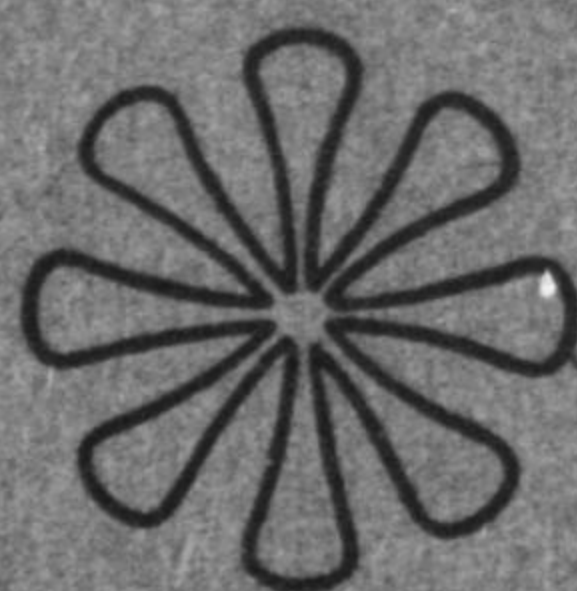


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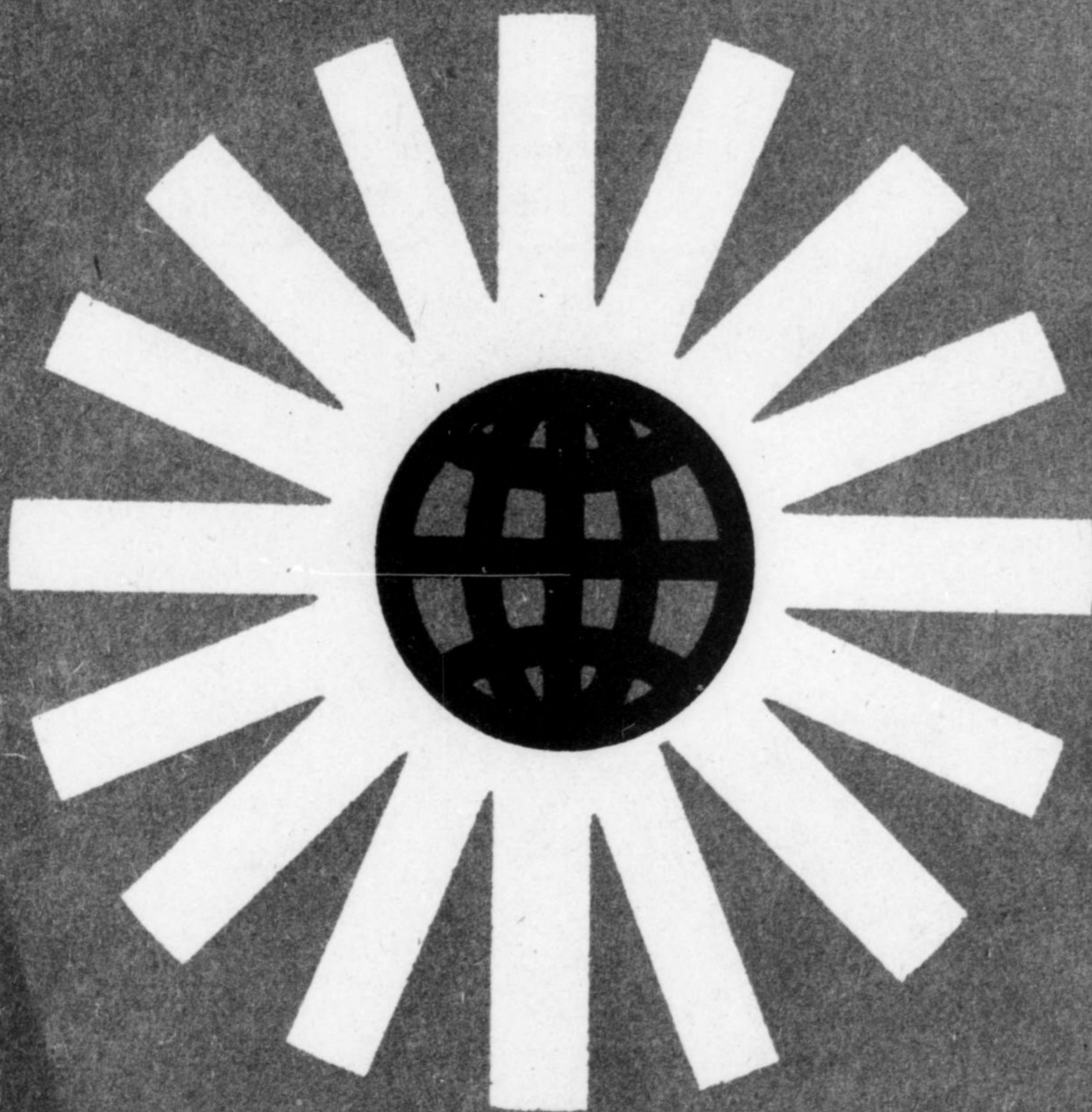
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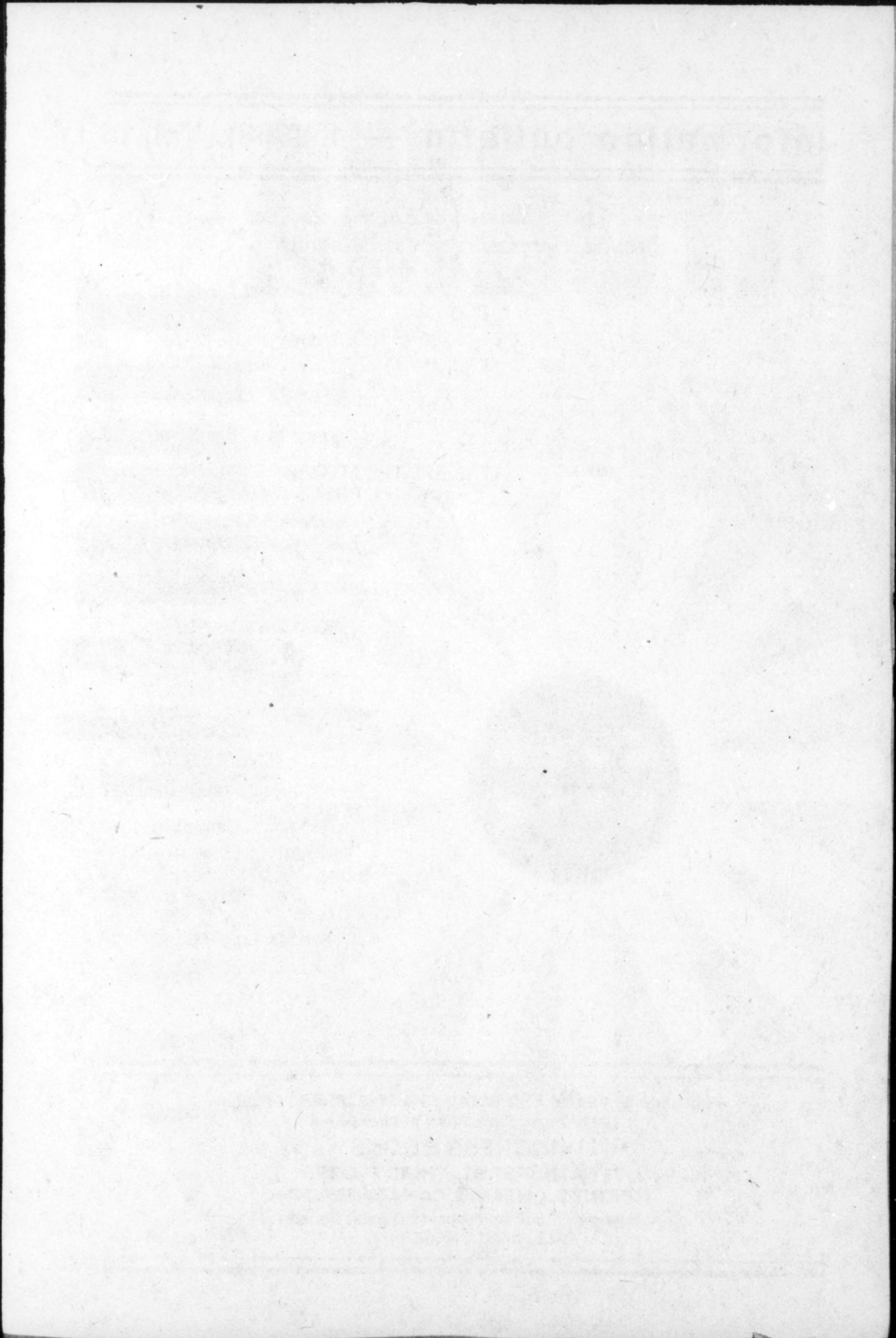
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contents

PRESENTATION OF KARL MARX GOLD MEDAL TO LEONID BREZHNEV	5
--	---

Speech by A. Alexandrov	5
-------------------------	---

Speech by L. Brezhnev	6
-----------------------	---

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE PRESENT-DAY EPOCH	
International scientific- theoretical Conference	9

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

On the situation in the Middle East

A demagogic spectacle	25
-----------------------	----

For just and lasting peace, for Geneva!	26
--	----

To public opinion in the Arab East and across the world	27
--	----

Colombia

The national strike — a battle won by the people	30
---	----

Italy

Speech by Luigi Longo	37
-----------------------	----

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Mexico	
The President's report and the political situation	41
Uruguay	
Message of First Secretary Rodney Arismendi	48
FROM THE PRESS	
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Statistical data	53
In brief	55

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PRESENTATION OF KARL MARX GOLD MEDAL TO LEONID BREZHNEV

On November 16 the Karl Marx Gold Medal was presented to L. Brezhnev at a ceremony in the Kremlin. The medal was presented by Academician A. Alexandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Academician A. Alexandrov delivered a speech at the presentation ceremony.

SPEECH BY A. ALEXANDROV

Dear Leonid Ilyich,

By unanimous decision, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has conferred upon you the Academy's highest award in the realm of social sciences, the Karl Marx Gold Medal.

This highest award of the Academy of Sciences has been conferred upon you, an outstanding leader of the world communist and working-class movement, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of our country, for your exceptionally great contribution to the development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in present-day conditions.

Your elaboration of urgent problems of a society of developed socialism and the upbuilding of communism in the USSR, of problems of the development of socialist democracy and the Soviet state have been laid down in the basis of a highly important document of our time, the new Constitution of the USSR, in the creation of which the entire Soviet people took part and into which you put so much effort.

In your works, the Leninist principles of the internal and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state are profoundly brought out and concretized conformably to our days, the experience of communist construction in the USSR is scientifically summed up, the ways of uniting the world socialist community on the principles of Marxism-Leninism are elucidated, and a deep and creative analysis is made of complex problems of the modern world.

Our people and progressives throughout the planet highly appreciate your firm adherence to real humanism, expressed, above all, in the consistent application and development of the Leninist policy

of peace, in working for the reduction of tension, and for social progress. Your sincere and energetic efforts for peace are reinforced by your profound conviction of the need of excluding wars from the life of mankind, by the conviction of a man who has gone through the battlefields of a bitter war against fascism.

You, Leonid Ilyich, show constant concern for the enhancement of the economic strength of our country and of the whole socialist community, for the speeding up of scientific and technical progress, and for raising the effectiveness of the whole of our national economy.

The review of results, presently being conducted everywhere in our country in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, shows the great advantages of our social system, meeting most fully the interests of the people. In the doubling of the economic potential of our country over the last decade, in the winning of first places in the world in the level of education and culture, and in the scale of several key industries and a number of major scientific and technical achievements we see your substantial personal contribution, which is especially valued by the scientists of our country.

