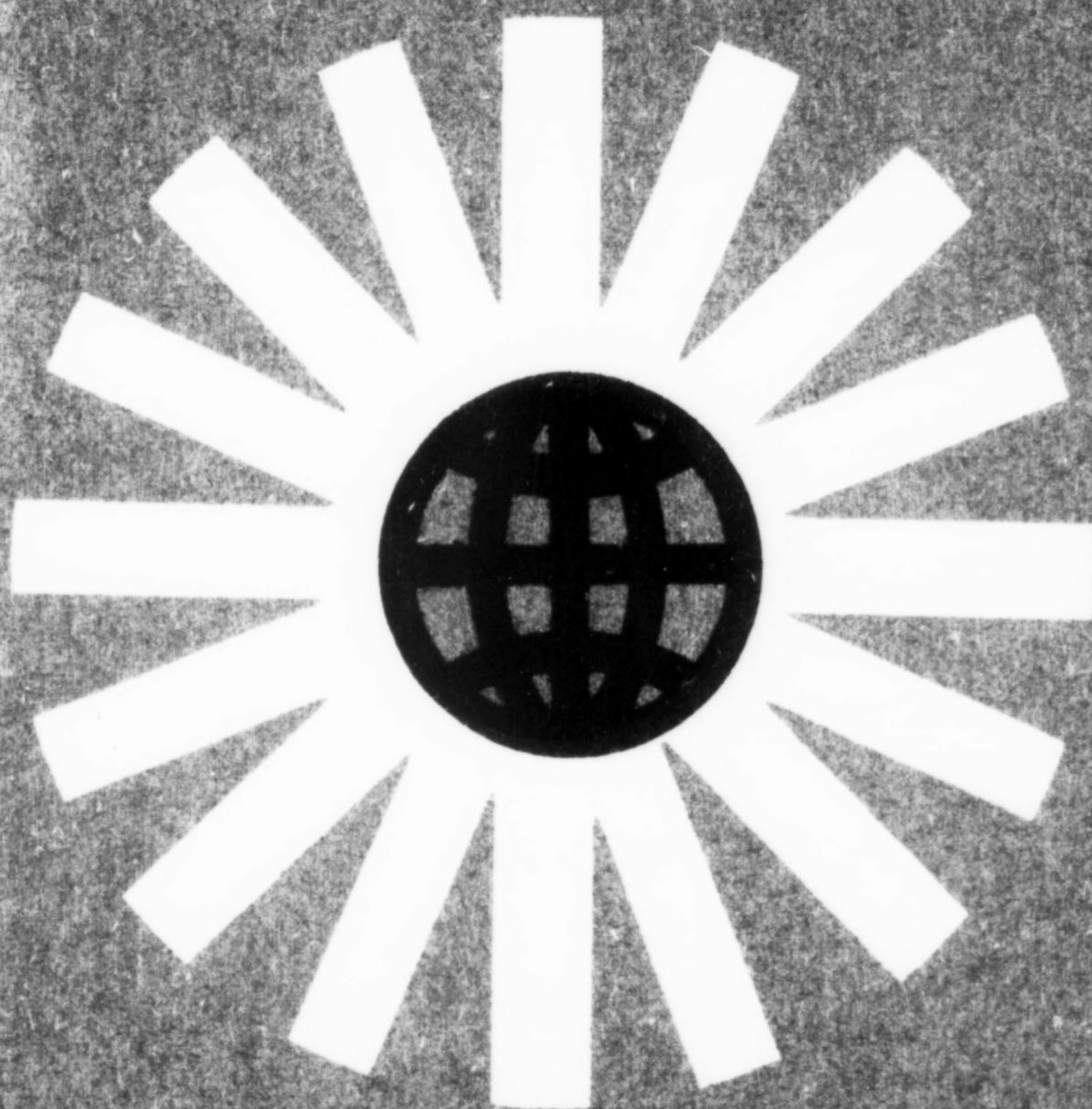


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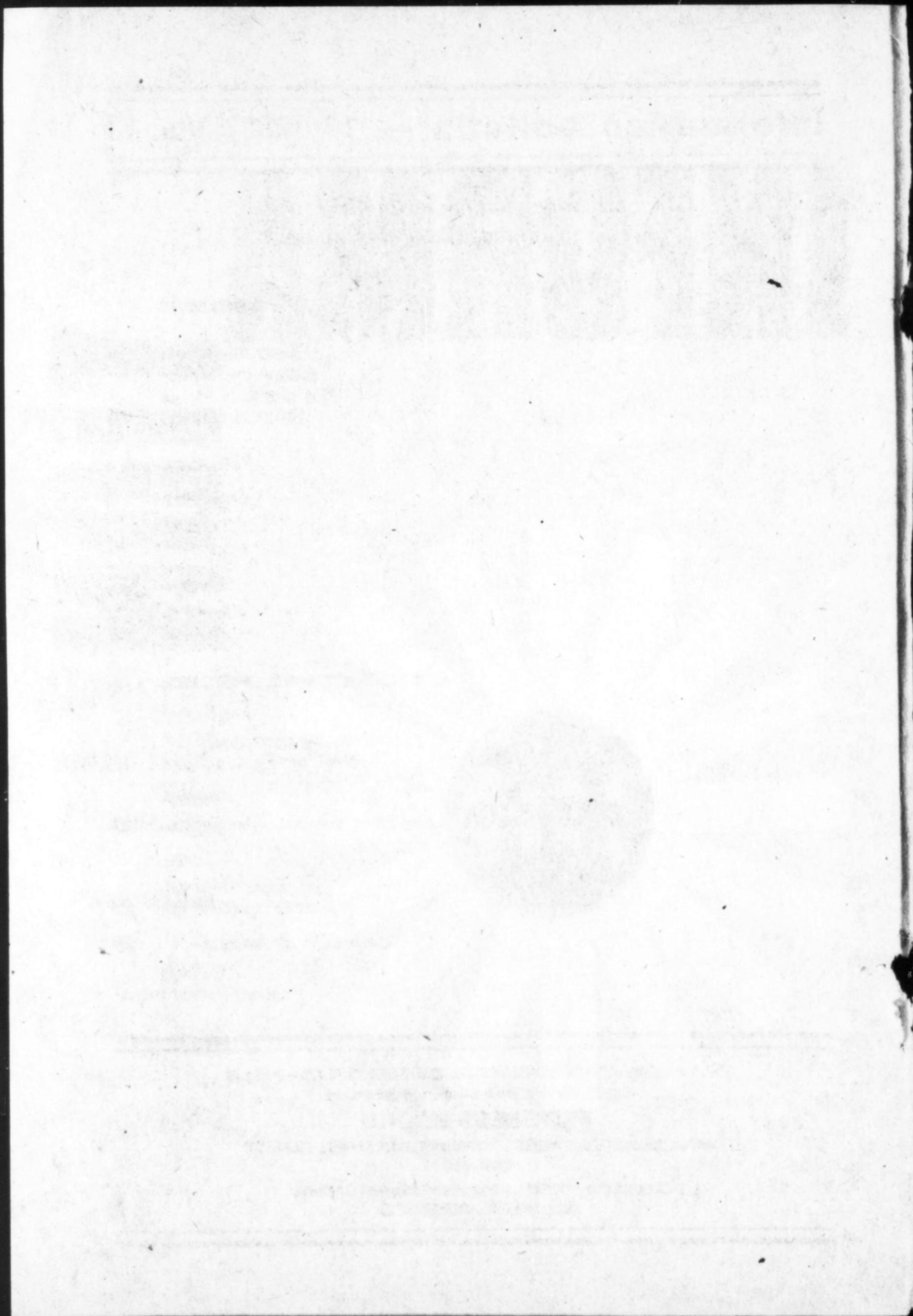
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L.I. BREZHNEV MEETS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"

