hastening Greece's entry into the EEC. All this means a tighter U.S. control over Greece, a greater penetration by West European monopolies and bigger opportunities for imperialists to influence domestic policy in a reactionary direction.

The government has also endorsed several anti-labor and anti-popular measures. For instance, although it declares the nation must consolidate and mobilize, the government, nevertheless, does not lean on the working class or on the people who are a key factor in effectively rebuffing U.S.-NATO imperialism and Turkish expansionism. It also gives a free hand to the reactionary forces which pursue anti-popular and anti-democratic aims.

Experience has shown that Atlanticism, on the one hand, and the defense of national independence and territorial integrity and support for Cyprus, on the other, are incompatible and that the imperialists and Turkish chauvinists stand to gain, and Greece to lose, if these problems are considered within the NATO framework or through the "mediation" of the Americans. It would be a national calamity to pursue such a policy.

3. The Aegean crisis will continue and there is a danger that a war will start there. The Greek people are not faced with the choice of "surrender or war." Like every other nation, they want peace and a peaceful settlement of the differences, preserving national indepen-

dence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is only the military-industrial and oil monopolies, those who deal in human lives and the freedom of nations, that are interested in fanning a war psychosis and starting a war.

War psychosis cannot be paralleled with patriotism and is but an attempt to distract the attention of the peoples fighting for democracy and progress in their countries. This is precisely what the Turkish and Greek reactionaries are aiming at.

If the imperialists succeed in starting an armed conflict, then the people of Greece will defend the country's territorial integrity with all the means at their disposal. The current fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece made it clear that our Party would defend the country's national independence and territorial integrity from all imperialist plots.

It is to be supposed that in this case the Greek people will not shed their blood for alien interests, for imperialist and monopoly interests, for acts of betrayal such as were committed by the junta in Cyprus, for strengthening the shackles binding the country to NATO, and restricting their own freedoms.

4. The defense of our territorial integrity and national independence is directly connected with the efforts for peace and a peaceful settlement of the differences. This is in line with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference appealing to all countries to refrain from resorting to force and the threat of force. That is why there is such a wide response to the Soviet Union's stand against the use of force and the threat of force, and for a peaceful settlement of differences between Greece and Turkey.

The government has shown initiative by appealing to the United Nations. This is reasonable as an expression of readiness to arrive at a peaceful solution. However, we are against referring the problem for consideration by the NATO imperialists. As a partial measure, the appeal to the United Nations can, possibly, succeed if it is accompanied by steps to pry the country out of the U.S. -NATO grip and rely on a policy of independence and non-alignment.

The government's approach is different for, rejecting Turkish intrigues, it simultaneously justifies U.S. imperialism's anti-Greek role, claiming it is defending the country. This binds Greece still closer to the United States and NATO. Under the circumstances the CPG disagrees with the government's policy and its methods.

The CPG, for which military blustering is alien, supports a clear and consistent anti-imperialist policy capable of uniting the people

and their armed forces and leading them to success. Such a policy has already dealt blows to imperialism the world over.

This policy can be pursued only by an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic government with the working class as the advanced force.

In the present conditions, notwithstanding its disagreements with the bourgeois political forces, the CPG holds the peoples's interests above all else and believes a basis must be found for joint action by the country's political forces to ease tensions.

This basis could include the following:

Greece (a) would follow a foreign policy of national independence and sovereignty; would work for a peaceful settlement with Turkey based on respect for territorial integrity and national independence; would work for the support of all forces opposing imperialism and violence;

(b) would withdraw from NATO's military structure;

(c) would close down American-NATO bases;

(d) would strive to make the Aegean a zone of peace and peaceful cooperation of nations;

(e) would strive to settle the Cyprus issue at an international conference within the UN framework and on the basis of its decisions;

(f) would follow a democratic domestic policy of patriotic concord; isolate the fifth column — imperialist agents — who opened the doors of Cyprus to the Turkish chauvinists and today are sowing defeatist sentiments in order to again destroy all signs of freedom in the country in the interests of its enemies; ensure the working people greater freedoms, and protect the working people from the greed and subversion of the monopolies.

At this crucial moment the CPG will do all in its power for national and democratic cooperation, for the benefit of the people, democracy and social progress.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

Rizospastis, August 21, 1976.

Athens, August 20, 1976.



NEGOTIATIONS MUST CONTINUE OVER THE CONFLICT WITH SALVADOR

Statement by the Communist Party of Honduras

Events on the border. Communique No. 73 of the public relations department of the armed forces of Honduras, released on July 21 and carried by the news media, is a detailed account of the dangerous events in the border area with Salvador. At three points Salvadoran troops opened fire upon "Honduran military posts." Although only one Honduran soldier was reportedly wounded, it is clear that these are not sporadic actions as in the past, but the beginning of an offensive plan which can lead to war. The communique also says the Salvadoran troops used "submachine guns, machine guns of various caliber and 120 mm mortars never before used in Central America."

The anxiety of the people. The people are deeply concerned over these dangerous events on the border. The seven years of discussions, negotiations and hopes of peace between the two countries have not done away with the threat of a war. The conflict has become so acute that a new war is described as the only solution. It is common knowledge, however, that a war would not resolve any of the problems. On the contrary, the disastrous consequences of an armed clash would aggravate them still more.

The position of our Party. We do not consider a war to be a means of settling our problems with Salvador, nor is it a way out of the situation. We believe that the only way of settling the conflict is by maintaining peace between the two countries and continuing negotiations in conditions of peace, not war.

In a recent statement our Party and the Communist Party of Salvador said that peaceful conditions must be provided in order to discuss the conflict without recourse to armed action. We stressed that the peoples of our two countries do not want war or a continuation of the conflict situation which endangers the stability of democratic and independent development of both countries. We also said that the border conflict should be treated separately from the question of the Central American Common Market (CACM).