The party, its Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and you personally consistently pursue the Leninist policy of development of science, which is increasingly becoming a productive force of society. You deeply understand, in the Leninist way, the need for the harmonious development of basic and applied sciences, and their role for progress in science and technology. In the report to the 25th Congress you said: "It is the party's policy to continue showing tireless concern for the promotion of science."

The great honor and pleasure have fallen to my colleagues and me to present to you, dear Leonid Ilyich, this highest award of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to congratulate you most heartily, and to wish further successes in your versatile and difficult work for the good of our people, of all progressive forces on earth!

SPEECH BY L. BREZHNEV

Dear comrades,

Allow me to express my profound gratitude to the USSR Academy of Sciences for the honor accorded — the award of the Karl Marx Gold Medal.

I feel especially moved by this distinction because it is connected

with the name of one of the greatest thinkers, with the name of the person who devoted his brilliant mind and unshakable conviction wholly to the struggle to emancipate the men of labor, for their freedom and happiness.

For more than a century now the immortal teaching of Karl Marx has been an inexhaustible source of strength and staunchness for the working class and all working people in their battles against the exploiters, for social emancipation and national liberation.

Sixty years ago the teaching of Marx, developed and enriched by the scientific genius and revolutionary passion of Lenin, having gripped the minds of millions, led to the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in our country, heralding the establishment of a new world on the earth — a world of socialism.

In our days, in the conditions of developed socialist society, it has become our good fortune to carry further the historic work started by the founders of scientific socialism, to carry it along the road of building communism.

Soviet people — the builders of the most just and humane society in the history of mankind — have every reason to consider themselves the heirs and continuators of the great cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And our efforts are not only of national, but also of tremendous international significance.

This was demonstrated with fresh force and clarity quite recently during the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. In the Soviet Union they were attended by delegations of our friends, like-minded people, our class brothers, comrades in the struggle for freedom and lasting peace, who arrived from 104 countries. And outside our Motherland too the jubilee of the October Revolution was observed in one way or another by working people in practically all countries.

This is a great honor, comrades, and it imposes a high responsibility both on us leading workers of the party and the state and you men of Soviet science, as well as all working people of the Soviet Union.

We have bright horizons and clear objectives before us, and we know well the road leading to them. Successful advance along that road requires work — persevering, tireless and creative work, requires the highest degree of discipline and unity of the party and people, cemented by the invigorating Marxist-Leninist ideas.

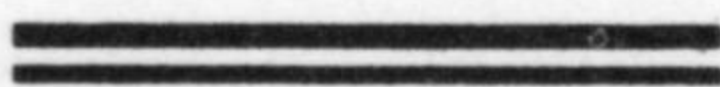
“The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true,” said Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He stressed time and time again that Marxism

is not a fossilized dogma, but a living creative teaching, deriving its strength from life, from social practice.

I should like our scientists, no matter what sector of science they may be working in, always to remember these behests of Lenin and to be guided by them. It will be a sound guarantee of new great successes, which I wholeheartedly wish the Soviet scientists whose work is becoming with every year increasingly important for the life of the whole people, for the development of our society.

Once more I extend my hearty thanks for the honorary award. In it I see a recognition of the outstanding role of the collective reason of our party, its Leninist Central Committee in developing the revolutionary theory and in working out a strategy of struggle for the triumph of the cause of communism!

Pravda, November 17, 1977



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THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE PRESENT-DAY EPOCH

*International Scientific-Theoretical Conference
in Moscow*

An international scientific-theoretical conference "The Great October Revolution and the Present-Day Epoch" was held in Moscow over November 10 to 12. It was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Higher Party School of the CPSU Central Committee. The representatives of more than 70 communist, workers', and national-democratic parties took part in the work of the conference.

The conference was opened by CPSU Central Committee secretary M.V. Zimyanin. Mikhail Suslov, Political Bureau member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made the introductory speech.

History knows of no event comparable to the Great October Socialist Revolution, he said. The ground for it was laid by the entire development of world capitalism at its monopoly stage. It was the natural outcome of the class struggle of the proletariat, an embodiment of the lofty ideals of the working people. The October Revolution radically changed the destinies of our country, heralding a new epoch in world history — the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the revolutionary transition to socialism and communism. The victory of the socialist revolution, as Karl Marx put it, concludes the pre-historic period of human society. And we have every reason to say that the triumph of the October Revolution marked the beginning of mankind's genuine history.

The Great October Revolution released tremendous forces of social progress which in a historically short period changed the face of our planet beyond recognition. The October Revolution became the banner of the peoples building socialism and communism, an inspiring example to the working people in all countries waging a struggle against the yoke of capital.

The experience of the victorious socialist revolutions in Europe,

Asia and Latin America, for all their variety, bears out the veracity of Lenin's idea that the basic features of the October Revolution will inevitably be repeated on an international scale.

The main result of the Great October Revolution, of the entire world revolutionary process has been a society of real socialism existing in the USSR and some other countries. It has been created by the working people, in the interests of the working people and embodies the future of all mankind.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, have translated into reality the plans of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that genius of the revolution, and built a developed socialist society — now the highest achievement of social progress. The adoption of the new Soviet Constitution, which has legislatively recorded the achievements of mature socialism in our country, clearly demonstrating its fundamental superiority over capitalism, has become an event of outstanding historical significance.

Developed socialism is also being built by the peoples of the fraternal countries, who demonstrate to the world the boundless creative possibilities of labor freed from exploitation. The community of socialist states, continuing the cause of October, has become a powerful factor of social progress, an indomitable bulwark of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The October Revolution clearly and comprehensively revealed the world-historic mission of the working class, a class capable of forming a militant party and under its leadership head the working masses in the destruction of the exploitative system and in building a new society, a society free of exploitation. The October Revolution inspired the revolutionaries in all countries, and gave a powerful impulse to the international working-class and communist movement.

The Great October Revolution opened up before the oppressed colonial peoples real prospects of national-liberation struggle. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism and the emergence and growth of the socialist world system led to a powerful upsurge in the movement for national independence which ultimately resulted in the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, and in the establishment of young states, many of which opted for the socialist orientation.

The six decades of the October Revolution are glorious chapters in the annals of our Homeland, stages in its turbulent and dynamic growth, Suslov continued. The specific features of the sixth decade of Soviet power are of historic significance. This period saw the redou-

bling of the country's economic potential, the launching of a sweeping re-equipment of industry, the raising to a qualitatively new level of the material and technical base of agriculture, and an increase in field and farm productivity. A most far-ranging program designed to improve the material and spiritual well-being of the people has been implemented.

The efforts aimed at implementing the objectives put forward by the 25th Party Congress, discussion and adoption of the Soviet Constitution, the preparation for a celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution rallied the Soviet people still closer around the Leninist party, clearly showing that the party is honorably redeeming its role of political leader of the Soviet people.

The enhanced influence of the party and its growing leading role is a major feature of our social progress. The experience of real socialism has definitely proved that the objective necessity of consciously directing socio-economic and political processes, evidenced already at the initial stage of the struggle for socialism, gains in urgency in the period of socialism's growing over into communism. This can be effected only by the party of communists, which constitutes the organizing nucleus, the core of the entire socio-political life of the country.

The CPSU is the political vanguard of the working class and the entire Soviet people, uniting its best representatives. The party has accumulated a wealth of experience in the political guidance of the working masses, has learned to arouse the vast creative energies of the masses and to direct them in solving the most complex and urgent problems of the country's development.

Over the years of struggle and labor the Soviet people have become convinced of the party's boundless fidelity to the interests of the working people, of the correctness and wisdom of its policy. Our people fully approve and support the Leninist policy of the CPSU and take pride in the victories won under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee headed by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist.

In all its political and organizational work the CPSU is guided by the most advanced theory, Marxism-Leninism, and by its knowledge of the laws of social development. Six decades of the triumphant march of socialism irrefutably proves the vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory, its correctness and superiority over the various "theories" of the social-reformists and revisionists, who are capable of "building" socialism only on paper.

Marxism-Leninism is a scientific theory expressing the fundamental interests of the working people. Only socialism, embodying the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, can resolve the vital problems for the solution of which the working masses throughout the world have been battling for centuries. Herein lies the attractive force of the ideas of scientific socialism for hundreds of millions of working people in all parts of our planet.

The CPSU is working persistently to develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to steadfastly translate it into life.

Our party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau headed by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, have contributed substantially to the development of the theory of communist construction in recent years. On the basis of a scientific analysis of socialist reality the party has arrived at fundamental conclusions on building a developed socialist society in the USSR, defined its most important features, characterized the economic and political system of a mature socialist society, the conditions for and ways of building communism. The theoretical elaboration of the concept of developed socialism has been effected by our party together with the fraternal communist and workers' parties and constitutes a notable creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The CPSU has made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the entire historical process of the growing over of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a socialist state of the whole people, a state expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, and indicated the directions for developing public self-government, which will be fully established in classless communist society.

Revealing the profound content of the communist ideal — "the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all" — our Leninist Party has shown that socialism, in ensuring the political freedom and rights of all citizens, creates the necessary real conditions for the consistent all-round development of the individual, the application of his creative efforts, abilities and talents for the good of the entire society.

The social practice of real socialism is developing and it advances new vital problems to which Marxist-Leninist science must provide an answer, Suslov went on to say. Some of these are solved immediately, inasmuch as they determine the pace of our forward march, the successful realization of state plans. These problems

involve combining the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, of translating this scientific proposition into practical applied solutions, the search for optimal methods of raising the effectiveness of social production and quality of work, and of improving the management and planning of our economy.

The major theoretical problems include those linked with the progress toward a homogeneous social structure, with the ever greater strengthening of its unity, the ever closer drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country. The working class, as always, has the leading role to play in this process. Equally important for us are the problems of social consciousness, of moulding a new man. "One of the primary tasks," Leonid Brezhnev said in a recent speech, "is to foster in our citizens the urge to attain high social goals, a high standard of ideological conviction and a truly creative attitude to work. This is where a very important front line runs in the struggle for communism, and the course of economic construction and the country's socio-political development will increasingly depend on our victories on this front."

In its theoretical and practical activity, the party organically combines the fulfillment of current tasks with long-range goals.

The solution of the theoretical tasks posed by the present stage of mature socialism is of enormous international significance. The theoretical work of the CPSU and other fraternal parties reveals the common features in the building of communist society and shows the way to resolve the problems, which will inevitably face the working people of other countries embarking on the road of building a new society.

By virtue of its content, motive forces and development prospects, the present epoch, ushered in by the October Revolution, is the most revolutionary epoch in the history of humanity, and throughout its entire 60-year period has been characterized by a sharp struggle between capitalism and socialism, Suslov said further.

The features of the present confrontation of the two social systems are determined by the fact that as a result of the radical change in the balance of world forces the historical initiative has passed to real socialism, whose superiority is being revealed ever more broadly and convincingly. Leaning on their all-round and strengthening cooperation, the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries are successfully guiding the process of grandiose social transformations, the advance to a developed socialist society, to communism. The

scientific basis of this guidance is the Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively applied and developed by them in their countries with due account for concrete conditions. Growing importance attaches to their joint creative elaboration of problems relating to the present stage of development of real socialism, the world revolutionary process, the increasingly regular exchange of views and experience between the fraternal parties and collective analysis of the new phenomena and world developments.

Year by year the common international positions of the socialist countries gain in strength and their impact on the course of world developments is growing stronger and deeper. Thanks above all to their coordinated efforts major positive changes have taken place in the sphere of international relations, with a turnabout from cold war to a relaxation of tension.

Détente is an important condition and at the same time a component of social progress. The fundamental interests of the peoples, the very existence of modern civilization are linked with détente and the establishment of a firm peace. That is precisely why the ensurance of peace is the content of our Program of Struggle for Peace, Security and Cooperation, adopted by the 24th and developed by the 25th Congresses of the CPSU. For the first time in history the struggle for peace has been raised to the rank of a constitutional principle and inscribed in the new Fundamental Law of the Land of Soviets.