On September 17 last, Leonid I. Brezhnev received Konstantin I. Zarodov, Editor-in-Chief of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' parties.

K.I. Zarodov told the General Secretary of the CPSU about the activity of the journal, which is published by 51 brother parties. Their representatives work in a spirit of equality, mutual respect and comradely cooperation. On behalf of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of the journal, he expressed heartfelt gratitude for the attention which the CPSU Central Committee constantly gives to the collective publication of Communist and Workers' parties.

L.I. Brezhnev spoke highly of the importance of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. He stressed that the journal takes an active part in a creative elaboration of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, in disseminating the ideas of scientific communism, and in popularizing the experience of brother parties.

The General Secretary of the CPSU wished the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of the journal and its international staff further successes in their important and exacting work for peace and socialism and for still closer unity of the world communist movement.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, which met in Buenos Aires on September 11 and 12 last, discussed a report on the domestic and international situation presented by General Secretary Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez. In particular, it analyzed developments since its previous meeting last April.

Alvarez stressed that these months will go down in the history of international relations as a period of a growing trend toward durable peaceful coexistence on a universal scale. He pointed to the importance of the Helsinki Conference. Expressing solidarity with the peoples of Portugal and Chile, Alvarez noted that the document signed by Communist parties in Havana is an ardent appeal by the Communists of the continent to all democratic and anti-imperialist forces willing to help in curtailing the domination of monopolies and their domestic underlings.

The General Secretary said that, as noted by the April meeting of the Central Committee, it is not the fate of a party or a sector but the fate of the national liberation process that is at stake and that developments since then have revealed how profound and correct this assessment is. Our Party, he added, showed its strength by giving a correct definition of the roots of the growing social and political crisis, naming the main culprits (the group of fascist-like backers of Lopez Rega who operated on instructions from the CIA, in line with the conspiratorial plan of breaking the truce achieved in 1973) and by serving timely warning of the dangerous implications of the crisis. The fact that the conspiracy of Lopez Rega's supporters was frustrated was a result of the courageous struggle of the workers and the people. The Party, Alvarez pointed out, can now set itself the new task of strengthening the people's unity to defeat Lopez Rega's followers still in power, prevent a coup through a conspiracy hatched by other reactionaries with support from U.S. imperialism, stave off a serious crisis and advance to a genuinely free Argentina.

J. Arnedo Alvarez said that the events of June 27 (when a mass demonstration held outside the government headquarters during a general strike hastened the downfall of Lopez Rega's backers) and the satisfaction of demands for higher wages played a decisive role and are bound to have a growing and lasting political impact. The situation today, he added, is more favorable for eliminating the roots of "Lopez Regism" and for setting up a center needed to coordinate the activities of all working-class, popular and democratic forces.

In the new situation, no civilian or military can ignore the attitude of the masses. Speaking of the present cabinet, the General Secretary said that it has promised a dialogue and concord although it is proceeding slowly and hesitantly, which is out of keeping with the gravity of the situation. The main problem emerging in the current crisis is departure from the program promised in 1973 and backed by the Communists.

Arnedo Alvarez said that reaction is responsible for the turmoil in the country and that "increasing rightist terrorism helps to carry out reaction's sinister anti-national plans." The "so-called ultra-leftist terrorists" also have a hand in this. The Communists are definitely against political terror as a method.

The emergency measures urged by some for plainly conspiratorial purposes may pave the way for gross violations of democratic rights, removal of the possibility of defense at public trials and conviction as a foregone conclusion, according to the criteria of groups beyond all legal control. Our fundamental position is well known but we must not forget that for various reasons reactionary elements and some press organs praise certain guerrilla operations.

The domestic situation is still complicated and fraught with danger, nor must we expect anything valuable to result from hasty or temporary solutions. This preoccupation is shared by many political leaders and the masses, who consider it highly essential to search for ways and means of setting up a united front of struggle. This broad front, which has yet to be brought into being, can and must be created as an instrument of popular and democratic activity.

We must remember that we are passing through a period when the masses must not only fight to defeat the intrigues of reaction and imperialism but solve the problem of bringing about a genuinely popular government. To this end, we are now campaigning for the formation of a broad democratic coalition government capable of embarking on radical reforms.

The Peronist movement, and even its leadership, has lately taken a

more correct approach to the search for a way out of the crisis, and to the problem of achieving unity of action.

The people rightly show increasing concern over the rising cost of living. This is why the protest movement is growing and measures on a larger scale are needed. The militancy of the masses was seen in the strikes of the first half of this year involving over 12 million working people, half of whom struck in July. We are entering a period of increasing militancy of the masses and of growing struggles by the workers, peasants and the people as a whole on a higher political level, J. Arnedo Alvarez said in conclusion.

