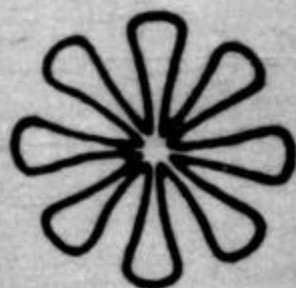
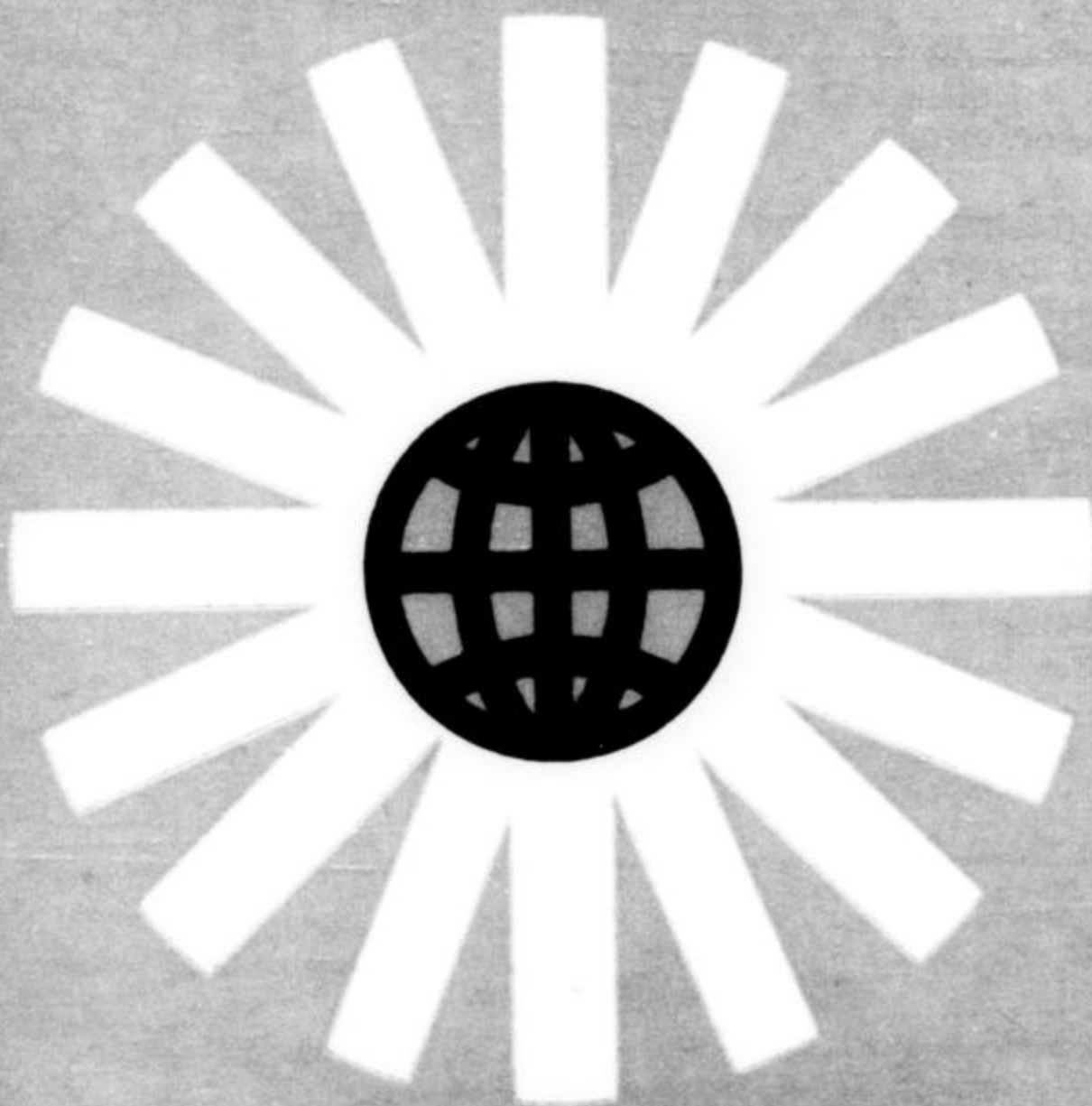


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LUIGI LONGO

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**LENIN ON
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OF CAPITALISM**
—H. Lumer

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STATEMENT*

OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO AND PANAMA

1. The Communist parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama held their Sixth Regional Conference to compare notes on their struggle and to coordinate action against imperialism and home reaction. Conference proceeded in an atmosphere of unity and fraternal solidarity and helped to strengthen the international links that have developed between our parties.

2. The exchange of information and views revealed once again the different level of the revolutionary struggle in our countries, as well as different conditions in which it has to go on due to differences in the situation and in economic, social and political development. The particular conditions prevailing in each of these countries determine its program, strategy and tactics of the revolution, the extent of imperialist oppression and the "solidarity" of these countries' reactionary regimes that are subservient to imperialism. They also determine the common features uniting us and make it necessary and possible to coordinate the common fight against forces hostile to the revolution.

The forms and paths of the revolution in our countries may be diverse but the goal is the same. Hence coordination of the revolutionary struggle will make victory possible. This coordination should promote the most diverse forms of moral and material aid and revolutionary action. Victory of the revolution in this area calls for joint action by the revolutionaries against the common enemy.

3. Conference puts on record the progress made towards unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, above all by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow last June. The course of preparations for the Meeting and the fact that the parties extensively discussed the main documents of the Meeting before and during it demonstrated the effort of Communist and Workers' parties to achieve greater unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communists are fully convinced that the Communist and revolutionary movement will attain closer unity in joint struggle

*Information Bulletin of Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama, No. 1, 1969.

against reaction and the imperialist policy of aggression and domination, for the triumph of the revolution.

4. Conference notes with satisfaction the beginning of talks between the government of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China with a view to finding a negotiated solution to the border conflict between the two states.

The Communist parties consider that disputes between countries should be settled by negotiation, especially if these countries have governments established by a working class in power. In this case disputes that are not settled in a positive spirit serve the cause of imperialism, which in planning provocations and acts of aggression counts on division in the socialist system.

5. The war between Honduras and El Salvador, provoked within the sphere of imperialist domination over the peoples of Central America, left an aftermath of suffering, poverty and destruction. It was an absolutely unjust war because it was planned and waged with the object of solving problems that concern solely the ruling classes and imperialism.

The war precipitated the crisis of the Central American Common Market and showed the policy of domination pursued by imperialism and the ruling classes of Central America to be at the roots of persistent conflicts in the area.

We are convinced that only the broadest fighting unity of the people can prevent a recurrence of the scourge of war between nations which have a common past and a common destiny. To reach this unity is a primary task of the revolutionary forces of Central America.

In view of the failure of the system of Central American economic integration and the disastrous effects of oligarchic and imperialist rule, the peoples are faced with the alternative of a democratic unity based on far-reaching changes in their social and economic structures, which will open new prospects for the advancement of the area and will make for durable fraternal friendship among nations and a lasting peace.

We call on all the progressive forces of Central America, and particularly on the peoples of Honduras and El Salvador, to realize the dangers threatening our peoples and to take the path of unity in the struggle for democracy, independence, social progress and national prosperity. The time has come to stop the ruling classes, which are trying for their own infamous purposes to sow hatred between the peoples in order to divide them and to clear the ground for their plans of exploitation and surrender to U.S. imperialism.

6. Conference hails the big victories achieved by the people of Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. aggression. It calls on our peoples to step up their actions of solidarity with the patriots of

North and South Vietnam in order to bring about the final and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressive troops of the United States and its allies, and the unification of the country, so that it can build its life without foreign interference.

Conference also expresses its condolences to the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the whole Vietnamese people on the death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, an exemplary Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, whose name will live on in the hearts of every fighter against imperialism, for socialism.

Conference sends heartfelt greetings to the U.S. patriots who courageously identify themselves with the people of Vietnam and fight effectively to end the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to lay bare Nixon's hypocritical policy which tends to carry on the aggression.

The democratic movement of the masses in the United States for their civil rights and against the aggression in Vietnam is a vastly important contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle and the cause of national liberation and world peace.

7. Conference reaffirms its solidarity with revolutionary and socialist Cuba. It notes with satisfaction the process of consolidation and economic development taking place in Cuba in spite of constant harassment by U.S. imperialism. We regard consolidation of the gains of the Cuban revolution as a decisive factor for the progress of the revolutionary movement in our region and the rest of Latin America.

8. The nationalization of oil and the initiation of the agrarian reform in Peru ushered in a process of progressive change opening for the Peruvian people the prospect of deeper changes. The expulsion of the U.S. military mission and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with most of the socialist countries were measures strengthening national sovereignty. The U.S. imperialists resort again to political blackmail and economic retaliation. However, their threats have so far been defeated by the anti-imperialist unity of the masses and the people of Peru.

The struggle of the Peruvian masses is the most important aspect of the Latin American peoples' general action against oligarchy and imperialism. We Communists of Central America, Mexico and Panama identify ourselves with the Peruvian Communist Party and all the progressive forces of Peru. We call on the peoples to rise in defense of the progressive changes being effected in that fraternal country.

9. In connection with the coming worldwide celebration of the centenary of V. I. Lenin, immortal genius of the revolution and founder of the world's first state of workers and peasants, Conference calls on all the Communists of Central America, Mexico and Panama to do their best to impart a mass character to the cele-

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bration and to intensify the study and dissemination of the theoretical and political legacy contained in Lenin's works. On this occasion Conference extends warm fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the working people of the USSR on behalf of the Communists of our region and wishes them new achievements in maintaining world peace and combating imperialism, which constitute a cause of international significance to the building of communism.

10. Conference sends fraternal greetings to the Communists, revolutionaries, democrats and all patriots unjustly held by the Mexican government. It demands an amnesty for all political prisoners and an end to persecution for political reasons.

The Mexican government resorted to brutal repression and mass murder in reply to the growing mass movement, which involves ever larger sections of the Mexican people who are fighting for democracy and freedom, and in reply to the militant action of students and other groups of the population in the latter half of 1968 for the release of political prisoners and against institutionalized violence. Our parties condemn these barbarous practices and identify themselves with the courageous and militant Mexican people.

11. The military government imposed on Panama has with U.S. aid established an anti-democratic, repressive regime. It has abolished the Constitution which guaranteed certain freedoms, has outlawed all political parties, interfered in university affairs and imprisoned political leaders, workers and students. This gorilla regime shows particular zeal in persecuting Communists and other consistent revolutionaries. José del Carmen Tunon, a beloved labor leader, died in prison and Luis Navas, the student leader, was manhandled.

Conference insists on the release of political prisoners. It calls on the peoples to show fraternal solidarity with the people of Panama who are fighting for democracy, against the reactionary military dictatorship and imperialist domination.

*Mexican Communist Party
Guatemalan Party of Labor
Communist Party of El Salvador
Communist Party of Honduras
Nicaraguan Socialist Party
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica
People's Party of Panama*

Central America, November 19, 1969.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE TASKS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

POLITICAL RESOLUTION* OF THE CC PCP

Developments are proving the analysis made by the Portuguese Communist Party of the political situation after the removal of Salazar and the formation of the Caetano government, and the perspectives, goals and forms of action defined by the Party, to be perfectly correct.

The PCP revealed how the fascists were trying through "liberal" demagoguery to rescue the regime and to carry on what is essentially a Salazarist policy. It warned against eventual illusions and pointed to the need to expose the fascist maneuver and, on the other hand, to make bold use of the favorable conditions provided by the crisis of the regime in order to win positions, embark political life on a new course and step up political action and the mass struggle of the people.

A year after the Caetano government's coming to power the political situation shows two essential characteristics:

First, behind the demagoguery about liberalization that has been exposed in the eyes of the masses, the main aspects of the traditional policy of the fascist dictatorship stand out more and more clearly, as is the regime's inability to overcome its internal difficulties and contradictions, which manifest themselves in attempts to combine the demagoguery about liberalization with immobilism.

Second, at the height of the people's struggle, in 1961 and 1962, the convergence of the three main trends (the struggle of the working class for its demands, the organized student movement and the political opposition movement) made it possible to score notable gains and laid the groundwork for future victories.

This past year has seen the exposure of the fascists' demagogic affirmations. It has dispelled illusions and laid bare the concepts and stratagems of right- and "left"-wing opportunists. It has revealed that the fascist dictatorship is still there and that the popular struggle has turned against the fascists the weapon they expected to bring them salvation.

*Abridged.

I. A YEAR OF "LIBERAL" DEMAGOGY

1. *The Caetano Government is a "Holy Alliance" of Fascist Clans.* The regime is being eroded by internal contradictions which it cannot overcome and which translate themselves into conflicts over the distribution of responsibilities, personal rivalries and hegemonist ambitions, and differences over the ways and means of preserving the domination of the monopolies and the big landed proprietors. As these contradictions become deeper and the struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies gather momentum there may come real political differentiation among the ruling classes and a fight for power between the partisans of the most undisguised and violent terror and the opponents of the formulas of the new corporative state.