Our Party maintains that the CACM is the economic cause of the conflict and war. The conflict has made the neo-colonialist circles desperate. Not because of the problems of demarcation, but over the

delay in resuming the operation of the CACM which they are attempting to present as the Central American Socio-Economic Community (CASEC).

The CACM or the CASEC has never been nor is it today a form of genuine economic integration of the countries of this region where an agreement on real aid and cooperation would serve as a basis for working out a Central American comprehensive development plan for all the countries in this zone. The CACM is an expression of the new neo-colonialist policy of American imperialism aimed at preserving its domination over our peoples, increasing their foreign dependence and keeping them in a subordinate position. The monopolies involved in the CACM "integration" are applying pressure in order to trigger a war. However, war is not what the people want. It is only the monopolies and their cliques that are interested in war for they are the enemies of the people.

Continuation of the conflict has forced both governments to buy new types of weaponry while trying to fool the people into believing that war is the only solution.

This weaponry is extremely costly. The money would be better spent on financing the plans of socio-economic development, retrieving the national wealth to our peoples, buying farm machinery and also to raise living standards. The war and the pressure pursue two aims: to persuade the government of Honduras to re-enter the CACM or else to overthrow it so that the new regime would join the CACM. The problem of borders, although important to the two countries, is not essential to the capitalists and neo-colonialists who oppress the working people in our two countries.

Direct negotiations. Direct negotiations have not ended the conflict. The OAS has shown its inability to resolve the conflict in all its aspects. It only helped to prolong the conflict and led to an arms race in both countries as a result of which this region became a lucrative market for the arms manufacturing monopolies in the United States and other countries. The OAS is absolutely incapable of settling the conflict and preventing a new war. Hence the issue should be taken to another organization which would help find a way out of the impasse and achieve a final solution. We consider the United Nations an organization where other states could help our countries conduct peaceful negotiations and arrive at a solution of the dispute. The discussions should be held in the United Nations, for it is a multinational peace body with a greater participation of the peoples where we could count on the aid so necessary for a peaceful and dignified

solution as could be expected in resolving problems among nations.

We, Communists, insist on a reasonable settlement which would not infringe on our rights and sovereignty. The opportunities for talks are not yet exhausted if we remember that they must be conducted in conditions of peace and not of war.

Communist Party of Honduras.

Tegucigalpa, July 23, 1976.

COMMUNISTS CALL FOR END TO VIOLENCE

Northern Ireland's Communists have called on the Provisional IRA and all others involved in violence in the six counties to end their campaigns.

Only in this way, the Northern Area Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland said in a major statement, could a situation be created in which the mass movement for democracy could really challenge the ultimate cause of the violence — British imperialism's system of repression.

The statement comes at the end of a fortnight in which the Provisional IRA in Belfast launched a widespread series of attacks on commercial property and British military targets.

The statement said that "senseless violence of the past weeks has shown once again that elitist armed actions are a bankrupt response to the repressive policy of the British government."

MAIN CASUALTIES

"They have brought forth a spontaneous demand for peace from the women of Belfast. In this context, the Communist Party would like to put on record its opposition to the present use of violence by those who claim to be part of the movement for national independence."

Such a policy was wrong because "its effects are felt most dearly by the ordinary people of Northern Ireland, whose lives are disrupted and whose friends and relations are the main casualties.

"It gives an easy excuse to the British government to maintain and increase its policy of the denial of democracy and repression.

It allows the most reactionary elements in the British army and ruling class to put pressure on for even more repressive measures."

"MORE ATROCITIES"

"It encourages and provokes Loyalist paramilitary groups to commit even more atrocities against the Catholic section of the working people and to increase their power in Protestant working-class areas."

Therefore, the statement said, "the Communist Party calls on the Provisional IRA, and any other groups involved in violence, to cease fire immediately.

"As at Christmas 1974, this would expose the policies of the British government and enable a mass movement for democracy to face the ultimate cause of violence — the wholesale denial of democracy by the repressive apparatus of British imperialism.

"For the existence of the Emergency Provisions Act, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other legislation is a violence in itself. So is the presence of the British army on the streets, harassing and even killing ordinary people. So is the existence of the unreformed Royal Ulster Constabulary and Ulster Defence Regiment.

"An end to violence would enable peaceful, and hence more effective, political action to develop, aimed at the removal of these undemocratic distortions and the winning of genuine democracy enshrined in a guaranteed Bill of Rights.

"The first step on the road to democracy, and to the ending of British imperialism's control of this area, is the end of violence," the Communists' statement ended.

Morning Star, August 21, 1976.

THE DEPOSAL OF BORDABERRY AND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN URUGUAY

June 12, 1976 saw the end of yet another stage of the dictatorship's internal crisis which led to the removal of Bordaberry from his post. With the intention of creating a wait-and-see attitude among the people, the rightist military leaders, abetted by the U.S. embassy, decided to eschew the services of a man who both at home and

abroad had become known as a champion of the dictatorial regime and had earned the hatred of the people by publicly defending the tortures, the fascist system, ban on political parties, liquidation of democratic freedoms, the policy of impoverishing the masses. Bordaberry's deposal is a forewarning of a final defeat to those who follow his road. There have been virtually no changes since June 12. The fascist terror is continuing and the military leaders themselves confirm the continuity of the dictatorship, a black spot in Uruguay's history, as well as their intention to "institutionalize the Brazilian model" in the country. Moreover, Aparicio Mendez, the new puppet president, expresses his admiration for the Brazilian regime.