The Central Committee meeting resolved to call the Eighth National Party Conference at the close of this year to sum up the results of the Party's activities since its 14th Congress (August 1973). It passed several resolutions demanding the release of Luis Corvalan, condemning the policy and practices of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and expressing solidarity with the Communists of Portugal and the revolutionary process going on in that country.

The document condemning the activity of the Chinese Communist Party leadership says:

"Inasmuch as the practices of the Chinese Communist Party leaders follow a dangerous line directed against the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence and against the world revolutionary process, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina declares:

"The Communist Party of China, led by Mao and his group, has openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and adopted a petty-bourgeois Trotskyist and chauvinist conception which is moving it away from socialism. Maoism ignores the existence of the main contradiction of our time, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, and denies the existence of three streams of the revolutionary process in our epoch: the socialist world, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

"In line with this counter-revolutionary policy, Maoism has degenerated into anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, into a center of such conceptions and practices. Its fierce attacks are not directed against imperialism but against the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the world communist movement.

"The Communist Party and the government of China are moving away from socialist countries ever more rapidly, drawing closer and closer to imperialism and establishing ever more extensive relations with it. At present, China carries on 67 per cent of its foreign trade

with developed capitalist countries and only 13 per cent, with socialist countries.

"The Communist Party and the government of China doggedly torpedo every measure designed to promote peace, impede a negotiated settlement of international conflicts, and provoke infringements of stability in various parts of the world. They oppose European security, encourage the neo-nazis' revanchist ambitions and betray the German Democratic Republic by demanding a German reunification entirely in accordance with the West German revanchists' aspirations.

"In India the government and Communist Party of China back rightist attempts to thwart the democratic process. They also support Pinochet's bloody military junta in Chile. Furthermore, they establish close relations with Rhodesia and the South African Republic, exert dangerous pressure on the Mongolian People's Republic and advance again and again their absurd territorial claims to the Soviet Union and India. They try to frustrate the constructive peace policy being pursued by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty. At the same time they are establishing contacts with the European Common Market and with NATO.

"The Communist Party and the government of China are calling for a fifth Arab-Israeli war as they fan the armed conflict in the Middle East. They follow a double-dealing policy toward Korea and Vietnam, support terrorists in Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia and play a sinister role in Peru, Portugal and Cyprus.

"In our country, the Maoists' backers stood up for Lopez Rega and his clique.

"They create confusion and turmoil in the national liberation movement, trying to divide, isolate and nullify it by virtually depriving it of its liberating and revolutionary content.

"In the final analysis, the Communist Party and the government of China, led by Mao and his group, play a provocative role in the international arena today.

"China's leaders uphold the Maoist thesis on the inevitability and usefulness of a third world war, even if it should mean the extermination of over 500 million people and the destruction of immense material values. Accordingly, they have transformed China into a militarist country by earmarking for military purposes a colossal sum amounting to 40 per cent of budget appropriations and undermining the people's standard of life.

"This helps us understand the reasons for the stepped-up struggle

which the workers, peasants, artists, intellectuals, students and even some people in the Communist Party and the armed forces of China are waging against this reactionary and hopeless policy in spite of the barbarous repressive measures taken to suppress mass discontent.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina warns of the serious danger posed to the whole world by China's policy of persistently undermining peaceful coexistence and resisting the peoples' liberation struggle, a policy which virtually links up with the policy of the black forces of international reaction and imperialism.

"It calls on the Argentine people, especially their working class, to watch this policy with close attention and combat its every manifestation, in particular the activities of its supporters in Argentina, the small groups of adventurers who in the past offered their services to Lopez Rega and his clique. The Central Committee also calls on the Party and its activists, all genuine revolutionaries, to carry on a determined and unrelenting ideological and political struggle against their counter-revolutionary concepts, and divisive and provocative activities, in defense of national sovereignty and independence, the people's well-being, democratic freedoms, and the process of national and social emancipation leading to socialism."

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party met in Paris on September 17-19.

Paul Laurent, member of the Political Bureau and secretary, spoke on "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party." France is going through a period of unemployment, inflation and economic troubles, he said. Never since the 1930 crisis has the country had so many people seeking jobs. Never since the end of World War II has there been so sharp a decline in production or so considerable a drop in the working people's purchasing capacity.

Laurent criticized the economic measures proposed by the gov-

ernment. The current crisis, he pointed out, can only be remedied on the basis of the Common Program of the Left.

The working people counter the offensive of the employers and the authorities by insisting on higher pay, better working conditions, guaranteed trade union freedoms and an end to massive layoffs. The country is on the eve of a new upsurge of the class struggle.

The speaker condemned the anti-communist campaign going on in the country and said that it is aimed at undermining the alliance of the Left so as to weaken and isolate the Communist Party, the decisive factor in the fight for necessary political changes. Now as before, the Communists' main task is to uphold, strengthen and extend the alliance of the Left. By ignoring the Communists' proposals for joint action, the Socialist leadership is holding up implementation of the provisions of the Common Program.

Laurent reported that this year the Communist Party has admitted 71,000 new members and formed over 7,430 new branches. He stressed the importance of stepping up effort in the factories and called on the Communists to mark the coming 55th anniversary of the Party (December 1975) with new gains in building up the Party organizationally and numerically.

Speaking on behalf of the Party, Laurent voiced solidarity with the Portuguese people and the Portuguese Communist Party, which is fighting against reaction and fascism, for democracy and socialism. An urgent task now is to expand the movement of solidarity with the newly-established Portuguese democracy.

The fruitful outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe gives the Communist Party fresh strength in the struggle for peace, independence, friendship and cooperation among nations, in the struggle to consolidate the common front against imperialism, for the unity of action of the world communist movement.

The plenum approved Laurent's report and the report on the Party's educational work delivered by Étienne Fajon, member of the Political Bureau and secretary. It resolved to convene the 22nd Party Congress in the Paris suburb of Saint Ouen on February 4-8, 1976. The congress will hear and discuss a report by General Secretary Georges Marchais on "What the Communists Want for France" and elect the Party's leading committees.