However, the various fascist clans today are characterized by agreement on the fundamental aspects of the policy of oppression and exploitation, colonial domination and war, and surrender to imperialism.

The government of the monopolies (which are linked with imperialism) and of the big landowners is still a "Holy Alliance" of fascist ("liberal" and ultra) plans to continue a policy whose object is to save and consolidate a fascist dictatorship in grave crisis.

2. *Marcelo Caetano's "liberal" demagogy* expressed itself in a few big words, vague promises, insignificant measures and the announcement of others that seemingly affect certain structures and methods of the fascist state but in the final analysis are aimed at consolidating it.

The fascists will not hear of the lawful demand for free speech, the abolition of censorship, the right to information, freedom of assembly and association, trade union freedom, the right to strike and legal recognition of the political forces of the opposition.

Seemingly giving in to the demands of the democratic movement, the fascists announced the abolition of obligatory government approval of the composition of trade union leaderships. But the law on trade unions passed later provides for advance approval. Elections to student associations were announced but subsequently student associations were banned and faculties closed. Tolerance and respect for dissenting opinions were proclaimed but repressive measures reveal the regime's true nature.

3. *Fascist repression* is directed primarily against the PCP, the party of the working class, the only revolutionary party capable of carrying the anti-fascist movement through to its ultimate goal, which is to overthrow the dictatorship and establish a democratic system. Caetano's notorious claim that "there are no political prisoners in Portugal" is disproved by the fact that Pires Jorge, Blanqui Teixeira, Dias Lourenco, Octavio Pato, Carlos Costa and

many other outstanding fighters of the working class and the democratic movement are still in jail.

PIDE, the gendarmes and the secret police are used against strikers, the students of Coimbra University, demonstrators and democratic meetings. Persecution, house searches and various forms of intimidation persist.

4. *The colonial war*, a key aspect of the government's policy, takes a heavy toll in sacrifice from the nation in favor of the monopolies and imperialists. Caetano has stepped up military operations, provocation, terror and subversion against the liberation movement in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. He has started an intense propaganda campaign to mislead Portuguese opinion. In cooperation with the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia he openly takes part in intrigues, conspiracies, intervention and acts of aggression against Zambia, Tanzania, Guinea (Conakry), Senegal and the Congo (Brazzaville), in attempts to bring about reactionary coups in these countries and to surround the Portuguese colonies with a "security cordon." The fascists, who wrongly estimate the international situation and the alignment of world forces, think they can win the war. They are committing more and more crimes against the peoples who are fighting for independence and are dragging the nation into a venture which is bound to bring the people greater difficulties and hardships and to claim many young lives in the interests of monopoly and imperialism.

5. *The foreign policy* of the Caetano government is characterized by feverish activity to bolster reactionary alliances and to secure greater foreign aid, especially from the United States and West Germany, in or outside NATO, in exchange for increasing concessions that aggravate Portugal's bondage to imperialism. The government is strengthening its alliance with Franco's Spain, mainly with a view to obtaining cooperation now and armed intervention by it against the democratic movement in the future. Caetano has gone so far as to say that the purpose of "military cooperation" between the two countries is to combat "subversive activities." He is building up the alliance with the hated racist regime of South Africa, and he buys direct aid for Portugal's colonial war by granting concessions in Cunene and Cabora Bassa. In line with an ambitious policy, Caetano is striving for a South Atlantic Pact and for Brazil's support of the colonial war in exchange for large concessions in Africa.

6. *Monopoly control* over the entire political and economic life of the country has been more rigid since Caetano came to power.

To present the monopoly groups as a force that can cope with the difficulties of the nation, Caetano has brought into the government numerous executives of monopoly companies. He describes his

cabinet as a "cooperation government" with the approval of financial capital and has put direct spokesmen of boards of directors on the Inter-ministerial Economic Council. Referring to foreign competition, he helps the monopolies to concentrate the nation's wealth in their hands and to liquidate small enterprises. Under cover of "emergency measures" he promotes monopoly concentration, as in the case of textiles, fishing and canning, the iron and steel plants and the metal-working industry. The Caetano government has openly made government funds available to the monopolies and helps finance capital in profiteering and in carrying out plans designed to take over small capitalist enterprises. Under the pretext of what is demagogically called "modernization" of the administrative and financial apparatus, it takes steps to strengthen state monopoly capitalism.

This accounts for the backing openly given to the government by bankers, industrialists and monopolists, who see in the "liberal" demagoguery a policy meeting their best interests.

7. By increasing the exploitation of the working class, the monopoly groups try to boost their profits so as to be able to augment their capital as speedily as possible and to fix prices that may enable them to increase their competitive capacity on the world market, and even on the home market swamped with foreign goods.

During the past months the Caetano government has adhered to a policy of wage freeze while allowing the monopolies complete freedom in pricing their output. Furthermore, by demagogically announcing a campaign 'against the high cost of living,' it has drawn the attention of public opinion to the small traders, blaming them for the mounting cost of living while the monopolies made millions in profits.

8. So far fascism has achieved none of its more important objectives. It has managed to sow some illusions but not to extend its social basis. It has engendered vacillation in some anti-fascist quarters but has been unable to divide the democrats or to isolate the Communists. It has succeeded to a degree in creating an atmosphere of expectation but not in heading off a sharpening of the class struggle. It has now the sympathy of the bourgeois press of the world but not greater international support. It tried to win over the people through a policy of "renovation" and "liberalization" but soon its every activity revealed that it was continuing a fascist policy. It made numerous promises but showed clearly that it cannot solve any of the nation's big problems.

II. STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

1. Strikes by workers were the Portuguese people's first powerful reaction to the "liberal" demagoguery.

At a decisive political juncture, when the fascists were trying to create an atmosphere of expectation and passivity, which was supported by some important opposition groups, the working class—the only consistently revolutionary class—took the offensive. About 100,000 working people took part in numerous strikes, stoppages and other actions. The working class again gave evidence of a high degree of class awareness and showed itself to be *the vanguard of the anti-fascist movement*.

The workers' offensive helped to clarify the situation and to reveal the nature of the government and its policy. It forced the opportunists to retreat and refuted the anti-Communist arguments of some right-wing socialists and the pseudo-revolutionary mouthings of petty-bourgeois radicals. It had a stimulating effect on the entire democratic movement, became a catalyst of political action, helped to isolate the splitters and strengthened unity.

As far as its scope, character, significance, forms and results are concerned, the struggles of the working class in the early months of 1969 constituted *the most important fight against fascism since the Caetano government was formed*.

2. The working-class offensive in the Lisbon area early in 1969 resulted from a combination of objective and subjective factors: the still fresh example and experience of the struggles of the first half of 1968, the struggle for demands under way in the enterprises, increased exploitation and the economic plight of the working people, a more favorable political situation created by the deepening crisis and "liberal" demagoguery of the regime, the activity of the Communist Party, of its members and the foremost non-Communist working people.

3. By April the strikes, which began at Lisnave, Arsenal, Trefilaria and Cimentos Tejo, had spread to numerous other enterprises.

In many enterprises the working people won their demands fully or in part, and in others the struggle goes on.

The number of gains secured, the hasty retreat of numerous employers, who even raised wages to forestall strikes, and the fact that the government did not attempt a general and vast offensive of repression are due to the scale of the movement and to the unity and determination of the working people, on the one hand, and attest to the political difficulties besetting the ruling classes and the fascist regime and to their dread of an unexpected intensification of the class struggle, on the other.

4. We must learn *some lessons* from these remarkable struggles.

The struggle showed that the ample experience gained by the working class and the Party over the years is, in combination with the creative energy of the masses, a powerful instrument in the hands of the working people.

It showed once again that the working people must not expect any benefits from their exploiters and the fascists and that only by fighting can they win their demands.

It showed that unity and organization are an essential condition for success. And just as the course of events was decisively influenced by simultaneous action, the similarity of the forms of struggle and the demands advanced in the various regions, the strong unity of the working people at every enterprise and the organized action of unity committees and their links with the working people, so division among the working people and lack of organising work led to defeat.

The struggle showed that it takes militancy, firmness and confidence of success to overcome resistance and to withstand repression by the employers and the fascist state. Along with instances of courage in the face of refusal, vague promises and threats of repression, there were instances of indecision and vacillation which enabled the employers to gain time and refuse in the end to make any concessions (Simoes, Ecril).

The struggle showed that democratic methods of discussion and decision-making and of electing committee members are a valuable instrument of furthering working people's unity, enhancing the prestige of the committees and defending them, and ensuring that the struggle is carried through to victory.

It showed, furthermore, that success depends in substantial measure on the choice of forms of struggle in keeping with the situation and on the initiative and creative spirit of the masses. The revolutionary instinct of the working class prompted it to choose the right moment for downing tools. But in many instances success was promoted in important measure by changing the forms of struggle or by combining them, by calling sit-down strikes, using new forms of the strike and promptly taking the initiative to foil the employers' maneuvers.

Lastly, the struggle showed that the participation and experience of the Party are a decisive factor for the success of the struggle of the working class.

5. *Organizing, coordinating and unifying* the struggle for various demand is an urgent task which must be fulfilled if the struggle is to go on successfully.

To accomplish this task, the PCP recommends holding workers' meetings in the enterprises, districts, towns and provinces at regular intervals, establishing permanent contacts between enterprises and setting up workers' committees.

It is necessary to show vigilance in forming enterprise committees and to expose provocateurs bribed by the management.

The "liberal" demagoguery, the growing labor and democratic movement and the approaching fascist "elections" provide a favorable situation for setting up a network of legal organizations of the working people to lead the fight for demands.

6. *The prospect of new major battles looms large today. The near future may well see still more frequent strikes. We must stimulate and coordinate the fight in the enterprises, detect the sentiment of the masses, take timely organizing measures that will be widely supported by the masses, resolutely take the initiative and assume leadership.*

7. *Launching a vast trade union movement on the basis of the national unions is a pressing matter.*

The most important tasks today are to use the trade unions for holding large meetings on their premises to discuss problems of the working class, formulate its demands, discuss collective agreements; to organize a campaign that will help workers' candidates to win in the elections to the trade union leadership, and insist on immediate elections to the unions led by managerial committees; to campaign widely against the control of national trade unions by the employers and the fascists, insisting that the working people exercise unhampered control of the unions; to expose the methods of intimidation and falsification, unlawful practices and abusive interference in trade union affairs on the part of INT; to fight against the new law on trade unions which replaces government approval of the composition of elected trade union leaderships by the advance approval of candidates; to hold regional meetings and a national meeting with the aid of the working people's committees set up by the democratic movement, to discuss the situation in the trade unions.

Conditions favor a vast offensive to achieve important results in the trade union sphere.

8. The lag on the rural front should be considered the *greatest shortcoming* at this stage. This applies especially to the rural proletariat of Alentejo and Ribatejo, which are famed for their revolutionary traditions. A resolute effort must be made to eliminate this lag and to bring the working people of these areas into the struggle of the industrial and transport workers and the students and into the democratic movement.

9. The working people of Portugal celebrated *May Day* despite a campaign of intimidation and a display of force staged by the coercive apparatus. The meetings and street demonstrations held by the people of Oporto and Lisbon were brutally put down but they again made *May Day* a day of courageous struggle by the working people, who were joined by numerous students.

III. YOUTH STRUGGLES

1. After it had been announced that a reform was in preparation, and an "inquiry" was under way, the students and teaching staffs, taking the government's word at its face value, held numerous discussions and meetings, elected numerous committees, and published innumerable articles on the subject. This prompted the government to reject the slogan of "democratizing the school" put forward by the Minister of Education and to fall back on the old reactionary thesis of the university being a "temple of culture for the elect."

The students forced the government into concessions on the issue of the normal functioning of their associations.

The government did not accept the defeat. The ban on student associations in the universities of Coimbra and Lisbon, the suspension, refusal to confirm and arrest of elected student leaders showed that the government had sought a pretext to take the counter-offensive, first of all in the form of repressive measures, so as to regain lost positions.

The breadth and militancy of the student movement showed up the "liberal" demagogy and confirmed the movement's new and real potentialities for anti-fascist action.

2. *The student struggle is a great mass movement.* To say that the students are in the forefront, and in the case of some initiatives at the head, of the fight against the fascist dictatorship does not mean giving in to the hegemonist aspirations of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

The youth movement is strongest in the universities. A meeting at Coimbra University in November 1968, which brought together 5,000 students, approved a declaration listing the demands of Portugal's students and constituted the National Conference of Portuguese Students.