1. THE BASIC CAUSES OF THE JUNE 12 CRISIS

Apart from the incidental and formal reasons cited as proof of the contradictions existing between Bordaberry and the military leadership, which undoubtedly played their role, the main cause of the conflict is the continuing crisis of the dictatorship, which is characterized by profound isolation and a weak socio-political base. Besides circles of the financial oligarchy (the so-called "rosca"), the banks, foreign monopolies and big latifundists, nobody supports the dictatorship. Not a single party supports it. It has been unable to win the support of any major social force. Moreover, it is being denounced by the working people and middle sections, and important sections of industrialists, tradesmen and rural producers are discontented with it. On many occasions the Church has come out with criticism against it. The fact that more than a hundred military men are in prison and others have been forced to emigrate reflects the dissatisfaction of the armed forces with the role which they are made to play, particularly that of an army occupying its own country.

During the three years since the June 1973 coup the dictatorship has been unable to consolidate its positions. That is so because it was weakened at the outset by the heroic general strike called on the initiative of the National Confederation of Working People (NCWP) and supported by the Student Federation. For 15 days the plotters lived in fear of it, and by its unwillingness to adapt itself to the dictatorship and its resolve not to give it a minute of respite it made an indelible impression on the attitude of the working class. For three years, despite the terror, the militant stand of the workers and the entire people has been expressed in strikes called by various trade

unions, in the government's defeat at the 1973 university elections, the collection of 70,000 signatures in 1975 demanding a wage increase, in the May Day demonstrations challenging the repressions, in such unanimous actions as the simultaneous putting out of lights in most homes in Montevideo and in some other regions of the country, or in acts of civic disobedience, such as the refusal to make purchases or to come out into the streets. The dictatorship's attempts to set up yellow trade unions failed totally, forcing it to annul its own decree on trade union activity. Knowing that it would be defeated at elections, it was afraid to permit even limited trade union activity.

Three years of economic failure has increased the people's discontent. They ask themselves: Why is there so much bloodshed and suffering? Why the 7,000 imprisoned, thousands of tortured, dozens of killed and the total liquidation of freedoms?

The only thing the dictatorship can boast of is the crisis the country is experiencing, the 1.6 billion dollar foreign debt, the sharp devaluation of the peso (since March 1972 it has been devalued more than 15 times in relation to the dollar), the ruinous trade with other countries, the tax burden to cover the record-level budget deficit) more than 50 per cent of the national budget is spent on the upkeep of the army and police), persistent inflation, growing cost of living, a more than 50 per cent reduction of real wages compared with 1968, the instability of trade and industry, the tax chain tying the rural producers to the big banks which are controlled by foreign capital. There is a similar deterioration in social security — miserable pensions and the threatening prospect of mass evictions from homes in case of non-payment of rent. Such are the results of obediently following the directives of the International Monetary Fund. All this is done for the benefit of foreign capital, to which the doors have been thrown wide open. Things have gone so far that some state enterprises and companies have been partially denationalized — for the benefit of private banks, the only sphere of the economy which has consolidated its positions lately, as the publication *Bancos del Litoral* admits. Vegh Villegas wrote earlier in the journal *Busqueda*: "It is convenient and even indispensable to concentrate profits in the hands of a group with high incomes." But the reverse side of the coin is the emigration of more than half a million Uruguayans who cannot live in a country that is a paradise for the financial "rosca."

Another factor contributing to the dictatorship's weakness is its international isolation, which its close relations with the other bloody dictatorships in the southern cone of Latin America and the racist

rulers of South Africa cannot compensate. World opinion has been shocked by the vicious terror and crimes of the Uruguayan dictatorship and is demanding an end to the tortures and the release of the prisoners. Not only the socialist countries and the most consistent anti-imperialist forces have declared their solidarity with the struggle of our people. In most capitalist countries broad forces, including parliaments and governments, are voicing their protest. Hundreds of thousands of signatures under the petitions demanding amnesty for the political prisoners are being sent to Uruguay. Even many U.S. Congressmen, including members of Congress committees, have expressed their indignation over the trampling of human rights by the dictatorship, which receives economic and military aid from the United States.

The memorandum of Bordaberry and Vegh Villegas and the polemics between the former and the military reveal the difficulties confronting them in their striving to consolidate the dictatorship and to find a way out of the situation. Curiously enough, despite their differences, Bordaberry and Vegh Villegas base their arguments on the same fears. The former, fearing Marxism, did not want to permit the activity of the traditional parties, thereby committing them to inertness. The latter, while advocating a future invitation to these parties, having first deprived their democratically-minded leaders of political rights, declared that otherwise "the field would be left open for the clandestine activity of Marxist groups and, in particular, the Communist Party," and that "liquidation of the traditional parties would help the formation in the near or not so near future of a popular front under Marxist control, which, with the inevitable fall of the military-technocratic government, would sooner or later gain power."

2. THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP REMAINS. ITS AIM: ULTRA-REACTIONARY RESTRUCTURING OF THE STATE APPARATUS

The same "rosca" remain in power, i.e., the financial oligarchy, the most reactionary latifundists, the imperialist monopolies together with the military leadership, its tool, which stands to gain from the present situation. At the same time, according to Ferreira Aldunate's statement in the United States, Siracusa* an initiator of the maneuvers which resulted in the change of president, virtually remains a member of government. Persecutions and terror persist, thousands of

*U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay. — Ed.

prisoners are languishing in jails and barracks, and the brutal tortures which horrify world opinion have not ended. Uruguayans are still seized and killed in Buenos Aires, as evidenced by the killing of Hugo Mendez, the textile workers' leader. A few days after the recent crisis the criminal hatchetmen murdered the heroic student Silvina Saldana, a member of the Communist Youth League. This added to the list of martyrs who have died from torture and on whom the butchers vented their hate because they would not betray their organization and the anti-fascist struggle, because they remained loyal to their people. Besides, after the end of the crisis the dictatorship's sleuths forced their way into the Venezuelan Embassy and forcefully dragged out Maria Elena Quintero de Diaz, a teacher, of whom nothing has been heard since, and also attacked the Embassy staff. As before, there is no freedom, the educational system has been fascisized. After a meeting of the big entrepreneurs and the military leaders, the military arm of the "rosca," it was decided to keep the ban on trade union activity. Restrictions of the press became even sterner, if such a thing is possible.