The plenum passed a resolution on "Communist Activity in the Factories" which says:

The government and the big employers are concerned about the

people's growing discontent and mounting resistance to their policies.

What frightens them more than anything else is the vigorous activity launched by Communist Party branches in the factories, as well as meetings with working people by Communist leaders and Communist Deputies.

They are intensifying the regime's authoritarian nature in an attempt to check the popular movement.

Trade union and political freedoms in the factories are infringed more and more frequently.

With big capital in power, freedom is enjoyed by only one side. Backed by the government, the employers would like to order the working people about and to grant them none but the right to be brutally exploited. They do not hesitate to resort to the aid of the state police, private police and even dogs to silence the workers.

More and more frankly, the employers pursue a policy of their own in the factories, allocating substantial funds for the purpose.

As if their control of the main news media had not been enough, the employers disseminate publications preaching class collaboration, extolling official policies and attacking the Communists.

Freedom of expression is a privilege of the employers. As for the wage workers, they are stripped of their civil rights the moment they cross the threshold of a factory.

Yet it is in the factories that those who produce the nation's wealth can insist on recognition of their political rights.

Contrary to what Chirac, Poniatowski and Seyrac allege, it is by no means conscious exercise of this right that can undermine production.

What does undermine production, injure the nation's economy and interests and aggravate the crisis is the policy of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and his government, which is in the service of big business.

That is how matters stand as far as political rights and freedoms in the factories and trade union rights and freedoms are concerned. They must be won through struggle, upheld and extended.

Civil freedoms and democracy are a fundamental objective of the common government program of the Left and a condition for carrying out the social, economic and political reforms envisaged in it.

By placing all the major means of production and exchange at the nation's disposal, socialism makes it possible fully to exercise these rights.

The bitter struggle against democratic freedoms carried on by the big bourgeoisie and its government is evidence of the decisive political importance of the Communist Party activity in the factories in

helping the working class to perform its vanguard role in extending the people's fight.

This can only inspire the Communists to persevere in and step up their effort toward forming and strengthening Party branches in all factories, giving priority in their propaganda effort to the distribution of *L'Humanité* and *L'Humanité-Dimanche*.

At the same time they will continue to participate in trade union activities with due regard to the prerogatives of the organization they belong to.

With a view to putting an ever more influential and militant party at the working people's service, the Communists have set out to form 8,000 factory branches in 1975 and to win 100,000 new members.

If they are to maintain their social and political demands and to have their dignity respected, the working people need a revolutionary party adhering to working-class positions and fighting in the factories against the anti-social policy and ideology of big business and showing up the trap of the class collaboration propaganda.

They need active Party branches in factories, on building sites, in educational and research institutions to acquaint themselves with the Communist proposals and goals and to back them.

They need a party fighting against injustice and discrimination on account of age, sex or nationality, for an alliance of all wage-earners — wage and salary workers, engineers, technicians and managerial personnel, all men and women, young workers, French and foreign workers — to become a reality in the factories.

To win freedom of speech, association and political activity in the factories, they need a party that has always fought, and goes on fighting, for democratic freedoms.

They need a party working steadfastly to strengthen the alliance of the Left and bring about an alliance of the French people that would carry out the common government program.

They need a Communist Party going from strength to strength, as a decisive condition for democratic changes that would pave our country's way for socialism.

The plenum called on all working people and democrats to join actively in the Party's nationwide fund-raising campaign.

General Secretary Georges Marchais, who addressed the plenum, said the alliance of the Left, far from going out of existence, is developing in spite of bitter attacks by its opponents at home and abroad. At the same time he criticized certain moves of the leaderships of the two other parties to the alliance — the Socialists and Left

Radicals — specifically the statement by the Left Radical leader, R. Fabre, that his Party is willing to begin a dialogue with the government.

Following is the concluding section of G. Marchais' remarks.

NOTHING CAN MAKE US RENOUNCE THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF ACTION

Our position and our entire activity show that the policy of alliance is anything but accidental. It is a fundamental policy, for we all know that we cannot advance to democracy and socialism without the active assistance of the masses and that in a country like ours, this assistance cannot be secured without a solid and lasting alliance of left parties. Nothing can make us renounce this line.

We are doing, and will do, all in our power to preserve and strengthen the alliance and bring about a victory for the policy on which the common program is based.

Accordingly, our Central Committee last April laid special emphasis on the need to meet the following two conditions:

— on the one hand, strengthening and extending the alliance of all democratic and popular forces around the common program, as expressed by the slogan of "alliance of the French people";

— on the other hand, striving at the same time for a better alignment of forces in favor of our Party within the framework of the left alliance.

Analysis of the situation shows this conclusion to be as valid as ever and the Party must continue to use it as a guide to action.

Which way are we to direct our efforts and what does this mean for the period ahead?

1. Seeking progress in the joint action of left parties.

This means striving for progress in joint action and for agreement among the left parties. We wish the implementation of the relevant decisions adopted at the latest top-level meeting to be pressed forward. Steps were taken to expand unity of action in various fields. We must proceed to carry them out without delay. We have planned discussions on a number of subjects and we should start them.

However, at a time when the government is busy trying to devise a miraculous voting method that would enable it to deal a blow to the left alliance, we still consider that an immediate agreement on an alliance of left parties aimed at joining together in the municipal election campaign would be a most positive factor.

Lastly, I repeat that we are still ready for joint action to express

solidarity with democracy in Portugal. The need for this solidarity is still there, for the threat of reaction and fascism is far from being removed.

2. Bringing about broad popular unity.

To meet the conditions listed above means continuing work not only to achieve agreement among left parties but the broadest possible alliance of the left forces having a stake in really democratic changes.

As for the Christians, I would like to stress the importance we attach to their participation in the broad alliance we want to achieve.

We have all noted with keen interest the widespread response of the Christians to our appeal to show solidarity with Portugal.

We believe this is indicative of new possibilities of joint action with the Christians not only on an issue such as solidarity in the face of fascism but in many other fields of the struggle against exploitation and oppression, for a more just, more humane and freer society. Our impression is that in the recent period the area of agreement between the positions of the two sides has expanded and that the difficulties, discontent and hopes of the Communists and Christians link up more often than in the past.