The first half of the academic year was marked by an upswing in the student struggle in Lisbon, the highest since 1962. This period saw an all-university strike that lasted a week, meetings involving 3,000 to 4,000 students, debates on the students' demands, including political ones, and the great silent march held after the inauguration of the academic year. Similar student actions took place in the universities of Coimbra and Oporto.

3. *The adverse effect of "left"- and right-wing opportunism* in the student movement complicated but did not stop the growth of the mass struggle, not even at its most difficult moments, which is an indication of the revolutionary strength of the student movement. However, the Party cannot confine itself to applauding and praising but must analyze, study experiences and mark deviations.

In the student movement there occur, in addition to right-wing opportunism, numerous manifestations of radicalism, leftism and

sectarianism that are occasionally couched in revolutionary language and translate themselves into the most serious mistakes of the movement.

The most typical of them are complete scorn for the student action and the legal activity of student associations; resistance to the mobilization of students in support of limited and immediate objectives, to mass action for demands; an ultra-radical approach to the definition of the general objectives and forms of the struggle, of the forms and methods of propaganda; a penchant for tactics isolating or singling out small minority groups or driving the movement underground; calling everything into question as the main form of action and an end in itself; the theory of permanent offensive; negation of the leading role of the working class and the claim to leadership of the entire revolutionary movement ("student-worker committees," "student power").

The leftist effect that these views have on the student movement makes it difficult to utilize the present situation. It facilitates repressive action by the fascists and endangers the legal organizations of the students and the positions won by them. It makes it more difficult to correctly carry the student struggle through to its culmination and injures student unity.

4. *To organize the students politically* is indispensable for two reasons: first, in order to meet the students' increased will to fight fascism; second, in order to properly safeguard student associations. According to some leftists, these associations should not become politicalized to the point of imperilling their legal status and their mass character, and furnishing a pretext for repression aimed at nullifying the most important gains of the movement.

In these circumstances the main task is to step up ideological work and choose the right direction for the student movement so as to give it a genuinely revolutionary perspective.

5. *Active participation by the youth in preparations for the "elections"* helps to bring hundreds of new enthusiasts into the election campaign and to set up a network of youth organizations that can become the basis for new initiatives both in and outside the electoral environment.

The decisive participation of young people in the demonstrations on October 5, January 31 and May Day, the meetings and get-togethers of young people in Famalicao, Oporto, Aveiro, Lisbon, Margem Sul and Ribatejo, the demand for the right to vote at the age of 18 put forward by the youth of Aveiro and Coimbra and the setting up of district democratic committees and youth councils all indicate the capacity of the younger generation for initiative and the willingness of large groups of young people to join in political action.

The growing participation of young working people in the fight against fascism shows that the conditions are ripe for advancing towards a vast unity movement of all young people, a mass movement looking to the future.

6. *To immediately create a vast youth movement* is an aspiration of the younger generation.

The present political situation affords considerable opportunities for the youth to unite in an independent movement with a broad mass base to uphold the interests of young people.

Young people strive for united action, they want to meet and get to know one another so as freely to discuss their problems and find collective solutions to them. They want to take an active part in the life of the nation and in the struggle for freedom.

Meetings to discuss temporary or permanent objectives and various rallies and festivals are natural forms of expression of initiative by young people, forms of cooperation and organization particularly suitable for a vast democratic youth movement.

The *working youth* of town and country should become the nucleus of this movement. In view of its living conditions, the experience it has gained in class battles for various demands, its readiness to fight on every anti-fascist front, its tenacity and militancy, the working youth should become the main force and point of attraction of the entire movement.

Legality of the youth movement is decisive if the movement is to grow, take important initiatives and maintain its continuity.

The best safeguard of the legality of the movement against fascist repression is for the movement to identify itself with the more pressing needs of the youth, use democratic methods of work and lean on the masses for support.

Fascism has been unable to win the youth. The youth movement can win the fight against fascism.

IV. THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

1. *The political struggle of the opposition* is the third major anti-fascist struggle.

The struggle for free speech and for the right of association has by now gained important positions as a result of a stubborn if slow offensive. The democratic movement has implemented numerous initiatives despite fascist bans and threats, by-passing censorship. At the same time, despite fascist repression and legal restrictions, various important organizations have come into being.

Collective messages sharply criticizing fascism and signed by tens of thousands of democrats brought the political goals of the opposition home to large sections of the population. Many thousands of

Portuguese attended forums and various other meetings to discuss national problems. The *Republican Congress* in Aveiro, attended by 1,500 delegates from every democratic trend, was an important step towards unity.

Undaunted by intimidation and challenging the fascist prohibition to form any democratic organization, anti-fascists found flexible forms of organization, obtained authorization to hold a number of meetings and assemblies, and set up a large network of democratic committees.

In a year of struggle the democratic movement has gained valuable positions and extended and strengthened its base.

2. *January 31* was a landmark in the development of the democratic movement. If the demonstrations and meetings held on October 5 made it possible to "feel the pulse" of the situation, January 31 revealed all trends and struck a telling blow at the splitters, opportunists and the advocates of collaboration who hampered democratic action in the early months of Caetano's tenure of office. While meetings for unity were being held the Right socialists' opportunist plan to make the meeting at the Coliseum in Oporto the starting point for their preferential legalization in exchange for division and anti-communism miscarried completely. It became evident that anyone who tries to split the opposition and to isolate the Communists and other advocates of unity risks isolating himself.

On January 31 the initiative passed into the hands of the supporters of unity. Those who had aspired to leading the democratic movement were compelled to join in initiatives for unity so as not to find themselves in isolation.

In that period the democratic movement made progress and its unity became firmer as the fight against opportunist concepts intensified and opportunist influence declined.

3. *Committees, meetings and assemblies* are flexible forms of organization. Their gradual development on democratic lines is the most positive aspect of the anti-fascist movement since the Caetano government came to power. The initiatives evolved by committees at the leadership level were supported by branch assemblies, meetings and committees, which are becoming vocal, tearing down routine, asserting the legality of the movement, forcing opportunist concepts back, exerting pressure for unity and action on the higher bodies and bringing the movement as a whole nearer the masses.

The rapid growth of the number of various committees (democratic, local, district, parochial, working people's, youth, women's) and their holding delegates' meetings are the method by which the democratic movement is enabled to step up political action, carry out big campaigns and extend the mass struggle of the people.

4. But there are also *limitations and shortcomings*.

First of all, the movement occasionally gives the impression of regarding participation in the fascist "elections" as an end in itself, which not only shackles initiative and narrows the scope of democratic activity but is likely to frustrate political initiative and lead to the collapse of the structures brought into being once the election farce is over.

Secondly, many of the organizations that are set up isolate themselves instead of turning boldly and promptly to the masses in order to mobilize them and organize their struggle.

In the third place, the democratic movement has been unable to campaign for partial political and other objectives so as to build up on this basis real organized movements and launch important national initiatives.

5. *Organizing a broad movement for amnesty and against repression* is an urgent political task of tremendous importance.

The deepening crisis of the regime and the "liberal" demagoguery provide favorable conditions for the struggle to secure the release of all political prisoners, for an amnesty, the abolition of "security" measures and the dissolution of PIDE. Yet the steps taken to this end do not meet the exigencies of today.

Setting up flexible organizations to achieve these ends and launching nationwide campaigns might in these circumstances produce notable results, specifically by winning freedom for political prisoners.

6. *Forming a national movement of Portuguese women* is a problem ripe for solution. The meetings, forums and other events on the occasion of March 8 are evidence of real progress and of the eagerness of thousands of women to join in progressive activity.

7. To bring the *masses* into the political struggle is the main task of the democratic movement.

Both political and organizational trends likely to restrict the movement to the narrow bounds of leading committees, political directorates or groups of "personalities" should be combated. The demand put forward by some of them to the effect that no branch committees, in particular workers', women's and youth committees, should be set up without their authorization, and the resistance to democratic discussion and decision-making put up by those who call themselves "democratic socialists," show that in the opposition there still are groups trying to reduce the democratic movement to a timid closed circle barely betraying its harmless presence on the political scene.

Only direct participation in the political struggle by the working class and the masses can give the democratic movement the strength to face up to the dictatorship and its repressive measures and successfully uphold its demands.

8. *The PCP policy for unity* has contributed in large measure to the development of political action since the Caetano government was formed.

As the Party sees it, unity is forged in and for action. Things cannot be limited to agreements at the level of "leaders." Unity should develop into a great popular movement. The strength of the anti-fascist opposition lies mainly in the unity of the fighting people.

After the formation of the Caetano government the PCP stressed that the more consistent anti-fascist forces, in which the desire for unity predominates, could by addressing themselves to the masses and by combating Right opportunist trends and pseudo-revolutionary verbiage take the initiative and lead the struggle at this stage.

The fight for unity is continuing. The anti-Communists, opportunists, splitters, those who favor a compromise with the fascist regime and collaboration have sustained telling reverses but have not dropped out of the democratic movement.

The movement for unity now going on may well be confident of its strength. It will make further progress in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for freedom, provided it does not sacrifice its action to opportunist demands but steadfastly promotes the unity of the entire opposition, drawing on popular support and upholding the democratic demands of the Portuguese people.

V. PARTICIPATION IN THE FASCIST "ELECTIONS"

1. *The "elections" are a masquerade to camouflage a fascist assembly held under a fascist dictatorship.*

The character of the National Assembly as an appendage of the fascist regime and the fascists' scornful attitude to the "elections" were made only too clear by Caetano, who said in an interview with *Manchete* that he would not tolerate in the Assembly "a group disputing the regime and intent on disturbing the political environment and on creating a subversive climate," and by the Home Minister, who on January 23, 1969 said the government would never submit to the "dictatorship of any majority."

The drawing up of doctored lists of electors by government-appointed officials, the denial of freedoms to opposition candidates, an atmosphere of intimidation and repression, the garbling of results and the prohibition of all effective control reduce the so-called electoral act to a masquerade and a farce.

2. *Marcelo Caetano is preparing a new "election" farce with the demagogical object of producing an effect at home and abroad. He says "fair and serious elections" will be held in October in which the opposition will be free to take part.*

Meanwhile the government's policy is daily exposing its demagogical and false contentions, as is evident from the public and arbitrary banning of canvassing committees, police interference in and suppression of meetings in various districts and the prohibition of various forums and conferences. The government did not allow the opposition to participate in drawing up electors' lists nor in verifying the lists drawn up by fascist committees.

The Home Minister's statement about the results achieved in drawing up electors' lists shows only too clearly that the fascists are going to stage "elections" and call them an "electoral victory" and "a genuine plebiscite."

3. The active and consistent presence on the "election" scene of a democratic opposition demanding control and exposing fascist frauds imperils the government's plans. This is why the government is trying harder to secure the cooperation of vacillating opposition elements and to bring into being a harmless opposition whose existence, being tolerated or recognized by the government, would furnish a pretext to suppress the real opposition as "subversive."

Although anti-fascist unity has grown stronger it may well happen that opportunist elements will try to secure the right to monopoly representation of the opposition at the price of sacrificing the democratic movement.

One year of activity by the opposition under the Caetano government has shown that the democrats of Portugal are strong enough to thwart maneuvers of this kind, to maintain and strengthen their unity and deliver a big blow in the "election" arena against fascism, for the Portuguese people's fundamental demands, for democracy.

4. *Neither staying away from the polls nor voting for the dictatorship. To take part in the "elections" in order to fight for freedom* means fighting against the various trends checking the progress of the democratic movement.

The first of these trends is *right-wing opportunism*, which systematically blocks the growth of the mass movement of the people on the "electoral" front. The Right socialists (ASP) propose a "broad democratic front" but try to make its establishment difficult by taking a stand against "election" meetings and assemblies and the setting up of broadly representative committees, which they want to replace by small groups of politicians who would be empowered to make all decisions for the democratic movement.

The second trend is represented by "*left*"-wing talk denying the existence of fascism and taking a disdainful view of democratic demands, the mass struggle and the idea of using the legal opportunities for ample action in the "election" period.

The third trend is "tailism" whose advocates do not believe in the possibility of a legal existence for the democratic movement and therefore suggest handing the initiative on the "election" scene to opportunist elements tending to compromise with the regime.

The fourth trend is *abstentionism*, upheld by part of the liberal bourgeoisie connected with Democratic Social Action, and by leftist groups of revolutionary phrasemongers who claim that to put forward opposition candidates would mean expressing "confidence" in the regime or that participation in the "elections" would amount to "betrayal."

All these opportunist concepts are expressive of lack of faith in the potentialities of the democratic movement and the people. They all lead to passivity, to a wait-and-see attitude, to renunciation of the opportunities for struggle. They all have an adverse effect on the democratic movement and should therefore be combated.

5. *To close the ranks and courageously resist intimidation and repression* is a demand which may become more imperative as the "election" battle goes on.