The consistent peace policy of the socialist community states does not signify "class peace" with capitalism, but stems from the humanistic nature of socialism.

It is only natural that in the struggle of the two opposing systems success goes to socialism — the system which is consistently and vigorously working for peace, to rule out war from the life of human society for all time.

Peace and détente shackle the most brazen forces of international reaction, facilitate the development of liberating democratic movements and create favorable conditions for the social progress of all mankind.

Present-day development clearly shows that world socialism is on the upgrade, developing dynamically. Working people the world over are looking with growing sympathy to real socialism as the embodiment of their aspirations and hopes. They rightly see it as a society of genuine freedom and democracy, real humanism and social optimism. World socialism determines the main direction of humanity's social progress.

At the same time capitalism, torn by irreconcilable contradictions, is step by step ceding its positions under the powerful onslaught of the forces of progress, despite the bourgeoisie's efforts to prop it up. Mikhail Suslov emphasized: Capitalism has demonstrated its inability to resolve a single cardinal social problem agitating mankind today.

International reactionaries of every hue are stepping up their struggle against socialism, resorting to ever more subtle ploys and methods. They have launched a political and propaganda campaign under the false slogans of "defense of human rights," "freedom," "democracy."

Obviously this whole strident "human rights" slander campaign is in fact an attempt by capitalism's proponents to disguise its anti-democratic character, to divert the attention of the working people in their countries and the world public from the profound crisis of bourgeois society.

In conclusion, Mikhail Suslov said: The world revolutionary process is growing irresistibly. The international communist movement, which originated from the October Revolution, is in the van of the revolutionary struggle. Formed and strengthened under the impact of its ideas, the world communist movement has grown into the most massive and influential political force of our time, a major factor of world development.

Particular importance at present attaches to the tasks of strengthening the international solidarity of the communists. Proletarian internationalism is a basic prerequisite of the further successes of the world working-class and communist movement. In present-day conditions the social base of the anti-imperialist forces has broadened and the role of internationalism and the sphere of operation of its principles have increased. Therefore a special responsibility devolves on the communists to strengthen the unity of their ranks, to develop international solidarity and the cohesion of all forces of the world revolutionary process.

In the new conditions resulting from the favorable internal and international situation, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class faces enormous and complex political tasks. These include: a correct combination of the immediate aims of the working people with the struggle for the socialist perspective; further strengthening of communist ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, achieving unity of the left forces and forming a massive anti-monopoly coalition; combining the struggle waged by the communist parties for the interests of the working people of their countries with fulfillment by

them of their internationalist duty, mutual support of the communists of various countries in conditions when there is no single international center and the parties act independently and sovereignly, and permit no interference in each other's internal affairs.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Suslov cordially welcomed the participants of the international theoretical conference devoted to the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and wished them success in their work.

Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report "The World Historic Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

The epochal significance of the October Revolution and the subsequent achievements of socialism for the peoples, for the international working-class movement and world development as a whole, he said, was clearly revealed in the comprehensive report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, an outstanding Leninist type leader, at the jubilee session in the Kremlin, and in the speeches of the leaders of the socialist states, communist parties, leaders of the young independent states, and representatives of the national-liberation movements. These speeches clearly show that the ideas of the October Revolution are eternally young, that today too they inspire fighters for the freedom and happiness of the working people. And each new generation of revolutionaries finds in the universal experience of the first victorious socialist revolution, the first experience of building socialism an inexhaustible source for drawing conclusions and lessons, for understanding of the laws and motive forces of revolution and progress.

Today, Boris Ponomaryov emphasized, we have every right to say that the post-October era has clearly and conclusively asserted itself in the history of mankind. It is characterized above all by the irrepressible advance of human society toward socialism. Socialism is now being realized in a large group of countries in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Life gives rise to new concepts, new terms. Thus the concept "real socialism" has appeared. In revealing its content, the speaker characterized the main features and criteria of real socialism (economic, political, social, ideological, moral, cultural). Socialist society is the

result of active, vigorous creative effort of the popular masses themselves under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the practical embodiment of the ideas of scientific socialism.

The sum total of the basic, fundamental features of a socialist system are most fully and tangibly expressed in developed, mature socialism. It is, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, "that stage of maturity of the new society at which the restructuring of the entire system of social relations on the collectivist principles intrinsic to socialism is being completed." The new Constitution of the USSR proclaims and confirms precisely those socio-economic, political and moral principles of the organization of society and the state which are characteristic of developed socialism. The principles inscribed in the Constitution open up the prospect of continual improvement of the political system of socialism, and the ever broader participation by the citizens in running the affairs of the state and society and, ultimately, implementation of the party's programmatic provisions on communist self-government. Not a single bourgeois constitution contains or can contain all of this.

Socialism, Ponomarev continued, as a socio-political and economic reality, increasingly displays its growing role in world development. In this connection he characterized the main directions of socialism's impact on humanity's development.

The great importance of the October Revolution, the speaker said, consists in that its victory wrought a qualitative change in the age-old problems of human history — the problem of war and peace. From the first fundamental document of Soviet power — Lenin's Decree on Peace, and up to the new Soviet Constitution — the entire 60-year history of the Soviet state clearly shows, in the words of L.I. Brezhnev, that "the first state of victorious socialism has for all time inscribed on its banner the word 'peace' as the highest principle of its foreign policy, responding to the interests of its own people and all other peoples of the planet."

In the rocket-nuclear age, the Soviet policy of peace is of truly vital importance for the peoples, for humanity as a whole. To curb the forces of imperialist aggression, which launched the cold war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to avert the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe, and to attain détente — all this was an incredibly complex affair. It required colossal effort and enormous outlays. After all, the point was to counter the operation of factors immanent in imperialism, stemming from the foundation of its economy and policy, which over a long period of time, in conditions

of the domination of monopoly capital, inevitably led to world wars.

The Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress played an outstanding role in the struggle against the military threat. Now our party is implementing the Program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and the independence of the peoples drawn up by the 25th Congress. Acting in close coordination with the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union has advanced a truly all-embracing platform in this respect. Boris Ponomarev characterized in detail Soviet initiatives in the sphere of disarmament, stressing in particular the importance of the new proposals set forth recently by Leonid Brezhnev, which met with a broad international response.

The positive changes in international relations, the speaker continued, have not changed and cannot change the nature of imperialism. The aggressive militarist circles are making one attempt after another to undermine détente. The development of new types of mass destruction weapons and means of their delivery: neutron bombs, cruise missiles, etc., is most alarming. There is a growing danger of a fresh round of the arms drive and of revival on a new level of the nuclear war threat. The arms drive in the NATO countries has reached an unprecedentedly high level and is opposing political détente.

But international events over recent months attest to more than that. They have again demonstrated that the development of détente rests on powerful objective tendencies, that a considerable margin of safety has been attained in this respect. In sum, the viability of the firm line of the socialist countries aimed at safeguarding and consolidating détente, has been proved.

The opponents of détente are stepping up efforts not only in the sphere of armaments production. The "psychological war" against the socialist countries reached its height in 1976 and early 1977. The slanderous propaganda campaign conducted under the false slogan of defense of freedom and human rights, has a many-pronged aim. Directly, and more often indirectly, it serves the policy of the arms drive with all its consequences. The anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaigns are designed to turn the masses away from socialism, drive a wedge between the socialist countries and the peoples in the West and to justify the military preparations against socialism.

The efforts of the imperialist circles — and the Peking leadership acting in unison with them — aimed at splitting the ranks of the forces opposed to imperialism, have acquired unprecedented scope. For this

purpose, bourgeois ideologues often attack socialism under the guise of defense of the ideas of "humanistic," "democratic" socialism. The apologists of capitalism must be in a bad way if they expose themselves to ridicule by their defense of a "better socialism" than what really exists.

Unfortunately, however, the bourgeoisie sometimes manages by deceitful ploys to befuddle a part of the population. That is why the principle of solidarity is not just a theoretical problem or a problem of relations between the communist parties. It is directly linked with détente, with the prospects of averting war. Whenever in one or another capitalist country the broad public, the popular masses are truthfully informed about the situation in the socialist countries, about the Soviet Union and its policy, this has also a definite effect on the ruling circles, and those who nurture aggressive intentions are compelled to think twice before giving rein to their ambitions. For they may come up against the anger and indignation of their own people, who know the truth and will not be duped. The so-called criticism of the socialist countries, on the other hand, is conducive to a distorted view of their aims and policies, weakens the masses' resistance to the aggressive designs of the reactionaries, and lessens the fear of these circles in the face of their peoples, should they attempt to launch war.

It is no exaggeration to say that never yet have the world's anti-war forces been as powerful as they are now. Never yet has the potential of the worldwide struggle for peace reached such proportions. But for these forces to make their much needed contribution to the cause of consolidating détente and curbing the arms drive, to genuine disarmament, vigorous and concerted actions and initiatives are needed, above all by the communist parties, the vanguard of the workers' movement.

The document of the 1976 Berlin Conference is a sound basis for such actions. Obviously, what is required is broader and more vigorous use, in the practical struggle, of the ideas and proposals jointly formulated in it by the fraternal parties. The Berlin platform, as is known, was worked out with due consideration of the fact that with the passage of time the dialectical interconnection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for social progress, between the struggle for peace and internationalist cooperation of the communists of all countries, will continue to grow.

The communist movement is going through a significant stage of its development, abounding in major events and new opportunities. On the whole as an international force it is on the upsurge. This applies

also to the parties carrying on a complex and hard struggle in the citadels of capitalism.

In such periods, Ponomaryov went on, when new developments are striking the eye at every turn and theoretical thought faces a host of problems on the solution of which hinge the immediate destinies of the revolutionary process, Lenin's call for a scientific, Marxist approach to sweeping historical changes is more topical than ever. The continuity of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy reflects the objective internationalist unity of the world historical process and the deep-going interconnection between its various stages.

The CPSU has always followed with close interest and respect the fraternal parties' search for specific ways of building socialism, with account for the peculiarities of their countries and their own experience. The all-round, exact and well thought-out knowledge of the experience accumulated by the revolutionary forces in the past in different countries and in varying conditions, both by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties and the parties directly engaged in struggle against capitalism, has always been an indispensable condition of elaborating and implementing a correct policy, of a genuine creative and effective approach to new problems.

The CPSU is not imposing on anyone its conclusions drawn from its own vast experience and from the international experience of present-day socialism. We are convinced, however, that life and revolutionary practice incontestably confirm again and again the existence of fundamental, inalienable features of socialist revolution and socialist construction in any country. These features were formulated concisely and in a theoretically generalized form in Leonid Brezhnev's report "The Great October Revolution and Human Progress."

The achievements and growing ideological-political potential of the communist movement, Ponomaryov noted, are obviously disquieting our class opponent. The coordinated subversive campaign against the fraternal parties, against our movement as a whole has become an increasingly important part of imperialism's global strategy. It is resorting to every means, including brutal repressions, provocations by fascist-type anti-communist thugs and by the leftists, the persecution of progressives, for instance with the aid of the notorious *Berufsverbot* (ban) on employing progressives in the FRG and, of course, the persistent massive pressure through the mass media.

The class opponent seeks to use in its own interests the fact — a natural phenomenon — that the substantially differing conditions in

which the fraternal parties are working, their different political opportunities, immediate aims and objectives also engender differences in approach to one or another question. To wedge in on the discussion of these questions, to seek to turn the distinctions into disagreement, and disagreement into a split — that is the chief aim of the present anti-communist campaigns, particularly the strident propaganda around the bourgeois-invented concept of “Eurocommunism.”