We wish this to translate itself into extended joint action, into effort toward a rapprochement with a view to working together and paving a new way, for it meets the interests of our country and its people and youth.

Accordingly, we are as ready as ever for any meetings and any proposals and are willing to hold any discussions.

3. Carrying on our work boldly and competently.

Lastly, we should unfold Party work as such and conduct it courageously and competently.

The task to be achieved in this connection were formulated in the report, which became a topic for widespread debate and was approved by the Central Committee. You will recall that it is mainly a question of continuing firmly to uphold all the demands of the masses, combating the government's lies and demagogy and organizing a campaign to achieve the goals formulated by us, and secondly, of continuing our offensive for civil freedoms. It was stressed quite correctly that this activity should be carried on primarily in the factories. The results obtained so far confirm the existence of opportunities, and they should inspire all our organizations to continue this activity.

The decisions on educational matters that have been adopted are

directly linked with a desire to ensure effective fulfillment of our political tasks.

Their fulfillment is a condition for success, especially at a time when numerous men and women are joining our ranks and who, having done so, want to know more about our theory and policies so as to fight more effectively.

Comrades, we are advancing to the 22nd Party Congress on whose date and preparations our Central Committee has just decided.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Congress will mark an important stage in our efforts to attain our political objectives.

From now on, all our work and all initiatives launched by Party organizations for the good of the working people and the country will fit into the framework of congress preparations and help to make the congress the focus of the people's aspirations, hopes and struggles.

L'Humanité, September 19.

The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine and the "Third World"

A new pamphlet by Henry Winston.

Significance of the appointment of the racist Daniel P. Moynihan as U.S. Ambassador to the UN as part of U.S. imperialism's intensified attack on socialist and "third world" countries, together with revival of nuclear first-strike policy. Exposes blatant racism of Moynihan and other bourgeois sociologists, Maoism's increasingly open support to and collaboration with imperialism, parallels between Moynihanism and Maoism and how they serve the same reactionary interests.

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

COMMUNIST PROPOSALS FOR OVERCOMING THE CRISIS

Below follows the preamble of a minimum program advanced by the Communist Party of Argentina.

Argentina is going through an extremely grave national crisis. The hasty introduction of the reactionary, irrational, and actually disorganizing Rodrigo Plan has imparted a chaotic character to the economic crisis.

The rate of inflation is unprecedented; real wages are plummeting, even allowing for the recent rises and assuming they are being paid regularly; the domestic market is steadily contracting; unemployment is ever more painfully felt and threatens to acquire incredible proportions; tens of thousands of small urban and rural producers and businessmen are facing total ruin.

The working people of town and country lack sufficient purchasing power, and factories are curtailing production because of unsold stocks.

The vast majority of the people are opposed to the Rodrigo Plan. It is supported only by the Agricultural Society, big capitalists and agents of foreign monopolies. On one pole are the workers, employees, peasants, middle strata and a large segment of the national bourgeoisie, whose very first acquaintance with the Rodrigo Plan has driven them to the realization that it will bring poverty and strengthen the positions of the landed oligarchy and foreign monopolies. On the other pole is the insignificant minority that has appropriated the bulk of the national wealth and hailed the plan with satisfaction.

In spite of superficial differences the Rodrigo Plan is essentially the same as the earlier unlamented plans of Prebisch, Pinedo, Alsogaray, Frigerio, Krieger Vasena and others. They all spring from the same origin: the International Monetary Fund. As North American imperialism loses key positions on a world scale, it is stepping up pressure on Latin America, especially the countries of the southern

cone, to create "conditions for investment" and establish control over strategically important areas of the South Atlantic.

Celestino Rodrigo justified his plan by arguing that Argentina faced bankruptcy. That was the argument of Prebisch in 1955 when he presented his plan of austere economy and sacrifice to the so-called liberating revolution.

The *New York Times* also wrote on July 10 that as a nation Argentina was bankrupt. A dispatch from Washington on July 30 referred to the "concern" of American monopolies at the worsening economic situation in our country. Their concern was so great that they could not understand why the new economic and financial authorities had not yet asked the International Monetary Fund to discuss a plan for solving Argentina's acute problems.

The Rodrigo plan quite obviously dooms the people to hunger and the country to surrender to imperialism. Our Party analyzed and characterized it in its document of June 17, which not only criticized the plan but also showed the way of gradually restoring the economy and assuring its comprehensive and independent progress in conditions of social justice.

The situation is extremely grave, indeed, But Argentina is neither ruined nor bankrupt, as Rodrigo and the *New York Times* claim. There are progressive solutions for its acute economic problems. What has finally failed is the policy pursued for decades by governments of the most diverse origins, under various camouflages and by a variety of means. What is finally failing is the policy of the landed oligarchy, big capitalists and foreign monopolies. It must urgently be replaced by another policy that would be genuinely national and popular. To find a solution that would satisfy the majority of the people it is necessary more deeply to analyze the causes of the present alarming situation and determine the trends that bred it. These include:

1. The old crisis of the socio-economic structure of the country caused by its dependence and the existence of latifundia erects a wall that holds back progress and prevents the achievement of genuine national independence. That structural crisis has entered a new, deeper and more dangerous phase.

2. Further subordination to the economies of big imperialist powers that are being shaken to their very foundations not only by deep cyclic or current crises but by the general crisis of capitalism as well.

3. Complete departure from the basic guidelines for which the

great majority had voted and which had begun to be implemented but were pushed to the background after the death of Peron; at first this was slowly and gradually done by Gomez Morales, and later with ultrasonic speed by Celestino Rodrigo, an accomplice of Lopez Rega.

The most peculiar aspect of Argentina's crisis, rooted in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres, is that the ship of state is sailing with neither rudder nor compass.

The situation may seem tangled and even strange, influenced as it is by deep-going and contradictory factors, both permanent and transient; most important, there is no guiding element, which breed hesitation and careening from one side to another.

If a global crisis on such a scale is rooted in the political sphere, the quest for its solution must also start there.

When the mass demonstrations of workers and other working people on June 27 and July 7-8 won an important partial victory with the removal of Lopez Rega and Rodrigo from power, the process could have been expected to take a satisfactory direction toward a substantial improvement of the policy line in the name of saving the existing institutes, democratic freedoms, the living standard and the national wealth.