"The government will not allow a morbid atmosphere of emotional tension typical of elections," said the Home Minister. "The government will not allow a calm exchange of ideas to develop into revolutionary unrest," said Marcelo Caetano.

In the end the Home Minister offered the explanation that the government allowed the opposition to take part in the "elections" but not at a higher level than the district and to "offer the electorate a mere option of candidates." But if the opposition tried to unite its movement "for a general offensive against constitutional structures or the policy of the government" there would be an "inevitable reaction" on the part of the latter.

This orientation announced by the government and the specific repressive measures we have witnessed show that *the opposition must be prepared for a hard struggle in which every gain will be, not a gift from the government, but a result of struggle by the democratic movement and the masses.*

6. *Unitary candidates, politically staunch and linked with the masses*, are the best factors for unity on the election scene and for the power of the democratic movement. The movement should select its candidates at an early date and register them as soon as registration begins. If the splitters' lists are registered earlier the democratic opposition should refuse to have anything to do with them and should put forward its own candidates.

Under no circumstances—not even within the framework of fascist "elections"—must any Portuguese candidates be put forward from Angola, Guinea or Mozambique, whose people are fighting

arms in hand against Portuguese colonialism, for national independence.

7. *Launching a political struggle for immediate demands* is the best way of defeating the erroneous view that the only task now is to put forward candidates, carry on the election campaign and wait for the outcome of the vote. This mistake is fraught with the danger of compromising the entire election campaign of the opposition and narrowing the bounds of the democratic movement. The movement must advance certain demands in connection with the "elections":

1. Freedom for the democrats to organize their election campaign.
2. Freedom of election meetings and propaganda.
3. Verification of the electors' lists and control over the vote.

Participation of the democratic opposition in the "elections" is not an end in itself but rather part of the fight against the fascist regime, for freedom.

That is why as the election campaign goes on the opposition should advance the primary political demand of the Portuguese people: establishing democratic freedoms—freedom to form political parties, freedom of association, of the press, assembly, demonstrations and strikes and trade union freedom, so as to hold free elections to a Constituent Assembly.

To develop the democratic movement in present conditions with due regard to the tasks in the "election" campaign and the subsequent struggle, it is necessary to strive for the following immediate and specific objectives:

1. Releasing all political prisoners at once, permitting exiles to return, abolishing "security measures," investigating fascist crimes and the abuse of authority, and dissolving PIDE.

2. Abolishing censorship and granting the right to information.

3. Recognizing the permanent legal existence of the democratic opposition with its organizations and propaganda media and recognizing the democratic leadership of mass organizations, especially that of national trade unions and student associations.

4. Meeting the more urgent economic demands of the working class and other working people regarding wages, prices and taxes; granting the right to strike.

5. Ending the colonial war immediately. Establishing contact and holding talks with representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

6. Bringing about a turn in foreign policy towards peaceful co-existence and peaceful relations with all countries.

7. *Forming a powerful national organization* that would back democratic candidates is the best guarantee of success in the "election" campaign, of the achievement of partial gains, of the progress

and continuity of the democratic movement in view of the tasks of the "election" and post-"election" period.

8. *Continuing the struggle after the "elections"* should be assured even now by launching a vast election movement of the masses. In carrying on the "election" campaign, the opposition should bear in mind four key ideas.

First, for all the importance of using the "elections" as an arena for democratic action—which they actually should be—the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and win freedom is not restricted to the "elections," nor can it be settled through them.

Second, the "election" campaign is inseparable from the struggle for the fundamental democratic demands of the Portuguese people and from the present fight for immediate specific demands.

Third, the "election" campaign should be regarded as a step to strengthen the democratic movement and assure the continuity of political struggle in the post-"election" period.

Fourth, the continuation of legal political action should be prepared even now by fighting for specific immediate objectives so as to provide a basis for the continuity of the movement in new forms.

VI. OUTLOOK FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

1. Fascism having retreated behind the smokescreen of a dynamic policy of "renovation" and taken up defensive positions, the working class, the students and the democratic movement took the offensive. They certainly did not use all the opportunities afforded by the situation. The offensive was neither orderly nor determined throughout, but this does not detract from its significance, considering the numerous positions won by it, its gains in the spheres of politics, propaganda and organization and in meeting various demands if on a limited and partial scale.

As the hopes bred by the "liberal" demagoguery vanish, fascism, cornered by the popular and democratic offensive, is having less and less room for maneuver.

The Portuguese people must be vigilant towards the new maneuver being prepared by fascism, which is advertising a "renovated" National Assembly, a product of the election farce, and a "reconstructed" government. Demagogic measures, such as the law on the press, the university reform, the administrative autonomy of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, and even an "agrarian reform" are intended to mislead the people and consolidate the fascist dictatorship.

The Portuguese people and the democratic movement must be prepared for a new offensive of repression by which the fascists will try to keep the popular struggle down.

2. As fascism has limited opportunities for maneuver the time in which the democratic opposition can develop its struggle by pre-

paring for the "elections" is running out. It will not be long before the situation will prompt new forms of organization and new fundamental tasks and necessitate the use of new motive forces and catalysts of the democratic movement.

If the democratic movement proves capable of mobilizing large reserves—the mass of the people—and of training thousands of new fighters at this stage of the struggle, and if it succeeds in taking all requisite steps to ensure that the struggle goes on after the "elections," it will emerge all the stronger and provide conditions for resistance to a predictable fascist counter-offensive and for subsequent new and greater victories.

3. *The revolutionary perspective* of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship should always be borne in mind.

At this stage the greatest effort should be exerted in the sphere of legal or semi-legal action, of developing a powerful political movement of the masses and creating appropriate organizational structures. But in planning the activity of the opposition in legal or semi-legal conditions, it must constantly be borne in mind that the dictatorship will not be willing to lose one position after another, nor reconcile itself to the rise of a genuinely popular political opposition, any more than to the rise of movements involving ever larger sections of the people.

The struggle is inevitably assuming sharper forms as it goes on. The government will neither surrender nor resign. It has a state machinery at its disposal and as soon as it becomes aware of being in grave danger (irrespective of which clan—the ultras or the "liberals"—is in power), it will not hesitate to use the armed forces nor shrink from resorting to civil war to suppress the popular struggle.

In every field of political or organizing work the tasks involved in the present stage of the struggle are to convince the masses that the fight will be a hard one, that the fascists will do anything to stay in power and that the exacerbation of the class struggle is bound to lead to a head-on clash which can only be settled by force; to train a contingent of political workers linked with the masses and striving for this perspective and take concrete steps in accordance with this perspective.

The people's anti-fascist movement is opening a wide front of struggle for immediate and specific objectives. The task of the revolution at the present stage is to *overthrow the dictatorship and establish a democratic regime that would bring the Portuguese people and nation freedom, peace and national independence.*

August 1969

THE CP OF BOLIVIA AND THE PRESENT SITUATION*

The overthrow of the Siles government through the military coup of September 26, 1969 created a situation whose causes, characteristics and perspectives call for analysis.

A primary cause of the present situation was the intensification of the main contradiction, that between the nation and imperialism. The Bolivian people express their anti-imperialist sentiments so frankly that even the traditional forces of reaction and their political parties are compelled to protest their "anti-imperialism." Few people in our country would claim, especially in public, the role of outspoken defenders of imperialism. This does not necessarily mean that the objective basis for imperialist penetration, influence and action has been reduced, let alone eliminated. Indeed, it is the arrogance and outrageous behavior of imperialism that accounts for the angered people's resistance to the oppressors, a fact which no government, however reactionary, can disregard.

On the other hand, the growing contradiction between the oligarchic and bourgeois policy of restoration and the interests of the working class and the masses, at whom the blow of the counter-revolution was aimed first and foremost, revealed in a measure the inadequacy of the old methods of government and the need to devise new methods likely to save a regime faced with the prospect of a steady deterioration of the situation, which would be bound in a historically short time to pave the way for genuinely revolutionary changes. This is an important reason for the regime's political action of carrying out reforms and other measures which are beginning to reverse and rectify in a way the reactionary policy that originated within the nationalist movement and crystallized in the counter-revolutionary coup on November 4, 1964.

Lastly, the growing internal antagonism eroding the ruling bourgeoisie appears for the moment to have benefited the democratic and nationalist forces, which in alliance with groups of petty-bourgeois intellectuals are trying to improve the nationalist and democratic perspective. However, this dénouement is not final, for the antagonism persists and will continue to tell.

From the class point of view, the military and civilian government that has emerged—a heterogeneous and contradictory formation—represents mainly those sections of the bourgeoisie linked in a measure with state capitalism. Its social base and power factor are the armed forces, that is, a base which, in its turn, is being

*Slightly abridged.

eroded by class contradictions.

The new government team is characterized by typically bourgeois vacillation and dualism.

Some of the measures adopted by the government—in particular the abolition of the Oil Code and the nationalization of the Bolivian Gulf Oil Co., the repeal of the Trade Union Regulations and the Law on State Security, and the Declaration on Foreign Policy—are undoubtedly of positive value from the democratic and patriotic point of view. But they were decided on by the government, entirely without the masses, who in this case were conspicuous by their absence.

Explicitly anti-imperialist intentions were shown and even steps taken at the same level. But those who did so betrayed, on the other hand, an interest in compromise or negotiation with the colonialist overlords of Bolivia.

Fear and distrust of the working class and of the working people's participation in any constructive policy as a motive power express themselves in the vacillation of official quarters, which are very slow in recognizing freedom of action of the masses organized in trade unions. Specifically, they maintain the abusive policy of dismissal and reduced wages.

We do not discount the positive elements that have made the present situation possible. We neither idealize nor underestimate them. It is evident, however, that only the masses retaining their class independence can by their presence and action assure a steady advance ruling out a counter-revolutionary comeback.

As regards the likely perspective corresponding to the policy initiated in September in terms of its antecedents and possibilities, a policy called "revolutionary" by its makers, we would be deluding ourselves if we mistook words for deeds.

Revolution means replacing or removing the classes in power, replacing a decayed and reactionary class by a new, progressive class. It leads to a change in the structures or foundations of society, with power passing from one social class, a class of exploiters, to another class, the exploited one. Revolution implies qualitative changes in social relations and property forms. It follows that in Bolivia the change of government does not amount to a revolution nor could it have, and that the measures carried out are not enough to constitute a revolution. However, it would be wrong to infer that nothing has changed in the country and that everything is "as of old." To affirm that a revolution has taken place is as wrong as to deny that a certain positive process of change is under way.

The recent past of the policy-makers of today, the role played by the armed forces in backing the counter-revolution, the continuing operation of a CIA-controlled coercive and security apparatus, the "immunity" and impunity of the hangmen of the Bolivian people,

and other facts, add up to a painful experience that has left bleeding wounds on the body of the people.

The present situation cannot therefore be regarded as the desired revolutionary reality in which the objectives sought by the working people and progressive forces over a long period with a view to advancing to socialism are beginning to materialize. This would be wrong considering both the class character of the government and the role played by the working class and its party. Nevertheless, to deny that a certain turn favorable to the cause of democracy has begun and that there is evidence of patriotic sentiment would mean denying all possibility of making a concrete historical analysis of the situation.

The current process has its limitations. It may be said to pursue aims of its own that are not those of the working class. It promotes the class interests of the bourgeoisie and uses essentially reformist methods, which means that there may be advances or retreats depending on the given alignment of forces. We must draw proper conclusions from this.

The measures which the government formed in September has taken to date are indicative of a positive policy, as our Party had expected. Still, the possibility of carrying this policy further and deeper and of assuring progress even with the limitations of bourgeois and patriotic demands depend entirely on the role which the working class and the masses are able to play in the near future. Neither national demands, democratic objectives, nor the people's aspirations, can be met by the bourgeoisie, which invariably ends by betraying them. Recent development have shown this, and it is also true in a measure of the policy on wages decreed by the government and of the latter's imposition on the working people of the countryside. The bourgeoisie does not attack the enemies of the people consistently and turns in the long run against the people.

We revolutionaries must therefore take a stand which, as well as providing a perspective, a working-class alternative in the struggle for socialism, will enable us to use the present situation and the opportunities it affords to reshape working-class organizations, strengthen and extend the social basis of change, reveal the objectives of the struggle to the people and reduce the possibilities of the class enemy by striking him blow after blow and inflicting one reverse after another upon him. The demands to be campaigned for at present should reflect the interests of the nation, of all working people, particularly of the working class.

The right approach to the current process is, basically, to meet the imperative necessity for an independent organization of the working-class movement strong enough to exert pressure and advance its own alternative. This goal can be reached provided we remember that the movement is going through a period of reorgani-

zation and unification, a period of change in the balance of forces. It can only be attained through a flexible and consistent class policy.