The dictatorship, following the Brazilian fascist pattern, intends to fundamentally restructure the state apparatus in an ultra-reactionary spirit by means of "institutional acts." Hypocritically hinting at popular sovereignty, it has annulled the elections scheduled for November 1976, promising to hold limited elections some time in the future, in about ten years or so. There are attempts to induce the traditional parties to adopt a wait-and-see attitude, while ordering the assassination in Buenos Aires of Hector Guiterrez Ruiz, a prominent leader of the National Party who before the coup held the post of President of the Chamber of Deputies. Also during this time Senator Zelmar Michelini, representative of the Broad Front, was murdered and Manuel Liberooff, a Communist doctor, was seized and nothing is known of his fate. Moreover, the regime is planning to deprive dozens of leaders of the traditional parties of political rights. Apart from continuing the "anti-Marxist" war, the aim is to emasculate the democratic content of these parties. As Ferreira Aldunate told the Mexican *Excelsior*, "the proposed 'rehabilitation' of the Blanco and Colorado parties would imply a definitive aggression of the government against both traditional political organizations . . ." "The institutional changes are designed to set up an emasculated democracy and serve to strengthen the totalitarian nature of the regime." A group of reactionary generals dictates the country's policies, obediently joining the ranks of a handful of reactionaries and slick members of the

State Council. It is simultaneously pursuing another aim, that of barring the democratically-minded military from home affairs by depriving the military and police of political rights, including the right to vote.

According to the memorandum of Vegh Villegas and other plans that are being nurtured, the idea is to return to the concept of the 1830 Constitution, while liquidating all democratic rights. Envisaged is a Senate without proportional representation and vice-presidents as members for life. A central bank has been set up, headed by a manager to direct the monetary policy together with the consultative committee and with the participation of private banks. Judicial power will be turned into an administrative organ, and 19 departments will be substituted by larger departments, territorially coinciding with the military districts. The solution proposed by Vegh Villegas is that of the "rosca" in power, the traditional parties in their strictly limited capacity, and the armed forces acting as the "supreme arbiters of the nation" and supporting the existing order. Whether these or some other, but equally reactionary plans will be implemented, their aim is to liquidate the last vestiges of democratic freedoms.

3. THE URUGUAYAN DICTATORSHIP IS PART OF IMPERIALISM'S FASCIST PLAN IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Uruguayan dictatorship, an offspring of imperialism, was established with the aim of suppressing the progressive political and social struggle, in order to defeat the relatively strong working class, the powerful popular movement and those trends inside the political parties which developed in a progressive direction. The coup, directed against all democratic forces, civilian and military, the great majority of the clergy, pursued the aim of establishing a regime of total domination by the top oligarchy and imperialism. It is a terroristic dictatorship, defined in his day by Georgi Dimitrov, who stressed that "the accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but the substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie — bourgeois democracy — by another form — open terrorist dictatorship."*

It was not an isolated incident, of course, but was in accord with imperialist plans both then and now. The coup in Uruguay was preceded by the fall of the government of General Torres of Bolivia

*From Georgi Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

who was assassinated recently. Then followed the sinister coup overthrowing the Popular Unity government in Chile, which undoubtedly was of strategic significance. Imperialism, having suffered a defeat in Southeast Asia and recently in Angola, is now confronted with a world where the relation of forces continues to tilt in favor of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in favor of the anti-imperialist forces, the forces of democracy, independence and peace. It reacts also to the consolidation of the Cuban revolution and its enhancing weight on the Latin American continent, to the existence of a nationalist progressive government in Peru, and to the growing opposition it comes up against in various countries of the continent. Imperialism launched a desperate counterattack in South America, according to the plans worked out at a meeting of the commanders-in-chief of the American armies, held in Caracas in 1973. It is dealing particularly hard blows at the revolutionary and liberation movement of the continent in the southern cone of Latin America. Imperialism seeks to create a broad alliance of fascist regimes, a "holy alliance" headed by Brazil, as the editors of *Busqueda* boasted. This alliance will unite the "new fascist dictatorships" with the "old tyrannies" of Central America, which it will try to "modernize" in the same spirit. Unification of domestic policies (economic, social, repressive, anti-communistic, anti-democratic and, finally, fascist) is accompanied by a provocative foreign policy according to the same scenario. Fascism, having penetrated the southern cone of Latin America — and the worsening situation in Argentina completes this picture — seeks to expand to other countries. This is evidenced by the recent reactionary maneuvers in Peru, the attempts on lives in Jamaica and Costa Rica, the plans directed against Venezuela, the conflicts between Honduras and Salvador (Ecuador is next), dispatching of Brazilian troops to the border with Guyana . . . and the permanent anti-Cuban plans. Notwithstanding tactical maneuvers, as for instance Kissinger's hypocritical speech at the recent OAS meeting, or the decision to depose Bordaberry while preserving intact the fascist content of the dictatorship, the United States government continues to give preference to fascism.

The gravity of this continental plan should not be underestimated nor its threat to the cause of peace — considering also the alliance with the South African racists. This threat lies in the desire to establish domination over the South Atlantic and over the substantial armed forces of the South American countries. It will increase if the above-mentioned armed forces are added to those of U.S. im-

perialism. Besides, the persistent declarations by Pinochet and Stroessner and the Uruguayan rulers against peaceful coexistence, against the successes of détente are common knowledge. Isolation and defeat of fascism in America is a historic objective of world importance.