Therefore it is particularly important today that the broad comparison of viewpoints and experience of various parties and comradely discussions between communists should proceed on a principled basis, in the spirit of mutual respect, while unfailingly taking account of each other's interests, that is, in point of fact, the common interests of our movement. “Whatever routes may be chosen,” Leonid Brezhnev said, “the ultimate mission of the communist parties is to lead the masses to the principal goal, to socialism. The experience of the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution has shown that changes of tactics, compromises in order to win new allies, are quite possible in revolutionary practice. But we have also become convinced of something else: under no circumstances may principles be sacrificed for the sake of tactical advantage.”

Smearing the glorious historic road of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, ignoring their experience and services to the revolutionary movement — whatever the motives for such an approach — ultimately turn against those who seek to capitalize on it. To resort to such methods means to weaken and undermine the peoples' belief in the socialist transformation of the world, to erode the prestige of socialism.

The Soviet communists, loyal to their Leninist internationalist traditions, invariably display solidarity with the activity of their brothers-in-arms in the capitalist countries, express warm sympathy with them and wish them new successes in the struggle for the interests of the working class, of all working people. On the other hand, the internationalist position of our class brothers abroad, their solidarity with our efforts serve as an important stimulus in the labor and political activity of the Soviet people, facilitate solution of the problems arising in socialist society, and are a substantial moral and political support for us.

The speaker touched on a number of urgent problems of the national-liberation movement, noting that it is beginning to relate ever more closely to the theory of scientific socialism. And this creates

better conditions for the states which emerged from this movement to take the road of socialist transformation.

Noting the deepening and expansion of the content and forms of internationalist solidarity of the working people in the post-October epoch, Boris Ponomaryov emphasized that the term "proletarian internationalism" is not out-dated, that it today too correctly points to the origin of internationalism, to its class roots, to its chief and most consistent bearer. The working class rallies to its ideas all working people in the struggle against their exploiters and oppressors.

The report contains a detailed substantiation of the thesis on the growing practical significance of international solidarity of the communists and progressive forces. Never yet have the conditions of struggle in the national framework depended to such an extent on the relation of forces on the world arena, on the international activity of the socialist countries, on the activity of all contingents of the world anti-imperialist movement.

At the same time, the share of international objectives in the work of each fraternal party is growing. The main task is to launch an extensive campaign for the prevention of a world war, for the consolidation of universal peace, against the arms drive, against the aggressive actions and plans of imperialism.

The need for internationalism is also prompted by the fact that monopoly capital is now increasingly seeking to pool efforts on an international scale and to coordinate its struggle against the revolutionary forces.

Undoubtedly the community of views of the fraternal parties on a broad range of vital issues relating to the struggle for peace, détente and social progress constitutes a sound basis for furthering and strengthening the internationalist unity of action of the communists.

On entering the seventh decade of the October epoch, Boris Ponomaryov said in conclusion, the Soviet people, headed by their Leninist Party, are optimistically and confidently looking to the future. The indomitable social forces which have been awakened and are being inspired by the October Revolution are seeking and finding solutions to the vital problems of the times on the road indicated and illuminated by that revolution.

Pravda. November 11, 1977

Other speakers at the conference were: Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA; Grisha Filipov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba and Deputy Chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba; Dezso Menes, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and editor-in-chief of *Nepszabadsag*; Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile; Nguyen Khanh Toan, Chairman of the Committee for Social Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Andrzej Werblan, Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party and head of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC PUWP; Georges Cojriot, Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Maurice Thorez Institute of the Central Committee, French Communist Party; Josef Havlin, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Yogendra Sharma, Secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India; Leonte Rautu, member of the Political Executive of the Central Committee, Rumanian Communist Party and Rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; Sandagiin Sosorbaram, Secretary of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Minister of Culture of the MPR; Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay; Kurt Fritsch, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Board, German Communist Party; Academician A.G. Yegorov, Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU; R. Peterson, member of the Central Committee, Workers' Party — Communists of Sweden; M.T. Yovchuk, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Academician N.N. Inozemtsev, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.V. Zagladin, first deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department; Aziz Mohammed, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Iraqi Communist Party; J. Wolff, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Netherlands; Gisele Rabesahala, General Secretary, Independence Congress Party of Madagascar; O. Arevalo, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Argentina; D. Naame, member of the Politi-

cal Bureau of the Central Committee, Syrian Communist Party; E. Tabari, member of the Central Committee, People's Party of Iran; N.B. Badaloni, member of the Central Committee, Italian Communist Party; A. Al-Hameri, member of the Central Committee, United Political Organization — National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia; M. Musharik, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco; G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, deputy department head of the CC CPSU; Patrick Clancy, Chairman of the Socialist Party of Australia; T.T. Timofeyev, Director of the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A. Jensen, member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Denmark; George Jackson, National Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand; J. Msika, General Secretary of the Zimbabwe African People's Union — ZAPU; Urban Karlsson, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Board, Left Party — Communists of Sweden; K. Nauyala, member of the Central Committee of the Southwest Africa People's Organization — SWAPO (Namibia); G. Batal, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Lebanese Communist Party; P. Mayta, member of the Political Commission, Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru; Izzl el-Din-ali Amer, member of the Central Committee, Sudanese Communist Party, and others.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A DEMAGOGIC SPECTACLE

*Interview by Meir Vilner,
General Secretary, CP of Israel*

“What is most despicable,” Meir Vilner said in the interview, “is that Sadat chose for his Israeli visit the very moment when Begin, with the help of his Air Force, Navy and troops is fiercely attacking peaceful Lebanese villages and Palestine refugee camps, killing and mutilating hundreds of peaceful citizens, including women and children.

“What can the two prime ministers talk about in the present situation? About how better to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism? Isn't it clear that Begin is not prepared to discuss the only way that could lead to peace? Isn't it clear that the Begin government has no intention of relinquishing an inch of the occupied territories on the West bank of the Jordan, the Gaza strip, the Golan Heights and a greater part of the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. Isn't it apparent that precisely at this moment new Israeli settlements are appearing on the Sinai Peninsula?

“Isn't it clear that Begin and his government refuse to recognize the national rights of the Palestine Arab people, whom Sadat claims to be supporting?

“Begin is out to deceive public opinion, pretending to strive for peace with Egypt. He is not seeking peace, but to increase division in the Arab world, isolate Egypt from the other Arab countries and thereby perpetuate the occupation of Arab lands, and to deprive the Palestinian people of their rights. Like every people, they have their rights, Meir Vilner said. They have their own national leadership, which is recognized by the whole world — the PLO.

“The Arab people of Palestine have their national pride, rich traditions and culture ...”

Further Meir Vilner emphasized, "the whole Begin-Sadat nonsense, that pitiful demagogic spectacle, cannot deceive public opinion or erase the fundamental Middle East problems from the agenda. The point is whether the Israeli government is prepared to leave the Arab territories and return to the 1967 borders, whether it intends to recognize the national rights of the Palestine people, particularly its right to set up a sovereign state, whether it is ready to negotiate in Geneva with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"At the moment there is no indication that the Israeli government intends to realize all this, and Sadat knows this perfectly well. Certainly the Arab countries will not tolerate Sadat's betrayal of their national cause."

Abridged from *L'Humanité*, November 15, 1977

FOR JUST AND LASTING PEACE, FOR GENEVA!

An Appeal issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel, November 27, 1977.

The people of Israel and the Arab peoples are wholeheartedly interested in peace. Our people are fed up with war, bloodshed and ruins. This fact has been proved again, and most clearly, in the last few days.

Again it was proved that peace is possible only on the basis of justice for all, that the achievement of peace necessitates respect of the rights of all peoples and states, including Israel and the Arab people of Palestine.

For the majority of the people of Israel it is clear that a possibility now exists to establish a just and lasting peace and this opportunity must be utilized.

The refusal of the Begin government to retreat to the lines of June 4, 1967, its refusal to allow the establishment of a Palestinian state and its refusal to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine, obstruct the establishment of peace and may even lead to a new war.

The meeting, which is proposed to be held in Cairo on the initiative of President Sadat in connivance with the Begin government and with American backing, is not intended to bring nearer the Geneva conference. On the contrary, it is intended to postpone it indefinitely. It is

not intended to bring about a full solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the solution of the Palestinian problem. On the contrary, it is intended to frustrate such a solution through partial and bilateral settlements. It is intended to disunite the Arab states and to organize collaborators in the occupied territories from among people who represent no one but themselves!

These aims do not serve the interests of peace and they are not in the interests of the people of Israel, for whom peace is the only way toward security.

The CC CPI Political Bureau affirms that peace in the Middle East demands full solution of all the principal problems of the Israeli-Arab conflict, including the Palestinian problem. This solution can be achieved only through the Geneva peace conference under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States and with the participation of all the interested sides, including the PLO.

The CC CPI Political Bureau calls on all the forces of peace and political realism in Israel to unite their ranks in the struggle against the machinations aimed at obstructing the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, to unite their ranks in the struggle for achieving a radical change in the official Israeli policy toward peace.

Peace is a necessity!

Peace is possible!

So let us not lose this opportunity which is in the interests of all peoples.

Tel Aviv

November 27, 1977

TO PUBLIC OPINION IN THE ARAB EAST AND ACROSS THE WORLD

Appeal of representatives of the Jordanian Communist Party, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, the Sudanese, Syrian, Iraqi and Lebanese Communist Parties.

Sadat's visit to Israel is a new link in the chain of the dangerous machinations of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, who deny the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and to setting up an independent state on the territory of their homeland, the right of the Arab countries to national sovereignty and the return to them of territories occupied by the Israeli armed forces, including those of the

Arab Republic of Egypt. This is yet another attack against the Arab liberation movement, which is fighting in defense of their rights and gains, their national-democratic states, for development and social progress.

This new phenomenon underlines the urgent need for a stable alliance of the contingents of the Arab national-democratic movements, the need to strengthen the internal fronts in each Arab country, enhance the role of the masses in the political life so as to — in alliance with the world anti-imperialist forces and their vanguard, the socialist countries — thwart the intrigues and plots of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Sadat's visit took place despite Begin's provocative statements to the effect that Israel refuses to leave the occupied Arab territories or to recognize the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The visit coincided with Israel's renewed aggression against southern Lebanon, aimed at eliminating the Palestinian resistance, intensified colonization of the occupied Arab territories, a new defiance of international law, UN decisions and world public opinion.

The visit was held against the will of the national-democratic regimes and forces in the Arab East, progressive forces the world over and in Egypt itself. Its organizers ignored the voices of popular indignation and denunciation which swept the Arab world like a hurricane.

In other words, this visit plays into the hands of the enemies of the Arab national-liberation movement and its aims will be defeated. It was undertaken in accordance with the designs of imperialism and U.S.-Israeli plans to violate the rights of the Arab people of Palestine through bilateral agreements, to legalize the Israeli occupation, to take a new step toward splitting the unity of the Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to isolate Egypt and the Egyptian people from this struggle, weaken the alliance with the world forces of progress, primarily with the socialist countries and their vanguard — the friendly Soviet Union.

The visit exposed the ominous, treacherous essence of Arab reaction, which is at one with imperialism and Zionism and their ambitions. The humiliating and entreating tones of Sadat's speech at the Knesset were met with the stubbornness and conceit of Begin, who in his answering speech ignored the Palestine problem, the very existence of the Palestinian Arab people and insisted on the recognition of Israeli occupation of Arab territories, repeating all the former statements of the Zionists regarding their expansionist aggressive policy.

Sadat's domestic policy line, which runs counter to the interests of the Egyptian people and leads to the liquidation of their gains, represents the other side of his foreign policy aimed at weakening Arab-Soviet friendship, at fanning anti-Sovietism, at orienting the country on the U.S.-led camp of imperialist states and at an alliance with it. The "open door" policy with respect to imperialism and reaction — that is what brought him to this cowardly stance.