However, despite its potential, the working class cannot by itself bring about revolutionary change. It must constantly seek allies as it fights for freedom. First of all it must ally itself with the peasants and then with other groups, however temporary and unstable the latter kind of alliance may be. The necessity for allies is expressed in the policy of class alliances and agreements. The policy of establishing a popular front charted by our Party is a case in point and fully retains its validity.

A factor of the first importance in the present situation is the role the peasants can play by supporting progressive changes, becoming a reserve force of the bourgeoisie, or following the venal bosses of the peasant unions and so becoming a reserve force of counter-revolution. Mobilizing and organizing this immense force in support of the working class depends in large measure on the program the working class is able consistently to carry out, taking account of the interests of the rural masses, of the poorest among the exploited. This program should provide for a campaign against the land tax demanded by the International Monetary Fund.

Action today should center on the following objectives:

1. Paying no indemnity to the Bolivian Gulf Co.
2. Restoring the Matilde mine, the vast deposits of "low-grade" ore, the Teoponte gold fields, etc., to the nation.
3. Uniting and reorganizing the working-class movement.
4. Insisting on respect for the democratic rights and freedoms of the people, on legal status for the Communist Party and on a general amnesty.
5. Expelling all U.S. spy rings and their agents.
6. Maintaining and improving the living standard of the working class and fighting against price increases, for adequate pay.
7. Bringing about the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that any progressive or patriotic action aimed at upholding national dignity and sovereignty and really affecting the interests of the oppressors is bound to be retaliated for by every means available to the plunderers of the people. In view of this danger, which is not theoretical, it is only by radicalizing the current process and by taking counter-measures to end monopoly domination that the progress of a sovereign policy will be made possible.

Action by the masses demanding new measures should become the decisive factor against anti-national interests. The people must fight to win and to safeguard their gains.

La Paz, November 1969.

*Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Bolivia*

SPEECH* BY LUIGI LONGO

GENERAL SECRETARY OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AT MEETING OF CC ICP

Comrades, this Central Committee meeting was convened to make a deep-going analysis of the problems facing our Party and the Communist Youth Federation. I am in complete accord with the way Comrades Pecchioli and Serri defined the problems, and also with their proposals. Especially, I agree with what was said here about not reducing the analysis of the situation to a ritualist enumeration of the organizational problems facing our movement. Our meeting comes on the heels of last autumn's formidable working-class actions, highlighted not only by their dimensions, militancy and results achieved, but by the appearance of a new consciousness among working people and the masses, by original organizational forms of struggle and leadership, casting the masses in a different light, making them more organized and turning them into a force that is at once differentiated and cohesive.

Also, we should take note of the unitarian character of last autumn's movement, deriving above all from the united action of the three trade union centers. Our Party, too, acted cohesively, with authority, assuming its place in the van of the masses. Our discussion of recent months with the comrades forming the "Manifesto" group did not affect the Party's unity. The vast majority of Communists rejected the propositions advanced by the factionalists who wanted to turn the Party into a conglomerate of diverse groups independent of each other and engaged in the propagation of different ideas.

The Communist Party, Togliatti once said, must not confine itself merely to setting out its views on the assumption that everybody will follow it and expecting events to take the desired course. The Communist Party must be actively engaged in the mass movement, especially at the present time, in order to advance the movement, organize it, and lead it in the necessary battles. That is why the Party must be united and cohesive in its political orientation and practical work. It is our good fortune, and that of the Italian workers' and people's movement, that we have gone forward a long way from the initial phase of messianic propaganda. The October Revolution, Lenin's legacy and 50 years' experience of our Party have enabled us and the Italian workers' and people's movement to

*Unità, January 16, 1970.

determine the compulsions of the situation and the tasks of the revolutionary mass party that we are and always strive to be.

Thanks to our activity, to our sacrifices and our 50 years' experience, we have grown into a large party, into an essential and weighty component of the Italian scene. Not only the wish to be a revolutionary party, but the reality in which we exist, the need to resolve the vital problems of the masses and the basic problems of Italian society, place upon us the urgent and vital historic mission of leading the entire Italian people to democratic renovation and the socialist reconstruction of our country.

This can be done on the following basis only: firstly, on the basis of a correct political line and action program consistent with the conditions and possibilities of the present phase of development and, secondly, on the basis of a united and militant party closely linked with the broad mass of workers and people or, in other words, with those that last autumn displayed so much capacity for combat and such political and organizational acumen.

It is farthest from our mind to belittle either the weight or the contribution of the various trade union organizations and other Left trends and organizations to the struggle and the achieved success. However, as we see it, it was our Party branches, our trade unionists, our Party as a whole, with its years of experience and its orientation, organization and leading role, that made the prime contribution to the struggle of the recent months and the success achieved.

As we see it, this irrefutable fact suffices to confirm in general our policy for unity and struggle, a policy we have always followed, bearing out the effectiveness and validity of that policy for our task, the task we have taken upon ourselves to perform: to become increasingly the leader of the entire Italian people, and this, of course, in cooperation with other democratic and progressive forces. What it also bears out is that our Party is united, whatever our adversaries may say to the contrary and whatever attempts are made to disorient the groups of Party activists and to lead them onto an erroneous and dangerous path.

We do not mean to say that all is well in our Party. Speaking of the mass movement and the results achieved, we must fight shy of generalities and illusions. There are still insufficiencies in our rural work, our work in the south of Italy and in the school movement.

However, as I see it, we have every reason to draw the general conclusion that our policy is correct and our actions are effective. Precisely on the strength of this general positive conclusion, we should here, at this Central Committee meeting, analyze and check our organization, our methods, our organizational structures and methods of work, the relationship between the center and periphery, the participation of the rank-and-file in the work and guidance of

the Party, and this, naturally, on the basis of the experience accumulated in the struggle of the recent months, on the basis of the new demands and possibilities resulting from that struggle and from the successes achieved in it.

Not only should we confirm in the organizational domain and with respect to leadership the mass character that our Party must possess, and not only must we confirm the democratic centralism that should regulate our internal life. Also, on the basis of the new experience and the new facts we should determine how the Party's mass nature is to express itself in the present stage of the workers' and people's movement and how, in face of the powerful tremors occurring in the movement, we should promote broader participation not only in the struggle but also in organizing and leading the struggle. It would be a grave mistake to overlook this experience and the pertinent indications concerning the organization and leadership of the Party.

It is quite true that we have always emphatically stressed the need for the broadest participation of all Communists in discussions, decisions and the actual guidance of our organizations.

However, the experience of the workers' movement of recent months shows that our approach to these problems, including those related to the Party, can and must be much broader.

That was why this Central Committee meeting was called and why the reports of Comrades Pecchioli and Serri were centered on this aim. And I assume that our discussion, too, should proceed along these lines.

The question of the nature of the Party and of inner-Party democracy kept cropping up persistently during the recent discussion with our adversaries, as well as with our comrades and friends. Some advanced a totally unacceptable conception of the Party. It never could be our conception, for it would emasculate the very idea of the Party as the bearer of a particular view of society, of a particular action program centered on developing society. If that were not so, what would a party be and what should it serve?

A conception aimed at making the Party a conglomerate of groups, each with its own orientation, its own discipline and its own activity, would have the same effect as annulling the Party. In other words, we would have an academic debating society, whereas, as Togliatti said, we are and want to be a revolutionary party equipped for action and struggle, because we are a working-class party, that is, the party of the oppressed and exploited class which requires energetic, reliable and firm leadership to liberate itself. Yet the creators of the "Manifesto" planned breaking up the Party, reducing it to a profusion of groups and splinters that would join those already in existence.

We know it is not easy to be a Communist. One must have a special tempering and be imbued with the lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, discipline and modesty. Not all can stand the strain created by the sharpness of the struggle. I can recall how many people aspired to "saving" or making the Party "healthful" in the half century of its existence, and who left its ranks. More often than not, their end was pitiful, for they were left out of the great historic events of the past 50 years—the anti-fascist work, the war in Spain, the resistance movement in Italy and the struggle of the past 25 years. It was in the course of these events that the Party developed and, by virtue of its activity, grew into what it is now: a big party with authority, with weight—and what weight!—in Italy.

Past experience should be a political lesson for those who took the well-known stand on democracy and accused our Party of stifling democracy. The facts showed invariably that the differences did not stem from different approaches to the question of the inner-Party climate and Party democracy, but from differences in political conceptions, conceptions unacceptable to the Party. Often, some people put it this way: Party democracy affords people the right to make mistakes. That, as I see it, is a right which everybody, including ourselves, enjoys and even abuses. For this reason, it seems, you and we, the activists and the leaders, should legitimately demand democratic help in avoiding mistakes and then taking the correct and true way.

Despite all the anti-democratic transgressions of which we may be accused—and which we may have committed—we can take pride, I hold, in being the most democratic of all existing parties: firstly, by virtue of our policy, by virtue of the aims which we set ourselves, by virtue of the function we perform and, secondly, by virtue of our inner regime and the possibilities afforded each Communist to speak his mind when working out the policy and actions of the Party, as well as by virtue of the many contacts and consultations between the central and peripheral Party bodies and the local organizations and activists.

All the same, precisely due to the recent experience, we hold that further steps can and must be taken to assure the still greater and more active participation of the primary organizations and activists not only in the activity or the elaboration, but also the adoption, of the basic decisions related to Party work on the national and local scale. The proposals submitted by Pecchioli and Serri are consistent with this aim. Furthermore, the comrades know that the preparations for this Central Committee meeting and the proposals submitted for our approval were drawn up with the more direct participation of the local leading Party bodies and of comrades occupying prominent positions in the different areas of our activity — in parliament, the press, the cultural field, and the like.

We want closer links between our central and local leading bodies and the experience accumulated by Communists and local branches; these can be achieved through broader and more general forms of participation and, wherever possible, by submitting all decisions concerning important aspects of our policy and activity for approval and endorsement by primary organizations, as was the case in the trade unions in relation to the complicated and much-discussed pensions issue or, more recently, the conclusion of collective agreements.

However, the stimulus for collective activity by the leading Party bodies and the primary organizations and activists should lead to livelier, more active work by our organizations. All of us must apply efforts, both in the center and the periphery, to overcome the obstacles to broader participation by Communists in local Party meetings, to more frequent interventions by activists and "protagonists" of struggle at Party meetings and in discussions that take place in Party sections and cells, as well as the federal Party committees.

I have been told that Communists often refrain from participating in discussions because, as they put it, what use is it to speak if no attention is paid to what they say. It stands to reason that our political line is the main basis of our activity, provided it is worked out collectively by the Party and all Communists regard it as their "own," produced by their own work, stemming from their own experience and as the result of discussions in which they took part.

To carry into effect such a political line, the Party cannot but draw all its members into all its actions precisely because it is, and wants to be, a militant party striving to influence the course of events. In face of the complicated and difficult problems of today, the Party cannot fulfil its tasks without firm discipline, uniting and coordinating the efforts of its branches and activists and, through them, the actions of the working-class and democratic movement as a whole.

As Comrade Togliatti said back in 1945, our discipline must be practical and concrete, shaped in work and struggle, as a result of a discussion, because ours is a fighting party that builds and wins over the masses not only by propaganda and agitation, but also by constructive activity in all areas, all spheres of social life.

Our aim is to renovate and extend our inner democracy, that is, secure the participation of each activist in Party life, in our discussions and in the making of decisions. To begin with, as we see from the reports of our federal committees, it is essential that Party meetings should be held regularly and not sporadically, and that at these meetings members should be called on to discuss and adopt decisions on all matters of interest to the Party. Party meetings should be evaluated, among other things, on the basis of the content of the discussions, with organizers and participants seeing clearly that

what they say is taken into account and earnestly considered and that they, too, can adopt decisions on bigger issues.

Furthermore, we should look with all due attention into the matter raised here by comrades, namely, that of the relationship between the central Party leadership and the peripheral organizations, improving the contacts, making them stronger, closer, more lively and less bureaucratic. In particular, this applies to federations the members of which are not represented on the central bodies of the Party. But it applies not only to these federations.

Again, we must refer to the conception of the Party formulated by our Congress—that the Party is not the only element of organization and, more so, not the prototype of the future socialist society, but the inspirer of a broad front of social and political alliances. In present-day society, and in the Party too, the need has arisen for what we call “participation,” making this participation more systematic, so that it should exercise a more decisive influence on the key aspects of orientation and action.

It seems to me that in this context we can speak of a new stage in the relationship between the center and the local branch organizations and, consequently, of a new stage in the very structure of the political and mass organizations. As I see it, only by perceiving this new element and accepting it as a democratic necessity, can we understand how positive is the wind of debate blowing in recent years not only in the state institutions, but also in the traditional political and trade union organizations, our Party included. We are conscious of the need for a fundamental ideological and political dialogue—especially with the youth—concerning all problems of socialism and in particular the problem of building socialism in Italy. Unquestionably, positive developments are on record both in national and international terms, but there are still many negative, and even substantially negative, factors. We should give thought to what the Party should be in the '70s and what must distinguish it from the mass party of 1945. In the past, the masses organized themselves in independent and unitarian forms that became increasingly broad and varied. The tendency these days is to accentuate these specific features. Thus, the question of a mass party has become a question of the relationship between the Party and those organizations in which we want to secure a predominance of our ideas and unitarian actions. This means that Communists should be everywhere and, also, that we must have the kind of organization and conduct the kind of activity that will assure all this in practice.