4. THE DICTATORSHIP CANNOT ACHIEVE ITS AIMS

The great danger represented by the counter-offensive of U.S. imperialism, establishment of various fascist dictatorships and the negative relation of forces in the southern cone of Latin America cannot obscure the fact that the social, political and ideological base of imperialist domination is contracting, that the processes going on in the material base of the Latin American countries are sharpening all the contradictions, that there is significant progress in the political consciousness of the broad masses and that the proletariat is playing an ever more important role. "The profound economic, social and political processes generating the stormy events which have shaken our America for more than two decades, are continuing despite setbacks and, in the final analysis, determine the basic trend of development," Rodney Arismendi wrote in a recent work, and added: "That is why the problem of economic and political independence, democracy, social progress and socialism remains on the agenda. The victory of the Cuban revolution, which qualitatively changed the direction of struggle and brought socialism to the Western Hemisphere, and the victory of the Chilean people, in spite of its later defeat, are not accidental phenomena; nor are other events incidental, such as those in Peru, Panama's anti-imperialist demands, or the successes in Guyana, Jamaica and other Caribbean countries, or the resistance to imperialism by the big conciliatory or national-reformist bourgeois governments as in Venezuela and Mexico, and the nationalist position in Ecuador and Honduras. This picture reflects a broad range of deep undercurrents in our countries."

A recent symptom of this situation is the defeat of imperialism in its own camp, the OAS. The Santiago meeting did not favor the imperialist aims of supporting Pinochet's fascist junta, which, on the contrary, was timidly criticized in a corresponding resolution and reproached by some delegations, nor the aim of setting up an inter-America defence council, nor of obtaining open approval of its plans against Cuba, which Foreign Minister Blanco and other puppets had

counted on because of the defeat of the imperialist intervention in Angola.

The peoples of Latin America face a difficult and prolonged struggle where there will be no place for lightminded optimism. However, they should not succumb to fatalism by believing that we are dealing with the inevitable consolidation of fascism in America and the eternal Yankee domination. The broadest unity of the peoples and governments, which do not wish to continue along the disastrous road which threatens both the revolutionaries and democrats in general, is now needed more than ever in order to combat fascism. Fascism can be stopped only by uniting all the forces opposing it. This is a task of continental dimensions, and the struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Uruguay is directed toward this end.

Permanent economic and social factors, combined with the broad popular discontent, are helping to weaken the dictatorship. The contradictions of the country's socio-economic structure have become increasingly aggravated over the past 20 years and the dictatorship has deepened the crisis still more, as was predicted by our Party. Despite the terror, the struggle goes on. The funeral of Gutierrez Ruiz and Michelini turned into a mass demonstration against the dictatorship. To this should be added the strikes of bank employees and at some factories in protest against the killings. The recent strikes at the UTE and ANTEL enterprises, which the dictatorship countered by dismissing 140 workers, the strikes of the meat packing plant workers in Cerro and Canelones and other actions are evidence of the workers' militant spirit. The reprisals could not stop the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League from continuing their struggle.

As we already noted the present rulers seek to complete the restructuring of the country along fascist lines and for a prolonged period. The reactionary Aparicio Mendez declared that after the dissolution of Parliament, interference in university affairs, and the persecutions of Marxists it was necessary to go on to "purging" parties so as to establish a "new order," to last for 30-40 years or half a century. They would like people to believe that the dictatorship is firmly in the saddle, whereas in reality the three years of its existence have been characterized by successive crises, contradictions inside the dictatorship itself and the maturing of new crises. What is most important is that these plans conflict with the unanimous anti-dictatorial sentiments of the people.

Our struggle is prolonged and hard, it demands sacrifices, but

everything depends on whether we are able to unite the broad forces who oppose the dictatorship, which, remaining weak politically and socially, has suffered an economic defeat. Considering these peculiarities of the dictatorship, the possibility of a breach in the fascist structure cannot be ruled out. It could open the way to democratic transformations. The measures being carried out on the insistence of the U.S. imperialists in order to whitewash the fascist dictatorship, like the deposal of Bordaberry for instance, clearly is not one of them. It will always depend on the extent to which the popular masses can use this breach to launch broad actions. Unity will always be a condition for the successful implementation of democratic aspirations.

5. ANTI-FASCIST UNITY TO AVOID BANKRUPTCY AND STOP THE TERROR

The Communists have always been the guiding spirit of resistance to the dictatorship. Their selflessness, heroism and militant spirit have won them the admiration of all the people. In clandestine struggle, conducting illegal propaganda, in close ties with the masses, in the jails and barracks, enduring barbarous torture comparable only to that of the Nazis, the Communists have displayed exemplary ideological firmness and a high revolutionary morale. Other sections of the population have also been subjected to brutal repressions. Since the establishment of the dictatorship the Communists have fought for broad popular unity to include all forces opposing the dictatorship. As far back as August 1973 the Party outlined five basic directions in its work:

1. Raise the struggle, organization and unity of the working class to a higher level.
2. Unite the proletariat with the middle sections of town and country.
3. Unite all political anti-fascist, civilian and military, religious and other forces. Strengthen the Broad Front as the advanced center of this process.
4. With regard to the armed forces, conduct a policy directed at uniting their best representatives with the people.
5. Strengthen our Party, which despite the brutal repressions is the main bulwark of the anti-fascist resistance and the struggle for change in the country.

We continue to adhere to these directives, which along with the 56-year history of our Party, the anniversary of which we are prepar-

ing to mark, is the best answer to the anti-communist Hitlerism, to all kinds of calumny and particularly the charge that we are preparing a "communist armed uprising." The fascists concentrate all their hate and brutality against the Communists. But they have been unable to remove us from the political arena, to cross out our history or to destroy our popular essence. Nor can they under these dirty banners defeat the democrats of Uruguay, all those who come out against fascism, for democracy, for the country's progress.

To combat the dictatorship and destroy it — that is an urgent task. This demands strengthening of the broadest unity on the basis of the minimum program, which includes the common aspirations contained in the NCWP program of struggle and the demands of broad social sections: restoration of democratic freedoms, an independent foreign policy, defence of national wealth, economic measures to combat the crisis and the situation from which the working people, pensioners, small and medium agrarians, cattle-breeders, industrialists and tradesmen suffer. The broadest forces can unite around these demands.