The visit has dangerous consequences not only for the Arab countries, but beyond their borders as well; it undermines support of the Arab national-liberation movement, hampers achievement of a just peaceful settlement and security in the region.

The communist parties of the Arab countries, together with the patriotic progressive parties and forces, will continue to combat the plots of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, the insidious methods of neo-colonialist penetration. An invincible weapon in the face of the imperialist challenge, in the struggle against Zionism and Arab reaction, they reiterate, is unity of all contingents of the national-liberation movement of the Arab countries, the united actions of the progressive-patriotic states, their alliance with the socialist countries and the world revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

We representatives of the Communist Parties of Arab countries on the journal *World Marxist Review*:

- protest against and denounce the policy conducted by Sadat, which led him to take such a cowardly stance in the face of imperialism, Zionism and reaction;

- support the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to setting up an independent national state;

- support the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

We declare our solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Arab masses and their patriotic front in the occupied territories and for Israel's banishment from all occupied Arab territories.

We denounce the barbarous incursions into southern Lebanon and support the staunch Lebanese national movement and Palestinian resistance in the face of the attacks of Israel and Lebanese reaction.

We stress the need to form a broad anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reactionary Arab front that will direct the efforts and energies of all Arab national democratic states and forces in combating the dan-

gers threatening the Arab national-liberation movement, and defeating the treacherous and shady maneuvers.

We are in solidarity with the Egyptian people and their patriotic forces who advocate the return to Egypt of its natural position in the Arab national-liberation movement and in the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces.

We call for stronger unity of the Arab national-liberation movement with the forces of liberation and progress of the world, first of all with the socialist system and its vanguard, the Soviet Union.

We are convinced that the Arab national-liberation movement is strong enough and mature enough to defeat all imperialist plots, defend its gains, liberate the occupied territories and move forward to new victories.

THE NATIONAL STRIKE — A BATTLE WON BY THE PEOPLE

Statement by the Central Executive Committee, CP Colombia

The 24-hour general strike on September 14 called on the initiative of the Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia (CSTC) was unprecedented in scope and affected almost all the regions of the country.

Ever since its foundation in 1964 the CSTC has been striving for united action of the working class. The fact that it includes not only the trade unions but also left public and political organizations, residents of workers' neighborhoods and peasants, has raised the mass movement to an unprecedented level and demonstrated the people's growing dissatisfaction with official policy and the existing situation.

After several meetings to discuss the results of the strike the CEC CP Colombia released a statement which says in part:

THE PEOPLE'S MILITANT SPIRIT

The September 14 strike showed that the activities of the popular movement in Colombia were not identical all over the country.

Nevertheless, it demonstrated the *high level of the people's militant spirit* and showed that ever more segments of the population could be

involved in the struggle. It is the duty of revolutionaries to raise the degree of mass participation in the struggle, to help promote more *serious demands and set politically more sweeping tasks*. But, for this the correct *social and political moment* must be determined and the *force* must be available capable of *heading the mass struggle for fulfillment* of these demands and tasks.

For success it is not enough to put forward and popularize slogans and conduct ordinary revolutionary activities. Many *organizational* problems should be solved and work must be carried out in the grass roots workers' and mass organizations, explaining difficult questions that arise in the process of the struggle. September 14 showed that where the leadership banked on enthusiasm alone the results were less effective than where they were able to take the responsibility of organizing activities.

THE DEVELOPING PROCESS

The National Civic strike should not be viewed as a single event. *In reality this is a cohesive process of the people's struggle that began with the events of May 18 when the CSTC took the initiative*. This process *acquired greater depth and scope* and was marked by many other actions by the working class and the people which helped accelerate the movement as a whole.

In the first stage of preparing for the national strike, a decisive role was played by the independent workers' movement headed by the CSTC and the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) together with the principal left political circles represented initially by the Communist Party, Socialist Revolutionary Union, the Socialist Bloc, women's and youth organizations and others. In this stage, lasting from May to mid-August, these organizations acting in coordination did a tremendous job popularizing, organizing and explaining the significance of the strike. They not only had to overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie, but also the resistance of the backward elements in the workers' movement and the Maoists who did their utmost to thwart this initiative.

In this time we gained valuable experience in coordination with the Union of Working People of Colombia (UTC) and the Confederation of the Working People of Colombia (CTC) which took an ever increasing part in preparing the strike. At the meetings of the central committees of the UTC and CTC, many speakers discussed the possibility of reaching agreement on unity to call the strike as soon as possible. The leadership of these two trade union centers preferred,

however, to present the government with a humble memorandum which President Lopez arrogantly rejected.

Thus, when it was apparent that no dialogue was possible with the government, the leaders of these trade union centers decided to join the organizations that were preparing the strike. This was the start of the *second phase* of the movement characterized by united action of the four trade union centers: the CSTC, CGT, UTC and CTC. Such unity at the top of the trade union movement was the result of work accomplished at the lower levels and this was decisive for the success of the strike. Despite the difficulties, the official flattery, the threats and provocations, the unity of action of the four trade union centers marked a turning point in the last stage of preparing the strike.

A BREAKTHROUGH IN ESTABLISHING UNITY OF ACTION

The most important result of the September 14 strike is, undoubtedly, the leap to a new stage in the unity of the working class of Colombia. It is undeniable that in this direction we have had no such achievements before. Life has shown that united action the communists and the CSTC have been patiently working for, viewing it as the main weapon in the struggle against the employers and government, is a just and realistic policy corresponding to the needs of the workers' movement.

An important step in this direction was the formation of the Committee of Trade Union Unity to deal with practical measures while each trade union center preserves its identity and organization. Measures are being taken to create similar committees at department level. The principal field of activity, however, is *unity of action at the base* by bringing forward demands expressing the interests of the *entire proletariat*.

This means *unity of action* and not organizational or *formal* unification. Such united action can be fruitful if it contributes to the working people's struggle against the employers, the government and the political system to force them to make concessions, and to win strong positions in order to raise the proletariat's living standards and improve working conditions, to win respect for freedoms and democratic and trade union rights and raise the role of the working class in the country's affairs.

That is why the CSTC refused to take part in the work of the National Wages Council. To take part in the discussions on establishing a wage minimum in an organ which has no *decisive* role, particu-

larly during an *upswing in the social struggle*, could foster illusions among the most backward part of the proletariat, which, involuntarily, could help the government.

THE ROLE OF THE CSTC

After its May initiative to hold a national civic strike the CSTC headed the preparatory work and began seeking understanding with other forces. Having laid the organizational foundations for the strike, it showed the working people by its struggle that it was the *main guiding and unifying force* in Colombia's trade union movement.

As initiator of this great trade union and social battle the CSTC is now looked upon by the people as a center, uniting the popular organizations that are defending the people's interests. Its role and its responsibility have grown immensely.

The September 14 strike has helped create a *new situation* in the workers' and popular movements characterized by a *spirit of unity, enthusiasm and a search for new forms of struggle and new initiatives*. The working class has learned to use sophisticated means of struggle and has reached a high level of coordination. In future, the organized working people could take actions of much *larger proportions* capable of shaking the structure of oligarchy and imperialism to its very foundations.

Since September 14 the working class has acted as the standard-bearer of the people's most cherished aspirations, a truly national force, and is already playing a new role in the country's social and political affairs.

THE GOVERNMENT UNMASKED

The September events further exposed the reactionary nature of the oligarchy's political system. These events have torn the "republican" mask off Mr. Lopez whose prestige is falling rapidly.

The ruling oligarchy considers any action by the masses, even the most peaceful, limited to economic demands, as a danger, as *subversive and insurrectionist*. The panic that the people have seen spreading among the ruling class proves its anti-popular and anti-democratic character.

The government has instituted several disgraceful measures against the working people and population in the hope of preventing the strike and splitting the united front of the trade union organizations. Demonstrations and public meetings were banned and radio and television programs censored together with all news on trade union

affairs. All employees at plants and in offices were constantly threatened, and at plants and factories the machinery of provocations and denunciations were started up and paramilitary shock groups on the employers' payroll were formed. The odious Decree 2004 allows the police, without any court injunction, to imprison for a period of up to 180 days anyone taking part in or aiding a strike.

Mr. Lopez has put his prestige to a serious test because his position on the strike was to create a front of "healthy opinion" to protect his government from the alleged danger of being overthrown. And in this test Mr. Lopez came out the loser because the people had no intention of supporting him. The result was that he was forced to depend solely on rifles and bayonets, and because of this the command nucleus of the armed forces became his support.

Lopez gave a free hand on military reprisals which were conducted by some officers whose superiors ordered them to shoot and kill the people. And although not all the officers obeyed these orders to the letter, the tragic outcome of these reprisals was the slaying of more than 20 people, hundreds of wounded and thousands arrested and beaten. In Atahualpa neighborhood, Fontibon, Special District of Bogota, a member of the Young Communist League of Colombia — Elda Janneth Morales was killed during the strike. The order to fire was given by Capt. Perlaza and Maj. Hurtado, both from the Air Force.

Meanwhile, Mr. Lopez declared the strike had "failed completely" and claimed it had degenerated into "looting and plundering." Actually, however, the way the people behaved, their trade union and political discipline are an example today and for the future. The oligarchic press strives to exaggerate some anarchy that took place. But this is no more than sordid distortion of the facts of the most exemplary strike in the history of the country's social battle.

POSITIONS OF POLITICAL SECTORS

Naturally, the chief political leaders of the bourgeoisie are determined to diminish the significance of the strike and to support government statements. They are all attempting to prove that they are the best hope in fighting "subversion."

Experience has shown, however, that a well-aimed struggle of a united people *sharpens the contradictions* in the enemy camp and this could be used to benefit the people. In reality, the Lopez government did not gain its objective of uniting the oligarchy around it. Disagreements inside the ruling circle, already acute on the eve of the elec-

tions, were sharpened still more by the strike and have turned into a crisis with the result that four ministers were replaced.

MAOIST STRIKEBREAKERS

All the Maoist groups, excluding none, from the so-called Marxist-Leninist League to the Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement (MOIR) have demonstrated by their strikebreaking positions that they are really enemies of the people's interests and agents of the oligarchy hiding behind pseudo-revolutionary phraseology. This is a lesson that we must help all the people to understand.

Concrete examples must be used to expose both the Maoists as out-and-out provocateurs who opposed the strike and agreed to go to work and break it up, and the leadership of the MOIR which at first condemned the strike but at the last moment, with its characteristic opportunist duplicity, declared it was joining the strike. The MOIR did nothing, however, for the success of the strike in contrast to some of the rank and file members who preferred to be with the people and ignore the appeals of the MOIR leadership to covertly sabotage it.

The Maoist groups showed that their differences with the revolutionary movement are not "international" as some claimed. No wonder that the most rabid enemies of socialist Cuba, of the Chilean's people's fight against Pinochet, of the liberation of Angola, had also exposed themselves to be rabid enemies of trade union unity, of the CSTC, of the armed guerrilla struggle, of the unity of Colombia's students and of the people's struggle for their own interests whose supreme manifestation was the civic strike.

COMMUNISTS AND THE PERSPECTIVE

The initiator and moving force of the national civic strike was the Communist Party which, at plants and factories, in the universities and in the cities and streets were self-sacrificing in working to popularize the strike. Thousands of members of the party and the Young Communist League were active in the trade unions and other organizations helping to organize the strike. They were energetic in creating a broad network of National Opposition Union committees (UNO) and joint UNO-ANAPO strike committees which were the basis for carrying out the plans for a strike. Hundreds of communists were jailed and many are still in prison. They are considered criminals just because they did not betray the interests of the people and the instructions of the party — the vanguard of the proletariat. The most progressive-minded workers, members of the party, were the princi-

pal strike organizers at enterprises, they headed the committees in city neighborhoods whose role must be stressed when summing up the results. It was this reliable and effective union of the best workers and the popular representatives in the city neighborhoods that formed the backbone of the strike. We can say that without the *active work of communists at all levels the strike would have been impossible*.