The demand for participation and democracy has increased in all organizations, be they political, trade union, popular or mass. We can only welcome this, because it is a big advance in the democratic thinking of the masses.

After all, democratic centralism, correctly understood, also implies participation. This correct understanding we reassert by stressing the need for the participation of primary organizations at all levels. And we do so in the face of our critics, because we are convinced that it accords best with the democratic demands of the working class and the Party. We reject the attacks on our Party, even those from quarters close to us, casting doubt on the democratic character of our Party. We do so because, firstly, the democratic nature of the Party stems, first and foremost, from its political aims, its general line, its struggle, and because, secondly, in the matter of inner-Party life our Party is second to none, at least in that respect. For all this, we are not satisfied with the relationship that exists between the Party and the masses, the center and the primary organizations. We should increasingly promote broader and more lively participation by Communists and peripheral organizations not only in meetings and discussions, but also in adopting decisions on Party policy.

That, today, is what the problem of Party democracy boils down to. And in our activity we must not lose sight of the fact that political groups are appearing to the left of us. We must treat the matter with intelligence and attention, and must bear in mind that new sections of people are joining the struggle, and this at a rapid rate.

All this is happening against the background of mass movement but in a situation that enables us to advance all our activity and our organization, provided our attitude is one of not only wanting to teach, but also learn from, the movement.

The necessary renovation must be based on precise political choice in order to advance the ideas of our 12th Party congress. The developments of 1968 and 1969 revealed again the deep-going change in the situation, opening up new historical perspectives. It is with this change that we associate our renovation. It is time for us to realize that the process of moulding Party cadres is too slow—slower than the rate at which the situation develops and too slow for the tasks we now face. We must realize that the Party must operate in the factories and that collective Party organization must spring up at factory level. And that is inconceivable unless the Party expresses that which no trade union organization can express and unless it ties in its actions thereby with the strategy of the struggle for socialism.

A new stage is opening up in our activity and struggle. Last year's struggle showed that the political and social balance has tilted in favor of the working people. That is precisely why the arduous but successful struggle of the workers and the people is encountering bitter resistance today from the employers and all the conservative and Rightist forces. This may be illustrated by the systematic mass persecution of the organizers of the recent

actions and by the maneuvers aimed at resurrecting, under the signboard of the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, a four-party government, that is, a government through which its initiators intend to work out a conservative and essentially reactionary solution for the deep-going social and political crisis of present-day Italy.

We are aware of what is behind these proposals and schemes. They are backed by the conservative and reactionary bourgeoisie, which cannot reconcile itself to the increasing strength of the working-class movement and which, by reason of its nature, refuses to submit to the republican system born of the Resistance Movement and to the influence which, under that system, is wielded by the workers' and people's forces.

Hence the threats to Italian democracy and the infringement of republican freedoms. Hence the incitement of extremist groups in the police and in the military and bureaucratic establishments, which by virtue of their mandate should maintain absolute democratic and constitutional loyalty, to commit adventurous provocations. This provides fertile soil for the clandestine contacts that these groups maintain with foreign centers of provocation and sabotage.

On this venomous soil there spring up campaigns conducted by certain organs of the so-called independent press, shamelessly monopolized by various adventurers—campaigns which, as the recent working-class actions showed, do not stop short of increasingly candid incitement aimed at creating artificial tensions and imperilling all the democratic institutions. The logic spurring the initiators of a new four-party government is centered on encouraging the reactionary forces and inciting criminal actions. In face of the varied speculation concerning our standpoint on the present government crisis, it may be useful to state once more at this meeting our firmest, most determined and militant opposition to the revival of the so-called "organic Center-Left." That would be a precarious attempt doomed to failure, to block and reverse the entire situation, a situation that demands new, rapid and substantial changes in the government's orientation and composition. In its way, it would therefore be an open challenge to the working class, the broad masses, which aspire to regeneration and progress. It would also jeopardize the gains of the past few months and thus create new political and social tensions.

That is why we regard as a grave mistake any concession the Socialists and the Left Christian-Democratic forces may make to the pressure exerted in the attempts at creating a four-party government. For the Socialist comrades that would amount to a serious political humiliation, implying an end to the Italian Socialist Party's efforts to recovering among the working people its pres-

tige and authority, greatly undermined by its collaboration with the Social Democrats.

All the genuinely democratic forces must heed the following concrete demand: only by working for mutual understanding and effective cooperation with all Left, secular and Catholic forces in all areas requiring urgent solutions, can an enduring foundation be laid for effective democratic economic, political and social development. That is why we declare once more at this meeting that we shall in all earnest appreciate each fact intimating in concrete terms the beginning of a genuine leftward shift in the country's political leadership consistent with the urgent demands and aspirations of the masses and the nation.

In conclusion, I should like to stress once more that in order to fulfil our serious and arduous tasks effectively, we must extend still more the mass nature of our Party, bring up new and young cadres, placing them in positions of responsibility both at the center and locally. What we cannot and must not do is to rest on our laurels; we must bring up a new generation of activists and leaders in the factories, farms and schools, a new generation with fresh verve, injecting new strength into our actions for political renovation and social progress.

At all costs, we must have deeper roots at the enterprises. There is still a shortage of activists in all areas of our work. From the most inconspicuous to the most conspicuous. I know that some derogators consider Party activists as useless. But that is only a reflection of their indolence and their false interpretation of what a party should be. They think one need only define the "aims" and "perspective" for everything to move in the desired direction. But the Party, Togliatti said, is the vanguard of revolutionary fighters, propagandists, organizers, men and women, young workers and students acting in concert to rouse and lead the masses in action and struggle. What this requires at all levels is more leading cadres—not in order to have a large number of Party bodies, but to work out a deeper, more concrete and more versatile policy, securing the participation of all Communists who at their places of work are constantly in direct contact with production and the working people.

Renovation does not mean opposing one generation of activists and Party cadres to another. Renovation and consolidation are interrelated tasks and must be carried forward in a single continuous process. We must accelerate our advance to these aims in order to reduce the still existing gap between our political strength and the effective part which we play in Italian society, in order, as Togliatti said, "to accentuate the character of our Party, which puts up its candidatures to the Italian government not singly, but in alliance with other democratic and progressive forces," and in

order to strengthen and develop those centers of local power controlled by the toiling classes which can be effectively used to promote democratic and social progress.

I should like to recall Togliatti's statement that the struggle for democracy and socialism can be carried through to victory only by a strong, active and democratic party of working people and democrats and that vigilance and the struggle against the class enemy, organizing the economic and political movement of the working class, and winning democracy and socialism are all tasks that necessitate creating, defending and continuously improving a strong Communist Party.

We recall Togliatti's words to this effect at a time when slander is being flung at our Party, when it is beset by all kinds of insidious intrigues, but at a time, too, when the perspectives of the struggle and the possibilities for substantial progress towards the country's democratic renovation and socialist reconstruction have increased. It is precisely to prepare the ground for this struggle and to carry forward these prime tasks of the vanguard and leader of the working class that we have gathered at this meeting, and I hope that our discussion will be fruitful.

LENIN ON THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

HYMAN LUMER

Central among Lenin's many-sided theoretical contributions is his profound analysis of imperialism. History has amply borne out the validity of this analysis. The events of the past fifty-odd years have demonstrated beyond question the correctness of Lenin's characterization of imperialism as moribund, decaying capitalism, as the final stage of capitalism in which its contradictions are sharpened to the breaking point, in which its replacement by socialism is on the order of the day.

Lenin fought unremittingly against the Right opportunism of Karl Kautsky and others who saw in the rise of monopoly capital a *lessening* of contradictions and who envisioned imperialism as leading to "ultra-imperialism"—a further stage in which the monopolies would be merged into one worldwide cartel and in which world peace would reign.

The increasing concentration of production, culminating in the emergence of monopolies, represents a gigantic step forward in the socialization of production, one which greatly sharpens the basic contradiction of capitalism and with it all other contradictions. This is clearly expressed in the concluding pages of *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, where Lenin, speaking of the systematic, large-scale, organized activities of the big enterprises, states:

"... then it becomes evident that we have socialization of production, and not mere 'interlocking'; that private economic and property relations constitute a shell which no longer fits its contents, a shell which must inevitably decay if its removal is artificially delayed, a shell which may remain in a state of decay for a long time (if, at the worst, the cure of the opportunist abscess is protracted) but which will inevitably be removed." (Vol. 22, pp. 302-303).

In his analysis of imperialism, Lenin ascribed a key role to the accentuation in this stage of the uneven development of capitalism in different countries. This it was that upset the existing relationship of forces and led to imperialist wars for the redivision of the

*Political Affairs, December 1969. Abridged.

world. And this it was that rendered possible—indeed necessary—the victory of socialism in one or a few countries, in contrast to Marx's earlier conclusion that it must occur simultaneously in most of the advanced industrial countries. And this it was that led to the concept of a new historical epoch of struggle between the two opposing systems.

The general crisis is now far advanced since Lenin's day. Today the forces arrayed against imperialism, with the socialist countries at their head, are in fact "capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole." Irretrievably, imperialism has lost its position of dominance on the world scene. In the words of the statement adopted by the Moscow conference of Workers' and Communist parties last June: "Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, and all the revolutionary forces."

Lenin's theory of imperialism was instrumental in the victory of the October Revolution. To be sure, many profound changes have occurred since then, and much has been added or modified in Lenin's theory. But its basic elements retain their validity and are borne out by current developments, and particularly those in the United States.

Here, where the concentration of capital has long been the highest in the world, the process of concentration continues unabated. The giant corporations which dominate industry and finance are becoming ever more gigantic.

American Telephone and Telegraph, the largest corporation in the world, reported assets of more than \$40 billion in 1968, up from \$28 billion in 1964. General Motors, the largest of the industrial giants, recorded sales of \$23 billion and assets of \$14 billion in 1968. These assets had grown from \$4.4 billion in 1950 to \$10 billion in 1962. Similarly, the assets of Standard Oil of New Jersey, next largest, grew from \$4.2 billion in 1950 to \$11.5 billion in 1962 and \$16.8 billion in 1968.

In 1948 the 200 biggest manufacturing corporations owned 48 per cent of all manufacturing assets. In 1967 this had risen to nearly 59 per cent.

The most striking manifestation of the accelerated pace of concentration, however, is the colossal flood of corporate mergers and takeovers which has developed during the last few years. From 219 in 1950, according to the Federal Trade Commission, the number of mergers rose to 995 in 1966 and 2,655 in 1968. This is by far the biggest merger boom in U.S. history. Especially noteworthy is the rise in mergers of larger corporations.

A most significant feature of the current merger boom is the spectacular rise in conglomerate mergers, that is, mergers of firms producing unrelated products. From less than 40 per cent of the total in 1948-51 these jumped to 90 per cent in 1968. To some extent the rise is due to an increase in such mergers on the part of older corporations. Such large companies as General Electric and Union Carbide and Carbon have through acquisitions evolved into conglomerate corporations. But in recent years such mergers have involved mainly a mushrooming group of new conglomerate corporations, consisting mainly or entirely of collections of enterprises in quite unrelated fields and constantly striving to expand by swallowing up additional enterprises. The largest of these corporations is Ling-Temco-Vought.

Another form of conglomerate which has developed in recent years is the one-bank holding company. Since commercial banks are legally forbidden to engage in other forms of business, the procedure for evading this prohibition is to set up a holding company which holds the stock of the given bank and proceeds to acquire also the stock of other corporations. The Bank of America (the largest in the world), Crocker-Citizens National Bank (California) and the First National City Bank (New York) are among more than fifty major banks which have reorganized along these lines.

Initially, conglomerate mergers were motivated primarily by a desire to provide greater financial stability in the face of economic fluctuations. More recently they have been motivated in growing measures by the profits to be made from stock manipulations.

The rise of the conglomerates thus represents a new dimension in the parasitism of monopoly capital. And this occurs on top of a strengthened role of the big banks and finance capital.

The top banks and other financial institutions have greatly increased their role. A recent report of the House Committee on Banking and Currency (*Commercial Banks and Their Trust Activities: Emerging Influence on the American Economy*) discloses that these account for 85 per cent of all debt financing and a major part of equity financing. They also dominate the securities market. In 1967, the trust departments of banks held \$253 billion in assets, consisting mainly of control blocks of corporation stocks, more than four times the quantity held fifteen years earlier. They held \$163 billion in stocks, one-fifth of all outstanding corporate stocks. Ten top banks held 36.8 per cent of the total and the top twenty hold 51.5 per cent. Heading the list are the giant banks which form the heart of the Wall Street financial empires.