The bitter truth, however, is that, although Lopez Rega has gone, "Lopez Regism" has not been eradicated. How can the national economy be restored by a return to the guidelines, the foundations of which had been laid by the great popular victory in the March and September 1973 elections, without first removing from the government Kissinger's great friend Senor Vignes, as well as obscurantists Ivanissevich and Frattini and other shady personalities still active in official spheres? The machinery of state must be guarded from Lopez Rega elements and various reactionaries. The nation needs a stable and homogeneous government from the point of view of its program guidelines.

For this purpose it is necessary to urgently form a government of civilians and the military based on a broad democratic coalition that will be stable thanks to the support of the vast majority of the population and, at the same time, by virtue of a jointly elaborated plan of action. If the popular-democratic forces do not unite to set up a government with a clear democratic and anti-imperialist orientation, the anti-democratic forces will regroup to hatch a plot and, even though they represent a negligible minority, will be able to make use of the uncertainty and chaos and try to capture power by a coup d'état.

The leaders of national political parties and mass organizations opposing the establishment of a coordinating center of democratic forces, necessary to lead the country out of its present dead end and prevent a new coup d'état, are shouldering a grave responsibility.

A democratic political solution would provide the ship of state with the compass it needs and help steer a course that would bring it safely to its home port.

A common program is not utopian. That such a solution is possible is indicated by the election documents of Peronism, radicalism, the Revolutionary Popular Alliance, and almost all the political parties. It is also indicated by the emergency plans drawn up by the General Confederation of Labor, General Confederation of the Economy, and a number of parties. They suggest that it is quite possible to reach a useful agreement in keeping with the demands of the country and its people. Our Party stressed in its statement of July 22:

"The constructive position of the General Confederation of Labor can serve as a documentary basis for the elaboration of major agreed national platforms that would assure the continuity of institutes and the democratic regime, which would mean the beginning of an economic and financial policy defending national interests, ensure the harmonious and independent development of the Argentine economy, the operation of a viable and flexible minimum wage law and its protection by measures preventing any sharp rise in the cost of living; defense of small and medium producers in town and country, struggle against parasitic manifestations of capitalism, and continuation of the independent foreign policy pursued up to the end of June 1974."

In spite of the complicated scenario according to which the present crisis is developing and the devastating effect of the Rodrigo Plan, the consequences of which have not yet been fully overcome, there is every opportunity to break down the backward structure, which would signify not a collapse of the country but the bankruptcy of the policy of the coalition of foreign monopolies with big local latifundists and capitalists. However serious the problems, they can be resolved in a progressive way if energetic cooperation of the healthy forces of the people can be organized. We said as much on July 22 and repeat now:

"At a time of great dangers threatening the country it is inappropriate to seek narrow, selfish solutions. It is high time to go over from appeals for joint action to the creation of mechanisms that can make it effective.

Despite the dire predictions of the prophets of doom, the country

and its people are able to overcome the present crisis and create conditions that would help to find a future solution and eliminate the structural crisis.

Anyone who has not put on blinkers knows that Argentina ranks seventh in the world in area, that it is rich in mineral wealth, that it has a large continental shelf, great potentialities for the development of shipbuilding and fishing, and one of the largest and most fertile plains on earth. At a time when there is a worldwide shortage of all kinds of raw materials, Argentina has an abundance of foodstuffs and excellent possibilities for producing them on a large scale. There are stocks of cotton, wool, sugar, wine and meat that are not exported. Expert opinion confirms that annual farm production on the existing lands, with the available seed supplies, machinery and equipment, could be doubled and even trebled. Although the economic base is inadequate, the nation's workers, specialists and manufacturers produce a wide range of industrial goods and articles for export.

It is appropriate to recall that, after May 1973, one small wage increase and a certain freezing of prices swiftly strengthened the domestic market and brought unused industrial capacities into operation. The "discovery" of the new, socialist world immediately opened up great opportunities both for Argentine exports and for acquiring the machinery, equipment and technical assistance needed to carry out the energy plan, rapidly develop fishing and modernize the railways. Implementation of the majestic Middle Parana project would give tremendous impetus to the country's productive forces.

We have always pointed to the contradictions between the country's tremendous possibilities and cheerless reality. To harmonize possibilities with reality it is essential to do away with the dual and ruinous monopoly: the monopoly of land in the hands of an oligarchy craving easy and enormous profits, and the monopoly of multinational corporations which control the key levers of the economy and finances.

At the same time we realize that the dramatic consequences of the Rodrigo Plan, that has hit and ravaged the national economy like a cyclone, will have to be overcome with the help of emergency measures. In this sphere there is a broad coincidence of national interests.

The minimum program of democratic and anti-imperialist measures is the Communist Party's contribution to the common cause. It expresses readiness to take part in a discussion at any level to formulate a common platform that satisfies the majority of the citizens. It

declares its readiness to assume an appropriate share of the responsibility arising from a broad agreement between the democratic, national and popular forces.

In the first place it is necessary to remedy the present dramatic situation. Then it is necessary to tackle the deeper basic problems of the economic and social structure and do everything possible to build the Argentina we would like to have: democratic, independent, strong, imbued with social justice.

Nuestra palabra, August 6.

APPEAL TO THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE

The signing of a nuclear agreement between Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany is an extremely dangerous event threatening the destinies of our people.

The Brazilian Communists, who have always championed the cause of peace, national independence, and economic and social liberation of the people, sacrificed their lives in the battles against the nazi menace, campaigned for Brazil's staying away from the Korean War, for a state monopoly on oil and establishment of a state-owned petroleum concern, in defense of the nation's radioactive mineral reserves, and who have taken part in many other militant actions, consider it their duty to express their opinion about this agreement.

Following this tradition and concerned about the future of our people, we expose this agreement as:

a means of turning Brazil into an atomic proving-ground, also for the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons for imperialism, and as a threat to the future of the country, opening the way for its involvement in world and local nuclear conflicts;

one more move to set Brazil against other Latin American countries, strengthen it as a base for fascist and neo-colonialist expansion and as a watchdog of imperialism;

an enroachment on national sovereignty because the aim (of the agreement) is to draw our country into the aggressive strategy of imperialism, abolish state monopoly on the radioactive resources,

impede the development of national nuclear technology and subordinate it to the interests of international monopolies;

another tool of exploitation of the Brazilian workers, technicians, and scientists for the benefit of international monopolies, an encroachment on the health of the people, and an extremely dangerous factor of environmental pollution;

a new maneuver to encourage the military-fascist dictatorship and an attempt to present it as an initiator of beneficial measures and to conceal its true nature.