In their practical work the communists were guided by the importance attached to civic strikes by the 12th CPC Congress which said they were "a distinctive feature of our people's struggle" which "often comes into direct confrontation with official policy. As a rule this is an anti-oligarchy struggle often acquiring an anti-imperialist content." During the strike the consolidation of the broad masses under the leadership of the workers and trade unions proved feasible with the result of a *front was created which could serve as the basis for the struggle for democratic transformations in Colombia and, if we continue strengthening it, it will become invincible*.

During the strike there were many original actions which must be studied in order to use them again in the future. Peasants in many parts of the country marched into the cities blocking the roads and reaching agreement with transport workers to detain traffic, etc. The same can be said about the marches against hunger, reviving past experience, and the demonstration in cities by housewives who carried empty baskets and pots.

Maximum use must be made of the lessons of the strike and of the climate of unity and enthusiasm which it generated, to *strengthen the role of the Communist Party* and its political allies. There must be greater determination in working for unity and alliance with democratic segments and in heading the struggle for popular unity in order to see the country's democratic rejuvenation.

Today, when the National Civic Strike has acquired numerous "fathers" and "mothers," the party, with its characteristic proletarian honesty, must popularize its lessons among the people. Party members must be thoroughly familiar with these lessons in order to help the progress of left forces, expose bourgeois demagoguery which follows in the wake of these lessons. For this we must take advantage of the election campaign in which we will participate, for we believe the elections could also be the arena of mass struggle if used properly by the revolutionary movement.

It is necessary to highlight the role of the UNO and UNO-ANAPO committees stressing the consistency of *Julio Cesar Pernia — the*

presidential candidate whose faith in the strike and appeals to the masses to participate in it contributed so much to its success.

National Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Colombia

Bogota, September 1977

Abridged from *Voz Proletaria*, October 13, 1977

SPEECH BY LUIGI LONGO CHAIRMAN OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, AT ICP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

In ICP Central Committee met in plenary session in Rome on October 26-27 to discuss problems of the country's economic and social development. Speaking at the plenum Luigi Longo said:

I will not deal in detail with our economic policy line — which I agree with — but will only touch on the political period we are now living through and our present orientation.

In my view, Comrade Berlinguer (in his Naples speech) and Comrade Chiaromonte (in a recent editorial) were right in posing some vital questions which for the sake of convenience I will repeat in the form of a query:

First: Is it advisable for the ICP to return to the opposition?

Second: How should we now assess the six-party agreement?

On the first point: undeniably some of our friends and followers, as well as some party members regret the times — not long past — when the opposition's role was easier and more convenient. It did not pose the question of our party's "identity." I share Berlinguer's view on this matter.

I will only add the observation: with such broad support as ours at the June 20 elections, the term "opposition" no longer applies in the traditional sense of the word. In short, we cannot make a gift of a substantial majority to someone who hasn't got it.

Our growing capacity for political representation necessitates our playing a different role.

We should not forget that we are acting not only on behalf of the working class, but on the behalf of the various strata of the population. We cannot but seek on their behalf a right to a bigger say, for

broader opportunities to play the decisive role in the life and leadership of the country, particularly during a sharp economic and social crisis like the present.

Many say that a democratic opposition no longer exists, asserting that without a majority and minority genuine democracy is unthinkable.

These arguments undoubtedly carry some weight and entail the following question: how long is this "atypical" situation to continue?

It should be recalled at this junction that the government, which exists thanks to our abstaining from voting, emerged as a result of objective factors — the result of the June 20 elections, the lack of a majority and, above all, the country's grave problems — but this also makes it possible to thwart the ambitions of the leading Christian Democrat groups, which seek at any price to maintain absolute monopoly of power. This was in effect a way of manifesting opposition to the power system existing already for 30 years. This opposition had to develop in new forms also after the formation of the Andreotti government, inasmuch as this role could not be played by the extremist and minority groups (which is unthinkable), whose initiative very often degenerates into violence, as they are incapable of rejecting their totally unconstructive rebellion.

Our opposition is and should be manifested — simultaneously with justified pressure on the government, which stays in power also partly owing to our abstention in voting — in relation to the conservative and reactionary forces (broadly represented in the ranks of the CDP itself), which can no longer completely identify themselves with the government, as in the past, despite the fact that it consists solely of Christian Democrats.

I consider, however, that we should have a clearer understanding of the positions we must counter, of the opponent, who must be defeated. This will facilitate understanding of the immediate and longer-range objectives, for which we are fighting.

We must oppose the forces obstructing the process of renewal which are active in vital sectors of the economy and the state apparatus itself. We must counter the forces intent on maintaining at any price the anti-communist discrimination, for which they are even ready to resort to subversive actions.

That is what our opposition should be like; that is the opposition around which we must organize the actions and movement of the masses.

Therefore I regard as basically correct the line which we have adhered to so far; it excludes a return to the past, to a situation when the Christian Democrats would again, as usual, be in the government, and we — again, as usual — in the opposition.

Certainly there is the problem of “what will happen afterwards,” and I agree with those who say that it is hard to predict this “afterwards,” when the communists will not occupy their rightful place, in keeping with their strength. The problem is how to prepare for this “afterwards,” and this involves another question which I would like to examine. When we decided to abstain during the vote of confidence on the Andreotti government, we all agreed and frankly declared that our stand does not at all imply that we are passively awaiting developments.

On the contrary, it should be expressed in a persistent pressure on the government to impel it to adopt urgent measures to avert the most serious and immediate consequences of the economic crisis.

Something has been done — it would be absurd to deny this — and I agree with those who say that without our unitary policy these results would not have been achieved, and whose importance cannot be denied. However, we must frankly admit that we concentrated excessive attention on the results already attained, while overlooking others that could be attained and would have opened broad opportunities and prospects for a profound renewal of the economy, society and methods of leadership of the country.

Certainly, the six-party agreement was a step forward, and should be seen as a means for achieving new results, for reaching new goals. I do not think, of course, that we overestimated the agreement, seeing it as a convenient stopping place where we could calmly await participation in government. Conversely, we saw it as a new possibility for comparing views, and for struggle. But the difficulties and problems engendered by the implementation of the agreements are showing us that it would be wrong to be excessively optimistic. This signifies that the struggle for the full implementation of the July agreements should be vigorously pursued, though we are fully aware that they do not constitute our ultimate goal.

There is nothing to stop us — as was correctly noted here — from launching all the necessary initiatives not only to guarantee fulfillment of the points of the agreements, but also to begin solving continually arising problems.

It was also justly noted that the present correlation of forces poses

the task of encouraging — with the aid of unitary struggles — new popular forces to adopt more democratic positions. Therefore I consider that the concern expressed during the discussion at our plenum is on the whole a positive factor from the point of view of analysis and method.

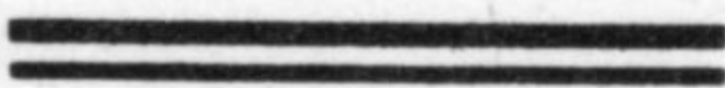
The accent was on methods helping to change the correlation of forces: Comrade Di Giulio preferred to speak of “participation,” inasmuch as this concept is broader and more flexible than the concept of “struggle.” Comrade Libertini insisted (correctly in my view) on the formulation “militant and ruling party,” which implies a dialectical connection, the interaction of these two qualities. In general, we acknowledged that the policy of confrontation of views must enter a more combative and active phase. It, naturally, presupposes agreement, cooperation, unity, above all with the Socialist Party and with other democratic forces regarding attainable objectives acceptable to all, which would not prejudice the organizational autonomy and political identity of each separate component. A change in the correlation of forces is achievable precisely with the aid of concrete activity, programmed to this end, so as to attain tangible results, which in turn would facilitate the struggle for more advanced goals.

Were it necessary to express the report and the various speeches by one phrase, I would formulate it as follows: “From declarations to joint actions.”

Our discussion, I believe, has helped to clarify our line both from the standpoint of strategic prospects and tactical actions.

Thus the present Central Committee plenum has fulfilled its task of critically verifying the correctness of the party’s orientation and activity on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation and its development.

Unita, October 28, 1977.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Excerpts from the Executive Commission report to the Second Plenum of the CC, Mexican Communist Party, presented by Arnolfo Martinez Verdugo (September 4, 1977).

The first report which President Jose Lopez Portillo presented nine months after taking office contains the most complete definition of the policies of the bloc in power. We can now compare his statements and intentions with the actual economic and political trends in the country today.

Prominent in the report is the admission of some of the nation's fundamental problems and of the need to modify the "growth model" which has been applied so far and has outlived its usefulness, as the President concedes. Lopez Portillo proceeds from a concept of modernizing society. He explicitly admits the need to reorganize the economy while maintaining the main principles of the capitalist order. His project is confined to a series of modifications calculated to eliminate improvising, corruption and wasteful use of manpower and material resources and speed the advance to state-monopoly capitalism.

The report is at variance with the facts, with the government's practices over the past nine months. However, a search is obviously on for a solution to the crisis that would make the working people, primarily the workers and peasants, shoulder the main burden.

Yet there is another way out of the crisis. It was proposed by the 18th National Congress of the Mexican Communist Party and proceeds above all from the interests of the working people and the real interests of the nation. But this solution calls for a new economic policy entirely differing from that pursued by recent governments, and for a genuine democratization of politics guaranteeing the participation of all forces and currents in public affairs.

TWO ECONOMIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES

The most important starting point for any analysis of the domestic situation is the trend of the crisis besetting the country. The 18th MCP Congress concerned itself with the crisis and so does the President. In both cases a stand was taken on the crisis and there were suggestions as to the way and means of remedying it. Needless to say,

it is a question of entirely different policies expressing irreconcilable class interests and promising very dissimilar results.

The policy pursued by his government since December 1, 1976, has achieved, according to the President, its short-term objectives in wrestling with the crisis even though the crisis "has not been overcome. We need some time to overcome it and a long time to recover from its consequences."

In spite of the President's confidence and optimism, occasionally expressed with excessive rhetoric, it is safe to say that the policy he announced in assuming office has yielded meagre results and that its main lines have failed.

The program for consumer goods production has miscarried. So has the policy of exhorting the employers to cooperate. Production has fallen off. Unemployment is up. Real wages are down. The cost of living goes on rising. Inflation persists. The "truce" (between the employers and the workers. — *Ed.*) has proved fruitless. The trade deficit has decreased, but at the expense of economic growth.

Dependence on foreign financing has increased. "Dollarization" (the conversion of currency into dollars. — *Ed.*) is continuing. Financiers go on amassing dollars and have reinvested only a fraction of export capital, so that the exhausting outflow of resources is continuing.

Nine months of the new government's rule and application of the program of the Alliance for Production* have reaffirmed and strengthened the foundations of the big bourgeoisie's strategy, whose goal is a state-monopoly capitalist system dependent on imperialism. The government has taken a variety of measures in an effort to make its policy more effective, such as the administrative reform, the signing of agreements with the Monterrey group and other major consortiums, the renunciation of a fiscal reform affecting employers' profits, and the announced intention of obligatory programming in the public sector.

In this context, we cannot but note that when the President says "Let us entertain no illusions; in our country, we will either all prosper, or no one will" it is mere rhetoric, for right now tens of millions of Mexicans, of working people, are anything but prosperous.

As a natural consequence of the crisis there is a growing social ferment. The months that have passed since the 18th Congress have

*The government-supported six-year plan for developing Mexican economy initiated by the big bourgeoisie. — *Ed.*

produced new examples of a mounting strike movement. Various trade unions, including pro-government ones, have demanded a higher wage rise than envisaged by the government. The official trade union leadership is under mounting pressure from the rank and file, who want it to advance greater demands. The working people show growing readiness to fight, which is exemplified by what is going on in the railwaymen's union, among petrochemical workers and in numerous other unions affiliated to the Confederation of Workers of Mexico.