The struggle for the national restoration of the country demands the launching of an immediate campaign on a nationwide and global scale for the release of political prisoners and for solidarity with them and their families. Such a campaign can help to save many lives that are endangered. Here are the names of those who languish in prisons and are subjected to torture: General Liber Seregni, President of the Broad Front, and his comrades Victor Licandro and Carlos Zufriategui; leaders of the Communist Party Jaime Perez, Jose Luis Massera, Alberto Altesor, Jorge Mazzarovich, Luis Tournon, Rita Ibarburu, Eduardo Bleier; trade union leaders Wladimir Turianski, Gerardo Cuesta, Rosario Pietraroia, who are also leading members of the Communist Party. And also the leader of the textile workers Hector Rodriguez, and many others, who have become the banner of struggle of all our people. Tireless struggle for their release is our duty.

In Uruguay, like in other Latin American countries, imperialism is implementing a criminal plan to exterminate the anti-fascist fighters, the leaders of the forces who oppose its plans. We appeal to all honest people, all democratic forces, to join the struggle so as not to permit the perpetration of new crimes and to attain the release of the anti-fascists languishing in dungeons, to express solidarity with all those who are fighting for democracy in Uruguay.

We undertake to carry on a tireless struggle for a broad united front

to save Uruguay. In these times of terror aimed against all democrats, new contingents of civilians and military, believers and atheists, representatives of all political sections, all classes and social groups who stand on firm patriotic positions, see the justice of posing the question in this way and volunteer their experience and energies for the creation of a vast anti-fascist stream, which is our main task at the present moment. Only in this way will Uruguay be freed of fascism!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Uruguay.

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DOCUMENTS

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF GUYANA TO THE 19TH CONGRESS

In its issue No. 15 the *Information Bulletin* carried a brief account of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana. Below are sections of the report by General Secretary Cheddi Jagan, dealing with the international situation and the situation in the Third World countries.

Dear Comrades,

Our 18th Congress enunciated and endorsed the theme that "*To socialism has passed the historical initiative. Its moral prestige has grown and the world balance has shifted in its favor.*"

Today, we are more than ever convinced that events since then have confirmed this view, and that we are now experiencing a further shift in the balance of power in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. There is, both here in Guyana and in the wider world, an even greater awareness and understanding of the dynamic processes of revolutionary change that are taking place.

The explanation for this shift, this awareness and this understanding is to be found partly in the demonstration effect of the spectacular economic and social progress the socialist countries continue to make; it is to be found partly in mankind's will to peace and rejection of war as an instrument of change; and it is also to be found in the emergence and exposure of the inherent contradictions and incapacity of capitalist society to fulfill the needs of the people it has traditionally held in bondage.

Since the victory of the Great October Revolution in 1917, socialism has become increasingly a world system exercising a new and decisive influence for progressive change. It has demonstrated, in

moral and material terms, its superiority over capitalism and its ability to hold the imagination of people and to inspire their day to day activities; it has forged bonds of brotherhood, mutual trust and respect and sown the seeds of progress as no other value-system has done in the history of the world.

In the land of Lenin, perfectly in accordance with the vision of the founders of the Soviet Union, prices are stable while incomes are rising; education and medical services are free, rent amounts to about five per cent of the worker's wage, there is no unemployment, there is security in old age and hope for the youth.

Today more than one-fifth of all goods manufactured in the world comes from the Soviet Union. Industrial output has shown rapid advance, bearing in mind the destruction wrought during the war against fascism and the consequential distortion of the Soviet economy. In 1929, output by the USSR and the USA was of the ratio 5:100; in 1950, the ratio was 28:100 and in 1975 it was 80:100. The Soviet Union now ranks first in the world in production of steel. *We proudly hail the land of Lenin. Marxism-Leninism is invincible.*

The Comecon countries (member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. — *Ed.*) comprise the world's most dynamic economic region having the highest and most stable growth rates. From 1971 to 1975, industrial production increased by 45 per cent. With only 9 per cent of the world's population and 18.5 per cent of its land territory, these countries had as their share about 34 per cent of the total world industrial output at the end of 1975.

In the German Democratic Republic, to take one leading example of the successful construction of socialism, national income increased by 30 per cent between 1970 and 1975. Manufacturing output rose from 172,000 million marks in 1970 to 235,400 million marks in 1975; 609,000 housing units were completed between 1970 and 1975.

These achievements in only two of the countries devastated by war — the Soviet Union and the GDR — make nonsense of the allegations of warlike intentions or preparations by the former, and other countries of the Warsaw Pact. In a world in which men have accumulated the nuclear capacity to blow themselves and the habitable globe to smithereens, peace is seen as an indispensable prerequisite to the construction of socialism. Throughout all the years of tension, the will to peace of people all over the world has shone through brighter each passing year, dispelling the war-clouds assiduously built up by the capitalist war-profiteers. *The socialist countries and Communist Parties have always been in the vanguard of the quest for peace, be-*

cause the victories won for peace can only redound to the benefit of socialism and the further dissemination of socialist ideas.

Since 1973, when the Soviet Union and the USA put into practical application the "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the USSR and the USA" recognizing that "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence," the previous imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail has been defeated.

The growing economic and military strength of the Soviet Union has forced imperialism to reconsider its policies of cold war adventurism. Gone are the days of "rolling back" communism of the Truman Doctrine and the Johnson Doctrine. Gone are the days when imperialism can willy-nilly intervene in a country where a struggle for social change is challenging the status quo.