The dictatorship lies in saying that it did not sign the non-proliferation treaty because it would hinder the progress of Brazil's nuclear technology. Other countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany, signed the treaty, and this did not prevent them from building nuclear power plants and nuclear technology. The argument that the treaty "contains restrictions only for non-nuclear nations" is also false, because the signatory "nuclear club" nations have pledged not to conduct atomic tests in three media. The people of Brazil and all other nations are interested not in enlarging the "club," as the dictatorship alleges, but in dissolving it through the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and total disarmament, and the non-proliferation treaty is a prelude to this. The present regime refused to sign the non-proliferation treaty because it would bar access to nuclear weapons. All the pledges and guarantees so far announced by the dictatorship show that it wants to avoid this prohibition and draw Brazil into the nuclear arms race. Thus, one more crime against the country's security and future is being committed.

The Geisel government has become deeply entangled in contradictions and, seeing the growing opposition in the armed forces as well, it is trying with the help of the nuclear agreement to raise the banner of nationalism and refashion its political basis. For this purpose it makes use of the campaign started by mouthpieces of some U.S. monopolies unwilling to share profits with West German business from the exploitation of the Brazilian people. It should be noted, however, that the interests of the imperialist system do not always coincide with those of all monopoly groups. For some time U.S. imperialism could maintain its monopoly on the sale of enriched uranium in the capitalist world. But the recent changes in the alignment of forces between the imperialist centers — the United States, Europe and Japan — and the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism have altered this "status quo." A clear expression of the new situation is the program submitted by President Ford to the U.S. Congress. It provides for the

abolition of state monopoly on the uranium enrichment cycle and its recycling and for the transfer of this branch to private business. Thus Washington has renounced control over the nuclear market and has also taken the road of expanding the manufacture and possession of atomic weapons, by private groups as well, which makes control over these weapons impossible. The Geisel government's policy and the nuclear agreement are fully consistent with this line of expanding the nuclear market and easing for the monopolies and aggressive forces access to nuclear fuel and atomic weapons. Far from contradicting the strategy of U.S. imperialism, this policy is subordinated to it.

The strategy of U.S. imperialism also takes into account the role of Brazil's fascist regime in relation to other peoples of Latin America. The regime was involved in the invasion of the Dominican Republic, in the reactionary and fascist coups in Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile, in the financial, political and military support of Pinochet's bellicose threats against the progressive regime of Peru. And now it has started a nuclear arms race in Latin America, representing the nuclear policy of imperialism on the continent. The dictatorship is trying to turn Brazil into a watchdog that could brandish atomic weapons, threatening the liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples.

The Brazilian dictatorship says that the nuclear agreement is the sole way of meeting the energy requirements in the next decade. The people should know that this is an utter lie. A rational distribution of our industrial potential, full use of our hydropower resources and shale, coal and oil reserves, sound planning of energy consumption, etc., are some of the alternatives in the interests of our people. The development of nuclear capability in the way proposed by Brazilian scientists and technicians would not have called for the transfer of the radioactive mineral reserves to international monopolies. The agreement ignores the interests of the people and serves the interests of monopolies, in particular those of the Federal Republic of Germany, which has long sought access to our uranium and thorium reserves.

A national policy of developing the nuclear industry and technology would rule out the transfer of our mineral wealth to foreigners and would save billions of dollars in the interests of the people who suffer from lack of sewage, drinking water, schools, hospitals, municipal transport, etc. Improvement of the life and cultural and technical standards of our people is the only way of assuring an independent progress of genuinely national technology, including the nuclear one.

The present regime demonstrates that it will not hesitate to sacrifice the health of our people to achieve its aims. One more danger is being

added to environmental pollution, which has reached an impermissible level in some areas of the country. It is the danger of radioactive pollution. The guarantees and precautionary measures mentioned in the agreement and promised by official news media and monopolies will reassure no one. The world public is aware of the developed capitalist countries' policy of transferring to third-world countries the production processes and tests polluting the environment. The European peoples have denounced these tests or have put up obstacles that do not make the relevant branch a bonanza for monopolies.

The Communists urge all peace-loving forces, all patriots and democrats to join efforts in frustrating this collusion and in achieving that Brazil

- sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which is now the only way of proving its desire to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes;
- preserve its national wealth, above all radioactive mineral deposits, the use of which must become a state monopoly;
- strive to develop national technology in all fields, including nuclear;
- conduct a comprehensive energy policy providing for rational protection and use of our power resources and for the needs of our people;
- establish control by public and scientific organizations over environmental pollution.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Brazil

Luis Carlos Prestes

August 1975

RESOLUTION OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP

On September 9 the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party discussed the main aspects of the country's present political and economic situation now that the process of forming the regional, provincial and municipal councils is drawing to an end.

The Communists approved of the way this process went along. In most regions, provinces and communes a new situation has arisen

thanks to the joint actions of the Communist and Socialist parties. The Left now heads the government bodies of new major regions, numerous provinces and big cities. In many cases the Communists and Socialists have formed administrative bodies jointly with the Republican and Social-Democratic parties. The positive agreements reached between all popular forces in these regions, provinces and communes have put an end to the center-left policy and discrimination against the Communist Party. In some instances, in the Naples municipality, for example, the Christian Democrats succeeded in imposing the policy of discrimination and thus obstructed the formation of local authorities based on broad democratic unity.

The local councils elected on June 15 now have to work out and implement new programs and methods of government, stimulating and expanding, by way of decentralization, the broadest possible participation of people in running public affairs so that the regions, provinces and communes could fully cope with their tasks and in this way do their bit in the solution of dramatic and disturbing problems. The participation of citizens is also needed for the promotion and renovation of our democratic system.