Not long ago, on August 27, 1977, the Executive CC Commission called on the working people to resist higher prices for bread and milk and act in unity against the high cost of living, hunger and unemployment. On that occasion we stated some of the measures needed to find solutions meeting the people's interests. The measures proposed by us are valid now and will be valid in the future. They provide an initial basis for a broad unity of forces to seek a real way out of the nation's economic crisis.

These measures include:

- strict regulation of foreign investments and control over the export of profits;
- nationalizing private banks with the proviso that the property of depositors will be respected;
- nationalizing key industries which directly influence the people's standard of living;
- a fiscal reform raising taxes on employers' profits, putting an end to anonymity in shareholding and revising the tax exemption procedure, partial tax restitution and the granting of subsidies;
- a control over exchange and foreign trade;
- introducing a sliding wage scale; an immediate increase in wages, salaries and pensions;
- renouncing the austerity policy imposed by the International Monetary Fund;
- promoting investment in production;
- economic planning guaranteeing more effective use of the work force and reducing dependence on foreign countries;
- increasing budget appropriations for social purposes (health, education, public services);
- diversifying foreign sources of financing and foreign trade; promoting relations with the socialist system, especially the Soviet Union;

— negotiating the external debt on terms favorable to the interests of the Mexican people.

The struggle against the crisis can pave the way for a series of profound changes needed for progress. The working class and other working people must show their social and political strength by uniting the nation for far-reaching initiatives and by mobilizing it in support of a democratic economic policy program.

This policy can win only if the masses fight for it.

THE ELECTORAL REFORM AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS

Some time ago our party, noting the existence of a political crisis, proposed as a solution a democratic political reform to reorganize legislation and the practices regulating the Mexicans' public activity.

We consider that the disintegration of Mexican society can only be avoided through a democratic political reform. The reform we are proposing is primarily in the interests of the working class, for it would contribute to the workers' organization and political development and extend their possibilities of participation in national decision-making. We are also convinced that substantial changes can only be brought about through united struggle by the democratic forces, including those existing within the government.

President Lopez Portillo acknowledges in no uncertain terms the need of a political reform to institutionalize the struggle between opposed forces. He is willing to grant the people the right of option, so that they may freely exercise their will within a democratic structure.

The President's decision to amend the Constitution and enact a law on political association and electoral procedure is a victory for the democratic forces, an undeniable result of their activity. Even if this is only the beginning of a political change, it is one of the most important results of the people's struggle. The electoral reform proposed by the President is a breach through which the struggle for developed democracy can advance.

Nevertheless, having read the President's report, we maintain that it does not reflect the will expressed by the immense majority of political organizations and leaders that have appeared before the Federal Electoral Commission.

This means that our party must continue to uphold the democratic aspirations of Mexican society. We will operate as an organization assuming responsibility for the nation's democratic future and adding

to our theses the progressive ideas made public at the meetings in question.

We need to launch a steadfast campaign over the reforms which the political bureaucracy is trying to effect. In the months ahead we will concentrate on publicizing our view of the content of the proposed constitutional amendments and the law on political organizations and electoral procedure.

In the next few months, the struggle for an electoral reform will be prominent in our party's activity as regards the effort to achieve democratic unity, political negotiations, and the party's own activity as such. Once the various initiatives have been presented, the Chamber of Deputies will have to submit them to the public for final discussion.

The Executive Commission proposes to the Central Committee, pending new electoral legislation, to press forward and step up the campaign for 100,000 signatures to register the MCP.

We have stated to the Federal Electoral Commission that the necessity for a profound political reform "stems from the increasingly well-known fact that the Mexicans' political activity is regulated by legislation and methods lagging behind social and economic development and the new requirements of the working people, and even of some factions of the bourgeoisie.

"The contradiction between political institutions and social reality is the fundamental cause of the political crisis the country is going through. The Communist Party considers that this is a crisis of the regime's ideological and political apparatus — its parties, its electoral system, its instruments of control over the working-class and peasant movement."

The Communist Party regards political reform as going well beyond an electoral reform. If restricted to an electoral reform, to the narrow bounds proposed by the President in his report, the change would have little effect. It is a political imperative to couple the reform with a series of more general measures conducive to the full exercise of democratic freedoms.

In today's political situation, the democratic forces, and more particularly our party, will have to campaign most vigorously for the provisions of what our congress called the political reform program. We must act with sufficient skill, initiative and capacity for negotiation so as to use the opportunities likely to be provided by an amended electoral procedure. We must insist before the people and the ruling quarters on the need to go further and prevent the initiatives

taken from failing again and frustrating the people's long-standing aspirations. It is indispensable that these initiatives should lay the groundwork for a profound and rapid transformation of both the systems and procedures impeding the country's democratic development.

To substantially change political relations, it is necessary to carry out at least the following measures:

1. Democratize the Federal Electoral Law and the corresponding laws in the states.
2. A general amnesty for all prisoners, detainees and exiles, for all who are persecuted on political grounds.
3. Trade union democracy, and respect for the right to strike; freedom of adherence for trade union members, freedom to express their political will, and an end to their mandatory incorporation en masse in any political party. Abolish the registration of trade unions and all provisions making possible state interference in the affairs of working people's organizations. Full respect for the right of agricultural workers to associate in trade unions.
4. End repressive methods, particularly torture and spying, which the unconstitutional Federal Security Directorate and other police bodies resort to. Revise Article Two of the Federal Penal Code, which defines political crimes and stipulates the punishment for them. Renounce the use of the army for repression and limit its activity to its constitutional functions.
5. Respect and extend the constitutional right of public demonstrations by excluding from police and traffic regulations all provision restricting these rights, especially in the Federal District.
6. Unfailing respect for freedom of the press, as well as constant use by the political parties of all mass media on an equal footing as a vehicle of publicity and political education.

FOREIGN POLICY

In moments of crisis like the present, it is necessary to promote foreign policy initiatives purposefully aimed at using the opportunities that are created by the new balance of world forces, at a time when the socialist countries, the non-aligned nations and the world capitalist crisis represent factors favorable to the struggle against Mexico's dependence on imperialism.

The President's report focuses attention on relations with the United States and its financial entities. We demand adequate and precise information on important steps that have so far been kept

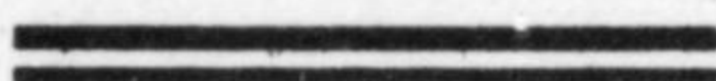
secret. They include negotiations with Washington, the Morgan, Rockefeller and Chicago economic groups and the World Bank. In particular, we demand information on the agreements signed with the IMF, as well as on the contracts concluded with U.S. oil monopolies on the Cactus-Reynosa gas pipeline.

The oil policy is a most delicate matter. It must not be forgotten that imperialist expansion is aimed at establishing control over Mexican oil and that Carter's energy plan is part of a global political and military strategy endangering peace, international security and the national rights of peoples.

The President points out the need to coordinate action in the sphere of trade with other Latin American countries. He mentions efforts toward establishing a common pool to regulate international coffee prices. He also speaks of solidarity with the developing countries. However, his negative stand on Mexico joining OPEC, whose aim is to resist imperialist arbitrariness, plainly conflicts with these statements.

The President's attitude toward workers who emigrate to the United States without the requisite papers is acceptable. "They are not criminals," he says, "... the possible violations of emigration laws should not lead to violations of labor laws, let alone of human rights." However, the seriousness and magnitude of the problem make it imperative to do much more. The need is for effective protection from abuses whose victims are hundreds of thousands of Mexicans — through the fault of the U.S. authorities, which act in concert with that country's farmers and employers.

Abridged



MESSAGE OF FIRST SECRETARY RODNEY ARISMENDI TO THE URUGUAYAN PEOPLE ON THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Fifty seven years ago the congress of the Socialist Party of Uruguay adopted by a majority a resolution to transform the party into a Communist Party and to continue at a qualitatively new stage the struggle of the working class — the bearer of the best revolutionary traditions. This event reflected also the impact of the great historic victory of the October Socialist Revolution led by the great Lenin on the peoples of the world and the cause of their liberation.

Throughout its history the party has gone through many trials. It was forced to work in the most varied conditions, but never in the long history of its struggle for the realization of our people's best aspirations had it come up against such enormous (now successfully overcome) difficulties as in the period starting with June 27, 1973.¹

The party is marking its anniversary at a time when, by virtue of its firm line, invincible fidelity to principle and fighting skill it has prevailed over the harshest repressions and the fiercest attempts of the fascists to wipe it off the face of the earth, to divest it of the honorable name of standardbearer and backbone of the patriotic and democratic resistance conferred on it by the people. Thousands of imprisoned and tortured, dozens of mutilated or murdered in circumstances like our comrade Hugh Pereira, a construction worker — such has been the lot of our party.

But our party has emerged stronger than ever. This is due to its persistent struggle for freedom, to its true patriotism and deep ties with the working class and the forces opposing fascism — with all those who today retain their love of freedom, fidelity to the principles proclaimed by Artigas² and who are fully resolved to reconstruct their homeland and to save it from economic disaster.

Our party is faced with enormous historic tasks. And it will successfully carry them out thanks to its principled stand, organization, militancy and the skill of its cadre, and by reason of its clear understanding of the gravity of the situation from the first day of the coup. Starting with the general strike led by the CNT³ and involving broad masses of the working people, the party has always and in every

circumstance set itself the objective of achieving unity of the entire people, irrespective of social position and differing political and philosophical outlook. In short, it set itself the goal of uniting all Uruguayans irrespective of their social and political differences, civilians and military, believers and non-believers.

We pay homage to our fallen comrades. We salute the thousands of political prisoners, among whom are our dear comrades Jaime Perez, Massera, Altesor, Cuesta, Turiansky, Pietrarroia, Mazzarovich, Rita Ibarburu and many others. We hail those fighting in clandestinity and those who are living in far from easy conditions in emigration around the world. They are closely following events in their country and are always ready to give their lives in the struggle to restore democracy and national sovereignty. We send greetings to all champions of democracy in Uruguay, to outstanding personalities like General Seregni, General Licandro, colonels Zufriategui, Frigerio and others, and to all political prisoners. All of them, irrespective of their philosophical convictions, political and tactical views have devoted their lives to the cause of liberating the people.

Uruguay is now experiencing the horrors of fascism. Not only the communists, but all ordinary people clearly see that our country has been turned into one big concentration camp. Fascism is expanding its power by changes in the state apparatus. Recently a decision was adopted in relation to judicial power and the right to dismiss state officials. The fascist regime persists in dealing blows at all strata of the popular movement, political parties, trade unions, the Church, as well as the military. It has reduced the country to economic ruin, coupled with a growing foreign debt, curtailed production, spiralling prices, a budget deficit, permanent devaluation of the peso and impoverishment of the people. Today, more than ever we are witnessing the internal and international isolation of the dictatorship. On the international arena it is increasingly denounced by heads of states, parliamentarians, democratic organizations, members of the intelligentsia and even by certain elements in the heartland of imperialism, the United States, which played the primary role in implanting fascism in Uruguay and other Latin American countries.

As citizens and patriots of our country, we take pride in our people's invincible struggle. Fascism has bloodied the land of Artigas, flaunted its best traditions, destroyed the freedoms that our people have always taken pride in. Fascism has throttled culture and banned political parties. But it has been powerless to suppress the struggle of the people and working class, or to deceive even an insignificant part

of the population. In this broad resistance our party has grown strong as a force which by virtue of its sacrifices, efforts and heroism has made the biggest contribution to the cause of liberating the homeland.