The process of détente between the Soviet Union and the USA has proceeded apace with the committal made by the signing of several new agreements which limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Cooperation on various matters such as space exploration, energy, medical research and trade has been established. The Helsinki Conference on Peace and Security attended by all the countries of Europe, the United States and Canada has set a permanent seal on the existence of socialist Europe and has drawn up the principles of peaceful coexistence and security in that continent. However, at the same time, reactionary forces, especially in the USA are sparing no pains to attack the policy of détente and to reverse the process of peaceful coexistence embarked upon. It can be seen, therefore, that the forces for peace must be vigilant, and the process of détente must be accelerated. Much more remains to be done.

The proposal of the Soviet Union for the simultaneous disbandment of NATO and the Warsaw Pact must be acted upon. Disarmament must become an attainable goal. This is the only way by which the enemies of peace can be given a firm rebuff. Political détente must be followed by military détente. Let us fight to make détente irreversible.

Capitalism, on the other hand, thrives on war and the creation of tensions. In the era of giant international corporations and financial consortia, crises are bound to develop. However, the present persistent crisis of capitalism is qualitatively of a somewhat different nature than in the past, even up to the immediate postwar years, with the emergence and spread of the national-liberation movements in the former colonial dependencies. Today, the liberated territories and

those still to be liberated are not willing for this relationship of dependency to continue; and in the industrialized countries themselves, Socialists and Communists reject the continuation of plunder and exploitation as a precondition for national prosperity. It is the intensity of the liberation and class struggles, and the battle for men's minds, which have brought about the qualitative change.

But the prerequisites for capitalism's survival are still the maximization of profits and the expansion of spheres of influence, which they are no longer able to satisfy with impunity, or without stresses and strains in the system. One of the end-results of this situation is inflation and permanent crisis. This deepened in 1973 and has spared no major capitalist country and shows little signs of easing.

Industrial output has fallen by an average 15 per cent, unemployment has soared, and trade has decreased by 7 per cent. The economies of some countries (Britain and Italy, for instance) are experiencing tremendous difficulties if not actually retrogressing; stagnation and rampant inflation are continuing facts of life in others. At present, there is no capitalist country which predicts anything but continuing high unemployment and inflation, and a low level of purchasing power.

In the United States, according to the predictions of the Argus Research Corporation, "an optimistic growth rate of 7.1 per cent in 1976 will decline to less than 5 per cent in 1977 and only 2.4 per cent in 1978. 'By this scenario,' says *Business Week* (March 22, 1976) 'unemployment will not average less than 6 per cent for any year for the rest of the decade — and be 8 per cent in the final year, which will be another recession year'."

Capitalism is doomed. Let us pledge to make our own contribution toward hastening its death.

THE "THIRD WORLD" COUNTRIES

In the developing and under-developed, so-called "Third World" countries momentous events have taken place since our last Congress, particularly in the politico-military sphere.

The victory of the MPLA in Angola has brought closer the day when all people of Southern Africa will be free. It has facilitated the sharpening of the guerrilla campaign in Zimbabwe which has already shown that racist Ian Smith and his regime will not last for very long. It has given encouragement to national-liberation movements all over the world. However, particularly in Southern Africa, apartheid allied

to imperialism by myriad economic, political and cultural ties, has shown that it has absolutely no intention of relinquishing its stranglehold over the wealth and lives of the Black population. The bestial face of apartheid again revealed itself in the Soweto massacre.

Soweto brought forth scarcely a ripple of protest from the western countries. The cold-blooded murder of some 150 Black men, women and children by the white supremacists was and is proof to many that the nazi cult of the master race is still very much alive in Southern Africa; that the minority racist regime and its trigger-happy henchmen are prepared to go to any lengths to retain power in order to continue to exploit the majority Black population in their greed for the gold and diamonds and untold wealth of the country; and it also means that such is the nature of the international economic, financial and military tie-up of the western industrial powers with South Africa that the governments of these countries will continue to be complacent about the barbarity of Soweto, however much they may mouth grand sentiments in forums like the United Nations.

This being the case, justice and brotherhood demands that efforts must be intensified to concert new plans, new strategies and tactics with the oppressed masses in Southern Africa, to destroy by all the means available the practitioners of the loathsome system of apartheid, and to identify and deal appropriately with those who support the system in other parts of the world. This is the immediate and urgent task before us, and this Congress must make known its abhorrence of the Soweto massacre and condemnation of the Vorster regime. Let us pledge to work to bring down the fascist Smith and Vorster regimes.

The significant victory of the Angolan people under the leadership of Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA government of Angola, was achieved against formidable odds, first against the Portuguese colonialists and then against the FNLA and UNITA, and mercenaries. These two right-wing splinter forces were supported by U.S. imperialism. Holden Roberto, who led the FNLA, was a long-term hireling of the CIA with headquarters in Zaire, while UNITA was led by Jonas Savimbi, a collaborator of fascist South Africa, and both groups received help from South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and China. The legitimate MPLA-led government was backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, steadfast upholders of proletarian internationalism.

This outstanding example of fraternal assistance and solidarity has nettled imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. The

U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, has uttered dire threats against Cuba, including the threat of invasion, if there are any more similar "adventures"; and Washington has said that the Soviet Union's help to Angola could impair the relaxation of tensions in Europe.

But this Congress salutes the victory of the People's Republic of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA headed by Agostinho Neto. We also praise the Soviet Union and Cuba for their internationalist solidarity. Long live communist solidarity.

Also freed since the revolution in Portugal which overthrew Dr. Caetano are Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique and the peoples of these countries have begun the arduous task of constructing just societies after years of exploitation and neglect by the Portuguese colonialists.

The ancient semi-feudal, semi-capitalist monarchy of Ethiopia has been overthrown and a revolutionary government which has declared socialism to be its aim, has come to power and has moved vigorously to stamp out corruption and carry out a land reform program.

The winds of change blowing across Africa can thus be seen to have achieved near-hurricane strength and to have ushered in, except in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the beginnings of a new era for the Black majority in that continent.

In the Middle East, although hostilities between Israel and Arab countries have ceased, the myth of Israeli "military superiority" has been shattered; but the imperialist-backed Zionist occupation of Arab lands continues and the Palestinian people still cannot return to their homeland.