Another significant feature of the postwar period, and particularly of the past decade, is the rise of international (or multinational) industrial corporations. From \$11.8 billion in 1950, U.S. direct private foreign investments grew five times to a volume of

\$64.8 billion by the end of 1968. (These are book values; the actual values are almost twice as high.) Especially striking is the increase in investments in Europe; since 1950 these have increased more than tenfold.

The extent to which major U.S. corporations have become internationalized is illustrated by the following figures, taken from a study by *Fortune* (September 15, 1968):

Company	Countries with Production Facilities	% Total Assets Abroad	% Sales Abroad	% Net Income Abroad
Standard Oil (NJ)	45	56	68	52
Ford Motors	27	40	36	92
International Business Machines	14	34	30	32
Goodyear Tire & Rubber	35	22	30	30
Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing	24	29	30	29

Added to the impressive growth of foreign industrial investment in the past two decades has been a rapid expansion of the foreign assets of U.S. banks. These rose from \$6.9 billion in 1964 to \$15.7 billion in 1967 and an estimated \$22 billion in 1968. Seventy-five per cent of these assets are held by nine big New York banks. The total holdings are, however, much greater than \$22 billion, for the main expansion has taken place not through direct operations abroad but through buying up decisive blocks of stock in leading banks of other countries. U.S. banks have also gone much beyond their traditional role of servicing foreign operations of U.S. industrial corporations, and are penetrating the financial empires of other capitalist countries.

U.S. monopoly capital inroads into the economies of other capitalist countries meet with mounting resistance and lead to a sharpening of inter-imperialist antagonisms. These are sharpened still more as a result of the uneven development of capitalism, which has continued to go against the United States.

True, U.S. economic growth of the sixties has been considerably higher than in the fifties. From 1960 to 1968, industrial output grew at an average annual rate of 5.5 per cent, compared to 4.4 per cent for France and West Germany and only 2.75 per cent for Britain. But at the same time it has lagged behind Italy whose growth rate averaged 7.4 per cent, and especially behind Japan, whose indus-

trial production has risen at the phenomenal rate of 13 per cent a year. Thanks to this growth rate, Japan has now attained a gross national product second only to that of the United States among capitalist countries and has become a force of rapidly increasing weight in the capitalist world economic picture.

During the sixties, the U.S. position in world trade has continued to decline. From 1960 to 1968 the U.S. share of world exports fell from 21 per cent to 19 percent. And from 1960 to 1966 the volume of U.S. exports fell from 68.4 per cent of that of the European Economic Community to 56.8 per cent. (*Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1968*, p. 843.) The long-standing U.S. trade surplus has now almost vanished. The excess of merchandise exports over imports, which averaged \$6.3 billion a year from 1961-65, dropped to less than a billion dollars in 1968. If we exclude government-financed military exports, there is a deficit.

The position of the dollar as a world currency has also weakened in recent years. The severe dollar crisis in late 1967 and early 1968 was weathered only by the institution of a two-tier gold price. Though the situation has markedly eased since then, the improvement rests on a shaky basis. The ability to ward off new crises depends in the end on elimination of the balance of payments deficit. In 1968 there was a surplus of \$220 million, the first in many years; however, this was due to special circumstances of a temporary character. In the first half of this year the deficit re-emerged, hitting an annual average of \$10 billion—the highest on record.

The worsening position of U.S. imperialism has led to growing aggressiveness and stepped-up efforts to invade the economies of other capitalist countries. But its schemes run increasingly afoul of the changed relationship of world forces, of the fact that the ultimate decision rests not with it but with the anti-imperialist forces.

Most outstanding is the defeat inflicted on U.S. imperialism by the heroic people of Vietnam. Never before has this, the most powerful of imperialisms, suffered such a setback.

Moreover, the rising anti-imperialist tide in Latin America increasingly threatens the domination of U.S. monopoly capital in that area, which it has long looked upon as its private preserve. There is a growing reluctance to make additional investments in Latin American countries, to which the recent expropriations of U.S. oil companies and other interests in Peru and Bolivia have added.

Today state monopoly capitalism is predominant, and in the present stage of the general crisis it has not only become more extensive but has taken on new features. Concerning this the statement

adopted by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties says:

"Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programs, the drawing up of economic development programs on a countrywide scale, the policy of imperialist integration, and new forms of capital export."

These features are on the whole particularly pronounced in the United States. Most prominent, however, is the marked increase in the militarization of the economy, and with it of all aspects of life. U.S. military spending has been proportionately much higher than that of other leading capitalist countries throughout the post-World War II period. But since the escalation of the aggression in Vietnam it has shot up to levels exceeded only during World War II.

Today military outlays, direct and indirect, consume more than \$100 billion a year, some \$30 billion of it in direct expenditures for the Vietnam war. This comes to more than 53 per cent of the entire federal budget for the fiscal year 1969 and to more than 10 per cent of the gross national product. It is greater than the entire federal budget as recently as 1961 and it exceeds the total national product of most countries.

These enormous military budgets are paid for through constantly rising taxes whose burden falls increasingly on the working people. Today taxes take 37 per cent of the national income, compared to 13 per cent in 1929. And whereas in 1941 workers paid 45 per cent of the tax bill, they now pay 68 per cent. (Communist Party, USA, *The Big Tax Swindle and How to Stop It*. New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1969, pp. 6, 8.) The costs are also paid through mounting inflation, which likewise bears heaviest on the working people.

The deepening general crisis and the sharpening contradictions of U.S. capitalism have generally placed increasing burdens on the working class and confronted it with new problems.

The growing concentration of capital and the rise of conglomerate corporations create new difficulties for the trade unions. The workers employed in the various enterprises within such a conglomerate are split up among many different unions. Hence the workers in a given enterprise find themselves facing not merely the management of that enterprise but that of the entire conglomerate. Thus the unions find themselves at a severe disadvantage

and are compelled to seek new organizational forms which will make it possible to unite all the workers in the conglomerate structure.

The growth of international corporations has created additional problems. Such companies can and often do shift production from plants in the United States to plants abroad, where production costs are lower, and then import the products into the United States. This results in an "export of jobs," producing much hardship for workers in the closed-down plants. Unions in such industries are therefore increasingly compelled to seek common action with corresponding unions abroad.

The rapid advance of the new technological revolution has led on the one hand to intensified exploitation and the increase of speedup to the limits of human endurance. On the other hand it has led to growing displacement of workers and mounting insecurity. Added to this are the increasing inroads of inflation and rising taxes on living standards, the fruits of the Vietnam war.

Workers' living standards are further threatened by the policy of slowing down the economy and increasing unemployment adopted by Johnson and continued by Nixon in the name of "fighting inflation." Production has indeed been slowed down and joblessness has risen, but the rise in prices continues unabated. For the coming year the American working people face the dismal prospect of both recession and continuing inflation.

Especially hard hit by the monopolists' offensive against wages, jobs and living standards are the many millions of black people, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. Among these, joblessness is two and three times as high as among white workers and poverty and hunger are the lot of the majority.

The increasing oppression of the working people at the hands of finance capital in league with the state has sharpened the class struggle and has unleashed a wave of democratic struggles of rapidly growing scope and intensity.

The peace movement has reached proportions previously undreamed-of in U.S. history. Literally millions of Americans in all walks of life are today involved in organized expressions of opposition to the brutal aggression in Vietnam. Under the banners of the Alliance for Labor Action, unions representing more than five million workers have entered the battle.

The black people's revolt against their inhuman oppression and degradation continues to advance. Today they are engaged in active struggle for control of schools and other public institutions in their communities, for proper representation in public office, for jobs and against police brutality and violence.

In labor's ranks there is a rising tide of struggle. Strikes have become more numerous, more prolonged and more bitterly fought.

Rank-and-file movements of workers have become widespread as have caucuses of black workers. The withdrawal of the United Auto Workers from the AFL-CIO and its combination with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to form the Alliance for Labor Action is a very significant reflection of these heightened struggles. It represents a major break with the hidebound reactionary policies of the Meany officialdom.

The youth, too, are in active rebellion. A powerful draft resistance movement has emerged, with ever greater numbers of young men refusing to serve in the imperialist war against the Vietnamese people. Opposition to the war has developed to considerable proportions within the armed forces. Student revolts have sprung up everywhere against the reactionary, racist character of U.S. educational institutions and against their ties to the war machine. And in the shops, young workers are taking the lead in challenging the status quo and in organizing rank-and-file struggles.

To this upsurge of mass democratic struggles the Nixon Administration has responded with a renewed resort to anti-Communism with attempts at legal repression, with heightened police violence and the use of troops. In the name of "law and order" a campaign is being waged for the violent suppression of the black people's struggles. Accompanying this is a stepped-up fostering of racism and chauvinism with the aim of splitting the people's movements and intensifying the special oppression of the black people and other minorities. The fascist ultra-Right is increasingly vocal. In this respect a special role is played by Vice-President Agnew, who conducts crude Rightist attacks on the peace movement and other progressive forces, while Nixon pursues the same end in more genteel terms. But these actions have not served to deter the forces of peace and progress. On the contrary these have been spurred to greater effort.

At the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism emerged as the most powerful of all imperialisms, greatly overshadowing all the others combined. It assumed the role of world policeman, of the "savior" of the "free world." And it launched on a drive to rule the world. But the "American Century" has proved to be a vain dream. The gap between the aims of U.S. imperialism and its ability to realize them has grown enormously. Despite its vastly greater resources it is now finding, as did British and French imperialism before it, that the cost of empire is becoming prohibitive. Hence the new phenomenon on Wall Street—that whenever the prospects of peace improve, prices of stocks rise substantially.

The developments since the war and especially those in recent years offer striking confirmation of the validity of Lenin's brilliant insight into the nature of imperialism and the then beginning struggle between the two systems. At the same time they refute the

modern counterparts of the Kautskys, who speak of a new stage of capitalism—the stage of so-called “neo-capitalism” or of the “new industrial society”—in which exploitation is diminished, in which the working class is bought off and corrupted, in which the class struggle loses its role as the motor of basic social change. These new theories of diminishing contradictions of monopoly capitalism are no more valid than was Kautsky’s.

U.S. imperialism has suffered serious setbacks. But it has by no means given up its dreams of world domination. The costs of this effort it seeks to saddle on the American working people.

U.S. imperialism will not collapse of its own weight. It will have to be overthrown. But the forces for that task are maturing and growing in the course of the surging democratic struggles of today. And this, too, confirms Lenin’s analysis.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

December 1969—January 1970

K P D R

Pyongyang, *December 17 and 18.* Delegations of the Labor Party Party of Korea and Italian Communist Party exchanged views on a number of questions of interest to both parties. The talks proceeded in a comradely and friendly atmosphere. (CTAK.)

FRANCE

December 19. *Humanité* published a joint communiqué by the French Communist Party and French Socialist Party. The communiqué said the two parties held that only an alliance of the Left would hold out to French public opinion the prospect of the coalition of conservative centrist and rightist rulers — successors to Gaullism—being succeeded by a government representing the people's aspirations and capable of advancing to the stage of building socialist society.

The alliance of the Left could help unite the majority of the population and form an alliance of the social strata and democratic forces which did not identify themselves with socialist principles but condemned, nevertheless, the more disastrous effects of the capitalist system.

The alliance of the Left was firmly opposed to the forces representing capitalism, all alliance with which was out of the question.

An agreement between the Socialist and Communist parties would provide the basis for an alliance of the Left.

The two parties had therefore decided to start talks on the main conditions for a political agreement intended to replace the present system by a new system of economic and political democracy and pave the way for the transition to socialism so as to build it by common effort, with due regard to the traditions, characteristics and aspirations of the French people.

BELGIUM

December 20 and 21. The CC CP of Belgium discussed a report by Marc Drumaux, the Party Chairman, on the urgent tasks facing the progressive forces.

FRANCE

Paris, *December 22*. The CC FCP discussed the preparations for the coming 19th Party Congress. The resolution unanimously adopted by the meeting noted that the widespread discussion of the draft theses prepared by the Central Committee was evidence of the Communists' firm support of the policy of the Party.

In preparing for their 19th Congress, French Communists would continue their effort for the success of the working people's fight for social demands, for democracy, national independence and peace.

ITALY

December 22. Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP, and Carlo Galuzzi, member of the ICP Leadership, received a delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party led by G. Pana, member of the Standing Presidium and secretary of the CC RCP. The Rumanian Party delegation was on visit to Italy as a guest of the Italian Socialist Party.

The meeting of the two delegations "proceeded in the cordial and fraternal atmosphere typical of the relations between the two parties," *Unità* stressed.