Life has confirmed our prediction regarding the brutality of the fascist dictatorship, as well as its weakness and inability to solve the country's problems. The tyranny cannot win the slightest sympathy of the people. It is being opposed not only by the working class and the more advanced strata of the population, the traditional vanguard. The dictatorship is being opposed by all political parties, the Church, and a substantial part of the armed forces. This is reflected in the protests of the cattle-breeders, dairy farmers, small landowners, traders, pensioners and other groups of the population. The great majority of the people in one or another way condemn the present regime. Even among its own midst there are people who, together with the imperialist forces, are seeking a way to replace the regime.

The Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Party, issued in the country on June 27, justifiably notes that "the regime is seeking a way out of the situation by isolating not only the left forces, but the traditional parties as well, attempting to manipulate them like puppets, suppressing their leaders, depriving thousands of their members of political rights, and by turning our Constitution into an instrument of the reactionary chieftains."

In the face of such maneuvers the people have over the recent years become ever more aware of the great truth once enunciated by General Seregni: "the only way out of the present situation is through the decisive participation of the organized people." We are witnessing movements and actions even on the part of the traditional parties and some of their members. Only recently we read the speech of Mr. Jorge Batlle, a leader of a major faction of the Colorado party. He called on the members of the Blanco and Colorado parties to seek solutions in common. Otherwise, he said, a tragic future awaits our country. He even spoke of the children of his opponents, of the children of the present and future generations, who would be deprived of justice and freedom. They would be consigned to living in conditions of deep animosity and bloody clashes that would destroy not only Uruguayan society, but would imperil the very existence of the nation, Jorge Batlle said, and stressed the need for freedom in every sphere of life.

We would like to understand Mr. Batlle's words to mean that this accord between the traditional parties would be directed at facilitating restoration of genuine democracy without any political or ideological

limitations. As we see it, the great cause of national and democratic liberation is the cause of not only and exclusively of the traditional parties, but of the entire nation. There is ample proof of the fact that the fascist reaction enjoys no support among the people. It rests solely on an insignificant stratum of financiers, latifundists and big businessmen, on some elements in the armed forces who have long been admirers of fascism, and a section of the top rung of social and political power. But the people as a whole have always come out against fascism, against those who implanted the present regime. Fascism is countered first of all by the working class, the more advanced participants of the Broad Front, and also a part of the military. United, all these forces will undoubtedly liberate the country from the dictatorship.

At the present time national and international conditions have matured for accelerating the downfall of fascism and to open the way to genuine democratic changes. Wilson Ferreira Aldunate rightly said that all sections of the population, all opponents of fascism must adhere to a common strategy in order to restore democracy.

Obviously the only way to salvage Uruguay, to extricate it from the abyss of fascist terror, to avoid an economic collapse and international disrepute is for all anti-fascist, social and political forces, believers and non-believers, civilian and military, to work in common for the restoration of democracy. That is how our party poses the question.

The big problem, the big question asked by the entire Uruguayan people and their friends across the world, is how to find a way out of the existing situation, how to restore democracy, how to put an end to the tortures, release the thousands of political prisoners and extricate the country from the economic debacle. In connection with the problem of winning democracy the question arises: will there be a transition period? And if so, on what conditions? On what premises?

Clearly the chief objective, as defined in the above-mentioned Manifesto of our party, is the release of political prisoners, an end to the tortures, creation of conditions for the operation in the country of various political forces, implementation of measures for effective democratization ensuring the normal activity of the parties, popular and workers' organizations, freedom of the press, return of the emigrants and all the exiled. This is feasible only if all forces participate in the big plan of pacification and salvation of the country and restoration of the economy. In conditions of the fascist tyranny there can be no question of development or a way out of the crisis. Nor is there an

opportunity to carry out economic measures for expanding trade with all countries of the world, at solving the problems of the cattle-breeders and industrialists, at expanding the domestic market to improve well-being and raise wages, at restoration of democracy in the sphere of education, at strengthening the Uruguayan peso. All this is imperative in order to restore in Uruguay the basic conditions for pacification, democracy and freedom.

The Manifesto of our party said: "We communists, the party of the working class, which has lost many of its comrades in the struggle against the tyranny and whose members compose some 60-70 per cent of all political prisoners, know full well the price of ending fascism. While distressed with our party's big losses, we nevertheless are happy to note the isolation in which the regime finds itself as a result of its brutality. We are gratified that the broadest strata of the population have become aware of the need to rid themselves of the tyranny. We are not guided by feelings of revenge. Ours are profound aspirations for freedom and democracy based on justice. We do not seek any privileges for our party, but want rights and freedoms for all political parties and public organizations. We must all exert enormous efforts to find a way for unity and mutual understanding that will lead to the overthrow of the dictatorship and the creation of a climate of democracy and justice. This is imperative to heal the deep wounds afflicted on the country over these dark years. True to our principles and our inalienable stand in relation to the Broad Front, we see at the same time the need to create the broadest unity capable of solving in practice the historic objective of putting Uruguay back on the rails of development responding to its national interests.

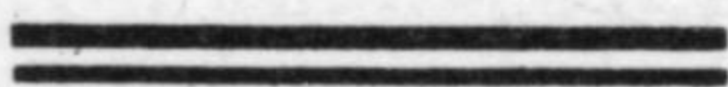
"Proceeding from such an approach and guided by our patriotic aims we fervently appeal to the members of the Blanco and Colorado parties, to the members of the Broad Front, to the working people, middle sections of town and country, civilians and military, believers and non-believers to search for a real way out of the national drama."

Abridged

1. On June 27, 1973, President Juan Maria Bordaberry staged a coup with the support of the armed forces command. Parliament was dissolved and repressions instigated against progressive organizations and functionaries. — *Ed.*

2. Jose Hervacio Artigas (1764-1850), a general who led the struggle for Uruguay's independence. — *Ed.*

3. National Convent of the Working People (trade union center). — *Ed.*



THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Statistical Data

The entire heroic history of the Soviet people and all their outstanding achievements are inseparably connected with the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the leading and guiding force of society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations. The facts and figures cited below are an eloquent description of the CPSU, an illustration of its growth and development, showing how it has been expanding its ties with the masses and ensuring leadership in all spheres of social life.

When the party came out of the underground following the victorious February Revolution of 1917, it had a mere 24,000 members. By the beginning of the Great October Socialist Revolution it had 350,000 members. On July 1, 1977, there were 16,203,446 full and candidate members of the CPSU.

In its essence the CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class. Workers made up 58.6 per cent, collective farmers 10.6 per cent, intellectuals in the technical fields, agronomists, stock-breeders, scientists and researchers, teachers, doctors and other specialists of the national economy, 25.1 per cent; workers in administration and management, 4.3 per cent, and students, 1.4 per cent of all those who became candidate members of the CPSU in 1976.

The majority of the party are workers and peasants, who make up 55.6 per cent of all the CPSU members. In the past decade the number of workers among the party members has grown by 1,879,000 and of collective farmers by 148,300.

Socialism has opened the broadest possible public access to knowledge and the wealth of spiritual culture. The growing educational and cultural level of the Soviet people is reflected in the composition of

the CPSU. On January 1, 1977, some 13,812,033 communists, or 86.4 per cent of all the CPSU members, had higher (complete or incomplete) and secondary (complete or incomplete) education, as compared with 1922 when a mere 2,317 communists, or 0.6 per cent, had higher education, while 88 per cent of the party's members were people with elementary education and self-educated people.

In the past decade the number of communists among specialists in the national economy has increased by 3,253,000, or 70 per cent.

The CPSU members are people of different generations. On January 1, 1977 there were 425 communists who joined the party before 1917; 2,071 in 1917; 25,479 in 1918-1923; and 1,829,035 in 1941-1945. Over three-quarters of all CPSU members have been admitted into the party in the postwar period, more than one-third of whom in the past ten years.

The CPSU is a party of internationalist-Leninists. It unites in its ranks people of more than 100 nations and nationalities.

In connection with the growing influx of young people to the party, the number of communists under 30 years of age has increased in the past six years by more than 500,000. At present 2,700,000 members of the CPSU, or 16.6 per cent, are under 30 years of age.

In the USSR genuine equality is ensured to women; they take an active part in labor, social, political and cultural life of the Soviet state. The number of women communists is constantly growing. Their share in the Communist Party membership increased from 20.9 per cent in 1967 to 24.7 per cent in 1977.

Nearly three quarters of the communists now working in the national economy are engaged in the sphere of material production, this decisive sphere of public life. The number of communists in the branches of material production in the past 10 years has grown by 1.8 million.

Primary party organizations, which are at the main line of economic and cultural development and are operating in the very midst of the masses make up the foundation of the party. Their number is growing every year, just as their activity. Fifty years ago there were 38,978 primary party organizations in the CPSU, and as of January 1, 1977 the figure amounted to 394,014. At present party committees have been set up in 37,150 primary party organizations.

In the party's many-sided activity a great role belongs to republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district party organizations and their leading bodies. As of July 1, 1977 there were 14 Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, 6

Territorial Committees, 149 Regional Committees, 10 Area Committees, 832 City Committees, 594 City District and 2,870 Rural District Committees in the CPSU.

The party pays great attention to the raising of the theoretical and ideological-political training of the communists. In the 1976/77 academic year 20.8 million people, of whom 12.4 million were members and candidate members of the CPSU, studied in the system of political education.

Pravda, October 28, 1977

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

Speaking in Vienna, CP Chairman Franz Muhri sharply criticized the bourgeois mass media which, he said, daily expose their readers to tendentious reports of terroristic acts, thereby bringing grist to the mill of terrorism.

The Communist Party, Franz Muhri said, categorically rejects terrorism in any form. That is precisely why we vigorously oppose the "sensational reports" in the bourgeois press. By depicting terror in such a light, the media are, however inadvertently, helping its perpetrators, he noted, and popularize them by focusing the readership's attention on them, thereby providing a psychological motivation for more terrorism and violence.

The struggle against terrorism, the Chairman emphasized, must be varied both on the national and the international plane. The CPA demands an immediate stop to the sensational and tendentious reports on terrorism. Freedom of the press must not be used to extol terror and violence, inasmuch as they are ultimately directed against human rights, Franz Muhri noted.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

A law permitting the legal activity of the Dominican Communist Party has been adopted in Santo Domingo. Since its founding in 1944, the Communist Party has been working in the rigorous conditions of illegality, while coming out in defense of the working people's interests and democratization of the country.

Commenting on the government decision to recognize the Communist Party, DCP General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde said it

signifies a step forward in normalizing the political situation in the Dominican Republic.

GUINEA-BISSAU

The Third Congress of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) was held in mid-November in Bissau. More than 30 delegates took part in the work of the congress. They discussed the report of the Supreme Council of Struggle of the PAIGC, which was delivered by General Secretary Aristides Pereira, adopted the party constitution and elected the leading party organs. Taking part in the work of the congress were delegations from many countries, including a CPSU delegation led by T.U. Usubaliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CC, Kirghiz Communist Party.

INDIA

The 11th Congress of the Communist Party of India will be held over March 31-April 7, 1978 in Bhatinda (Punjab), CPI General Secretary Rajeswara Rao said in a statement for the press published in Delhi. About 1,500 delegates will take part in the congress, representing 546,732 party members, the statement notes. Since the 10th Congress (1975), party membership has grown by 40 per cent. CPI organizations are now working in all the states and union territories, with the exception of Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal-Pradesh, the statement says.

The congress will examine developments in the country over the past three years, the statement notes, and will analyze the political line and practical activity of the party, its achievements and mistakes. It will draft measures for the strengthening and closer unity of party organizations. In elaborating the party's future policy, attention will be centered on the problem of unity of the left and democratic forces, the prospects of its strengthening on the basis of a common political platform in order to "turn this front into the decisive force in the life of the country," defend and consolidate political and economic independence, ensure the expansion of democracy and open the way for the country's advance toward socialism.