Israeli militarism continues, with spasmodic raids against Palestinian villages, or alleged hide-outs for PLO forces in the neighborhood of Israel. The latest has been the flagrant violation of Ugandan territory at Entebbe Airport and the killing of Ugandan soldiers. *We condemn the constant and unjustified resort to arms and terror by Israel, and the aggression against Uganda.*

We demand that Israel implements Resolution 242 of the United Nations and vacate Arab lands illegally occupied, and respects the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In Lebanon, however, the situation seems to be deteriorating and gives cause for concern, while American warships hover in the Mediterranean a few miles off-shore. The civil war in Lebanon shows clearly what happens when people suffer continuous and prolonged discrimination and denial of political rights. With the Christian and

Arab forces ranged against each other, the situation is extremely dangerous. Its most obvious effect, apart from the tragic loss of civilian life and the destruction of Beirut, the capital, is the deepening of the already sharp cleavage in the Arab camp throughout the Middle East and North Africa.

This Congress demands the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the establishment of free and democratic institutions in the country. We condemn the right-wing aggression against the progressive forces and population of Lebanon.

In the Mediterranean, Turkey continues to occupy by force the northern half of Cyprus, creating a massive refugee problem for the Greek Cypriots who have been uprooted from their homes. *This Congress supports repeated UN demands for respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all Turkish occupying forces and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety.*

In the Iberian Peninsula, major changes have taken place in Portugal since the Portuguese dictator Caetano was ousted, and in Spain since the death of General Franco. For the people of these countries, so long deprived of their human rights and liberties under these ruthless dictatorships, the changes must surely seem like a bright light at the end of a dark tunnel.

In Western Europe, progressives, Communists and other left and democratic forces are gaining in strength and popular support. We hail these developments which confirm the "swing to the left" and the shift in the balance of power which we have already noted.

At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that imperialism will never willingly relinquish its power and that it will continue to change its strategies and tactics in its struggle to retain its hegemony and dwindling ability to direct and control the lives of peoples all over the world. Its arsenal of weapons range from assassination or attempted assassination of "dangerous" or dispensable political leaders (e.g. Fidel Castro, Nkrumah of Ghana, Sukarno of Indonesia, Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, Trujillo of Santo Domingo and others — the list is long), military coups (e.g. in Chile) and "destabilization" — the new word for the attempt to overthrow legitimate governments — and bribery and corruption.

In all these activities, U.S. imperialism has been in the forefront, using its Central Intelligence Agency, which has been honed to perfection for its varied tasks of murder, subversion and intervention in

the internal affairs of other countries. In the process, attempts are made, often successfully, to silence or cow governments into acquiescence, using various pretexts such as "manifest destiny" or "over-riding national interests."

It is also necessary to note that Maoist China has been objectively aiding imperialism in many crucial issues. In Angola, for instance, Maoist China played a most reactionary role. China sided with U.S. imperialism in backing the traitor Holden Roberto, and the FNLA; it sided with the opponents of the Mujibur Rahman in the wholly justifiable breakaway from Pakistan and the establishment of the new state of Bangladesh, and now with the military regime that murdered Mujibur; in Europe, it sides with the NATO powers and in its propaganda attacks the Soviet Union's sponsorship of peaceful co-existence and détente; and it maintains diplomatic relations with and gives aid and comfort to the savage Pinochet regime in Chile.

In Southeast Asia, the victory of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and especially Vietnam after years of brutal aggression have finally expelled U.S. imperialism from this region. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people, who have now unified the northern and southern portions of their country, is a classic example of national determination and international solidarity. The Vietnamese people have shown that imperialism cannot automatically hold sway and successfully resort to automatic armed intervention against national-liberation movements. The historic victory of the peoples of Indochina now opens up the road to construction of socialism for the entire people. We hail the victory and unification of the Vietnamese Fatherland. Not only has socialism become stronger but it has also expanded. We express our congratulations to the heroic Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples.

In the early 1970s, the anti-imperialist popular movement took a powerful upsurge in Latin America, once the backyard of U.S. imperialism. The Popular Unity Government emerged in Chile, Peronism gained ascendancy in Argentina, Peru began to adopt an anti-imperialist course, Panama claimed sovereignty over the Panama Canal, the OAS became outspoken against U.S. domination and the progressive movement gained support from wider sections of the people. Today, despite the fascist military dictatorship in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, supported by that of Brazil (established by domestic and foreign monopoly capital) which may have temporarily suppressed the aspirations of the peoples of these countries, their will is unbroken. It is becoming ever more obvious that capitalism is com-

pletely incapable of solving the economic and social problems of the peoples of Latin America. New revolutionary battles are maturing on the entire continent, whose peoples are looking toward Cuba, the first socialist country in America, as a shining example. The collapse of the political, economic and military blockade by imperialism against Cuba indicates the change that has taken place in the balance of forces.

From this Congress we say — Hands Off Cuba. From this Congress we declare our active and unreserved solidarity with the Communist and all other anti-imperialist and democratic forces in Latin America. We demand the immediate release of Comrade Luis Corvalan and all other patriots imprisoned in the fascist dungeons in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and other countries in Latin America. Our greetings and solidarity go out to our comrades in Latin American.

“Destabilization” is also being attempted in the English-speaking Caribbean. The situation in Jamaica gives cause for grave concern. The Manley government is under siege (or has been until the declaration recently of a state of emergency) by local reaction supported by U.S. imperialism. Daily killings and arson reminiscent of the situation in Guyana in the early 1960s, were the order of the day. The bullet is replacing the ballot. Imperialism regards the Caribbean and the aspirations of its people with studied contempt and cannot contemplate with equanimity the Manley government even thinking of an anti-imperialist policy.

The capitalist states hope to solve their difficulties by placing the burdens of the permanent crisis on the backs of the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