URUGUAY

December 24. The Communist Party of Uruguay announced a Lenin Enrolment in connection with the approaching centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

SIERRA LEONE

December 25. (TASS). Preparations for the Lenin centenary are under way in Sierra Leone as in other countries of the world. There is considerable interest in Lenin's life and work in the country.

This young African state has decided to observe the memorable date on a large scale. A government committee has been set up to sponsor centenary celebrations throughout the country.

ITALY

According to data published in *Unità* on *December 31*, the Italian Communist Party had 1,503,181 members as of *December 31, 1969*, including 103,768 who joined the Party in 1969.

PAKISTAN

January 3. Lenin centenary celebrations began in East Pakistan and will last four months. Seven seminars will concern themselves

with various aspects of Lenin's life and work and there will be an exhibition of photographs, paintings and posters on the same theme.

SPAIN

The CP of Spain published an appeal in *Mundo Obrero* to all the forces opposed to Francoism to sign the Freedom Pact, *Unità* reported on January 3. The CPS would agree to the pact being joined without discrimination by any political force willing to really break with Francoism, take part in joint action aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship, and recognize that it was for the people to decide sovereignly and in complete democratic freedom on the country's future regime.

FRANCE

January 5, (*Humanité*). The FCP in 1969 was joined by 44,000 men and women. The Party membership has been growing ever since 1961. A campaign to exchange membership cards has been on throughout France since the beginning of 1970. The French Communists are engaged in a nationwide effort to recruit new members, which they are timing to the forthcoming 19th Party Congress, the commemoration of the Lenin centenary and the 50th anniversary of the FCP.

ARGENTINA

From 1918 to 1969 Lenin's writings, including collected works, were published in Argentina 177 times, in a total of 1,130,000 copies.

Anteo, the Communist publishing house, brought out 34 volumes of Lenin's works between 1951 and 1969 (total 374,000 copies). It must be stressed that there were four coups during the period and seven Presidents of the Republic succeeded to the office. The Communist Party had to operate in semi-legal, legal and illegal conditions. The law on "defense against communism," now in force, provides for severe punishment for the mere keeping of Marxist-Leninist literature.

Argentina has 23 million inhabitants, which means that there is one copy of Lenin's works to every 20 persons.

FINLAND

January 6. The Information Department of the CC, CP of Finland issued a press release on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee held on January 6. The release reads in part as follows:

"Having heard the report of Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CPF, on the talks to re-establish Party unity and on the results and

political basis of the talks, the Central Committee, prompted by its invariable desire to restore unity and by the need to take the initiative in this matter, resolves:

"1. Unanimously to approve the report and the recommendation for agreement.

"2. To submit the recommendation for discussion, to be completed from January 8 to 25, 1970, and to recommend to the delegates elected to the 15th Party Congress to approve it and forward the document containing the recommendation to the Party organizations."

VENEZUELA

January 6. Speaking of the coming Lenin centenary, Pedro Ortega Diaz, member of the Political Bureau, CC, CP of Venezuela, said to a TASS correspondent that the CC CPV had urged holding the Fourth Party Congress under the banner of Leninism. A Party document calling for the celebration of the centenary reaffirmed the historical validity of Leninism as the theoretical basis of the struggle against imperialism in our time, and the significance of the Leninist party as an ideological weapon in overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Commenting on the CC decision on the centenary, Ortega Diaz said the weekly *Tribuna Popular* and the periodical *Documentos Politicos* had published numerous items on the worldwide preparations for the centenary. This meant propagating Lenin's teachings. A series of pamphlets under the general title *Leninist Collection* was being published now. It contained statements by Lenin on the organization and significance of the working-class party, and other subjects. The CC CPV had decided to conduct a Leninist Enrollment.

CHILE

Santiago, January 6. The CC, CP of Chile heard a report by Orlando Millas, member of the Political Commission of the CC CPC, on the differences between the political parties and movements of the country over a common presidential candidate. It was an urgent task for the Left to settle the issue.

POLAND

Warsaw, January 7-9. Representatives of the CC PUWP and CC SUPG met to draw up a plan of exchange and cooperation between the two parties for 1970.

AUSTRIA

Vienna, *January 10.* A CPA conference attended by more than 500 delegates from all over the country opened here. It discussed the most important inner political question, that of Communist participation in the elections to the National Council of Austria (lower chamber of parliament) to be held on March 1. Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Party, presented the main report.

ITALY

January 10. *Unità* published a joint statement of the ICP and CP of Spain on the Rome visit of a CPS delegation, invited by the CC ICP, from January 2 to 7.

The statement supports the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to convene an all-Europe conference on security and cooperation.

It notes that the main objectives of the anti-imperialist fight at this stage are to end the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, grant the people of Vietnam independence and the right to shape their own destiny, settle the Mid-east crisis by restoring the occupied territories to the Arab states and recognizing the national rights of the Palestine people and the other peoples of the area, and abolish the colonial rule, racism and neo-colonialist bondage through which imperialism retains its sway over sizable areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

USA

January 10. *Daily World* carried a statement by the CP USA on the murder of Joseph A. Yablonski, the United Mine Workers' leader, and his wife and daughter. The killing, "fits the pattern of brutality and terror workers in the mining industry have been forced to endure. The callous refusal of greedy coal operators to end dangerous and unhealthy conditions in the mines is responsible for the death and injury of hundreds of thousands of miners . . .

"Yablonski was closely identified with fresh trade union trends . . . These trends are beginning to reject the policies of class collaboration so prevalent in labor officialdom today. They seek to project the trade unions into broader arenas of struggle. The question has to be asked: 'Is his killing a Big Business answer to the new militant trends that are developing in organized labor?' "

GUYANA

January 11. The People's Progressive Party (PPP) adopted a Lenin centenary program. In 1970 the Party is to emphasize the

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study of Lenin's works in classes, seminars, symposiums and regional conferences to be held for the purpose.

The PPP Committee on Education will sponsor courses for Party functionaries, including members of the Executive Committee and General Council, MPs and leaders of youth and women's organizations.

During a week in April the Party will hold exhibitions of posters and photographs at its Georgetown headquarters and in regional branches. Lectures on Lenin will be delivered and films on his life shown.

Progressive youth organizations will hold three regional conferences on the Lenin centenary. The Party will call mass meetings all over the country.

Badges, posters and pamphlets will be widely distributed. The Party also plans to donate writings of the great theorist of the labor movement to various libraries and schools.

ITALY

January 11. The ICP Leadership published a statement in *Unità* analyzing the political situation in the country. The statement stresses that "the country needs a government of the Left that can meet the aspirations of the working people and all democratic forces."

This could be done on three basic conditions:

First, democracy must be maintained and carried forward. Parliament and the government must foil reactionary intrigues in the state apparatus, promptly revoke all the unconstitutional regulations and laws adopted under the fascist regime and still used as a basis for repressive measures against the working people, hold administrative and regional elections this spring, and enact early legislation really granting democratic rights to the people.

Second, there is need for a policy of economic and social progress safeguarding the trade union gains of the working people and ensuring implementation of the reform demanded by the workers and peasants.

Third, there should be a firm and consistent foreign policy aimed at disengaging Italy from its military and political alliance with NATO, and at abolishing all foreign bases on Italian soil, so that Italy might contribute actively to world peace and, above all, help end the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

CHILE

January 11. Addressing a large public meeting in Valparaiso, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CC, CP of Chile, called on the

people to unite against reaction and ensure the nomination of a common Presidential candidate.

Corvalan said unity would pave the way for victory whereas division would help reaction back to power. Only by joint effort could the progressive forces form a popular government and end backwardness and poverty in Chile.

BRITAIN

London, *January 10 and 11*. The Executive of the CPGB elected the new Party leadership. John Tocher, who had held a key post in the Engineering Union, became the new Chairman of the Party and John Gollan was re-elected General Secretary.

The Executive discussed preparations for the coming elections to Parliament and the municipal councils. The CP is going to nominate about 65 candidates for election to Parliament.

Gordon McLennan, head of the Organizing Department of the CPGB, stressed the need to recruit new members.

CUBA

January 12. Classes to study Lenin's life and work will be set up throughout the country on the initiative of the Revolutionary Propaganda Committee of the CC, CP of Cuba. Many thousands of Cuban working people will attend them in this centenary year. The RPC will shortly mail the curricula and subject matter prepared by it to all the six provinces of the country.

ITALY

January 14. The CC and CCC of the ICP discussed "problems of the development of the Party and the Italian Communist Youth Federation in the light of the working people's movement and the situation in the country." Ugo Pecchioli, member of the Leadership, presented the report.

The meeting was addressed by Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP.

BULGARIA

January 14. *Rabotnichesko Delo* published a decision of the CC BCP Secretariat on measures to improve Party work in line with the decisions of the September Plenum. The decision called on Party committees and organizations to engage in organizing, ideological and political activity to intensify the economy, accelerate technological progress and implement the new system of econo-

mic management. Their main task was to raise the scientific standard of Party work, master up-to-date methods of scientific social analysis and elaborate pertinent tasks and problems on scientific lines.

K P D R

January 15. (Nodon Shinmun). The Academy of Social Sciences of the KPDR held a conference of scholars on the Lenin centenary. Two papers were read: "Lenin, the Genius of the Revolution Who Opened a New Era, the Era of Socialism" and "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism."

POLAND

January 15 (PAP). The CC of the Democratic Party met to discuss the party's tasks in fulfilling the economic plan for 1970 and its participation in the commemoration of the Lenin centenary, and passed a relevant resolution.

DENMARK

January 16 (Land og Folk). The CC, CP of Denmark discussed the Party's program for the Lenin centenary and adopted an appropriate resolution.

WEST BERLIN

The Executive of the SUP of West Berlin met for its 18th Plenum, according to a communiqué published in *Wahrheit* on *January 17*. Erich Ziegler, a member of the Secretariat of the Executive, had presented a report on the elections to the executives of branch and district organizations of the Party. Dietmar Ahrens, member of the Secretariat of the Executive, was the main speaker on the Party's attitude to the student movement and the intellectuals.

The Executive resolved to call the Second Congress of the Party for May 22-24. Among the items on the Congress agenda are a report by Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the Party, on the action program of the SUP WB in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress, and the election of the Executive, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Party, and the Auditing Committee.

FINLAND

January 17. A two-week Communist seminar on the theme "Power and Revolution" devoted to the Lenin centenary opened

at the House of Culture in Helsinki. It was attended by members of the CC and the district organization of the Party.

The seminar was opened by Hertta Kuusinen, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPF.

LUXEMBOURG

January 20. (Zeitung). The Secretariat of the CP CPL released a statement saying that the CPL had been unable for technical reasons to send its representative to the meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe held in Moscow on January 14 and 15, 1970. The CC CPL was informed about the meeting and agreed to its objectives.

G D R

January 19. The Party of Arab Socialist Rebirth of the Syrian Arab Republic and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany consider that the unity of all anti-imperialist forces is indispensable to the fight against imperialism, according to the communiqué published at the close of the visit of a PASR delegation to the GDR.

The PASR welcomed the consistent policy of the GDR designed to promote European security, and noted with deep satisfaction its growing ties with the SUPG, which supported the Arab people's just struggle against the Israeli aggressors, for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

CHILE

January 20. The CC CP of Chile resolved to withdraw the candidacy of Pablo Neruda, public leader and poet, for the Presidency of Chile. The statement published by the Political Committee of the CC said the decision had been taken "after a careful analysis of recent events and with Pablo Neruda's consent" to establish a genuinely popular front and facilitate the nomination of a common candidate of the Left for the post of head of state.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

January 20. A scientific conference on Lenin's theory of the leading role of the Communist Party in building socialism opened at the Higher Party School under the CC CPC. Attending the conference, devoted to the Lenin centenary, were Czechoslovak scholars and representatives of the higher Party schools of Bulgaria, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the USSR.

A. Indra, secretary of the CC CPC, spoke of the significance of Leninism for the activity of the CP of Czechoslovakia.

ITALY

January 21. A delegation of the CPSU, led by P. Fedoseyev, member of the CC CPSU, arrived in Rome for the celebration of the Lenin centenary and the 49th anniversary of the ICP.

At Fiumicino airport the delegation was welcomed by A. Cosutta, member of the ICP Leadership, N. Ryzhov, the Soviet Ambassador, and representatives of democratic public opinion in Italy.

SOVIET UNION

January 19-23. An international theoretical conference on the Lenin centenary to discuss "The Growing Role of Leninism in the Present Epoch, and Criticism of Anti-Communism" took place in Moscow. At the conference, sponsored by the Academies of Sciences of the USSR, Bulgaria, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, papers were read, among others, by P. Demichev, alternate member of the PB and secretary of the CC CPSU, on the subject "Leninism and the Ideological Struggle Against Anti-Communism" and by B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU, on the subject "The Fight Against Anti-Communism: the Paramount Condition for the Success of the Revolutionary Forces of Our Time."

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