The government must help forward in every way the solution of these problems, respecting the prerogatives and autonomy of the regional and local councils and providing them with the necessary wherewithal. The budgets of these bodies should not be cut indiscriminately, and everything ought to be done for the regions, provinces and communes to join the coordinated efforts to lead the nation out of the crisis by taking sound decisions in the economic sphere. The Communists once again pledge to work in the assemblies elected on June 15, irrespective of the position the latter may take, and strive for the unity of democrats and the people as a whole.

In view of the gravity of the present crisis in the country and the increasing curtailment of production and employment, the Communist Party leadership reaffirms the urgent need of finally taking a new road. It is not enough to adopt measures of expediency which can easily be criticized and which, in addition, limit the prerogatives and powers of the regions and local government bodies. It is necessary to revamp the economic and financial set-up. What is also needed is a policy of fair taxation, a rational increase in investments, protection and expansion of employment, especially of female labor, and provision of jobs for young people. Inertia and lack of initiative and ideas on the part of the government are impermissible in all these fields, for this can bring the social and political situation to a head.

Such a situation must be remedied. When parliament meets to discuss the draft state budget, it should also consider the problems that brook no delay. Through a serious comparison of the views of all democratic forces and with the participation of influential social forces, it must find a way out of the crisis.

All resources must be mustered and used properly to raise production and bring about reconversion, beginning with the mixed enterprises and the tax policy. Finally, there is a need for a substantive policy of democratic programming, with priorities to be set in state budget allocations, investments and consumption and with strict observance of these priorities. A policy must be launched to end the confusion in wage rates. The Communist Party calls for serious government moves in this direction that would open a new phase in the economic policy and development of the country. The need for a new phase is recognized by all, and the democratic forces should work jointly to bring it about.

The Communist Party leadership greets and expresses solidarity with the workers, peasants, other working people, and with the unemployed who are fighting for jobs. Their militancy, unity and resolve to stick to the trade union directives show that it is quite possible to thwart the schemes of those who would like to shift the burden of the crisis on to the workers, peasants, middle strata and the working people generally, and to impose on the trade unions and democratic forces plans of reconstruction that would meet the narrow interests of individual companies and groups, and not the interests of the nation.

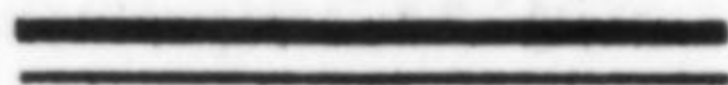
The Communist Party leadership wishes success and promises its full support to the workers and other working people in the forthcoming negotiations for new collective agreements with their employers. It also approves the policy the united trade union movement is going to adopt in these negotiations, namely that of protecting jobs and increasing employment, solving the problems of the south, developing the economy in a new way, and rebuffing the encroachments motivated by selfish corporative interests. This can serve as a platform for achieving in the next few weeks broad alliances and agreement between various social forces, between workers, peasants and the middle strata.

It is on these questions, and also on the questions of a democratic order, of combating crime and improving the state of affairs in politics and management that comparison of the views of democratic forces should be continued, and no effort should be wasted in abstract arguments over formulas and blocs and the role which one group or

another has to play. The nation needs a new political course and a new method of government, and this need must be remembered when discussing and solving the problems of the political leadership of the country. Inertia, delays and empty words will not help solve the crisis. Uncertainty must be ended and new steps taken within the course explicitly approved by the Italians in the June 15 elections. Those in the Christian Democratic Party and outside it who still stake on a split and confrontation must be finally defeated. It is in the interests of democratic development that the groups and individuals concerned about the democratic future of the country gain ascendancy during the crisis in this party.

The Communist Party leadership appeals to all democrats and anti-fascists urgently to initiate joint measures in the newly elected assemblies and in parliament in order to lead Italy out of its present situation and impose a new policy of democratic renovation, social progress, economic development, freedom and social security for all citizens. It calls on all members to ensure that their Party (at the time when the Communist press fund-raising campaign is successfully drawing to a close) prove equal to its new important tasks and justify the confidence placed in it by large sections of our people.

L'Unita, September 10.



COMMUNIST PRESS FESTIVALS

AUSTRIA

Over 100,000 came to Prater Park in Vienna for the *Volkstimme* two-day festival early in September.

Addressing a rally, Communist Party chairman Franz Muhri said: "This year we celebrated the 30th anniversary of Austria's liberation from the nazi dictatorship and foreign domination, and the 20th anniversary of the State Treaty. In a few weeks, on October 26, we shall be celebrating the 20th anniversary of our permanent neutrality status. All these momentous events are closely tied in with the activities and struggle of the Communist Party.

"That the Communists can be relied upon was demonstrated in the

trying days of March 1938: we were the only Party to call for resistance to the nazi dictatorship and foreign domination and for the re-establishment of a free and independent Austria. In 1945 we shared in founding the Second Republic. The Party dedicated all its strength to re-establishing the new consistently democratic Austria. The Communists were the most energetic advocates of the State Treaty that gave us independence and permanent neutrality.

"The Austrian Communists are the only Party independent of the capitalist profit system. Today, as always, the Party is guided by its policy of upholding the interests of all men and women of labor.

"Only the Communists are consistently working for job security and against layoffs, for a democratic way out of the crisis. Only the Communists are consistently combating attempts to shift the burden of economic difficulties on to the working people.

"In international affairs, we are in the van of the effort for peace and worldwide détente, which has made great progress of late. We are at the head of the solidarity movement with the Chilean people and against the new fascist danger in Portugal.

"Our interests and aims are the interests and aims of the working class. Unlike other parties, we do not claim to speak for "all" Austrians. The point and purpose of all our political activity is to serve the material, political and social progress of the working people, and that can be achieved only through joint struggle of the working class and all democratic forces against state-monopoly capitalism."

Displays by fraternal newspapers of the socialist countries attracted wide attention, as did the concert groups from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries and the performances by well-known athletes.

BELGIUM

Thousands of people gathered at Visé near Brussels for the annual festival of the two Communist papers, *Drapeau Rouge* and *Rode Vean*. The many festival events were evidence of the Party's increasingly closer ties with the masses.

There were displays by *Pravda* and other Communist papers, performances by artists and amateur groups, and a field and track contest by athletes from Belgium, The USSR, Poland and other countries.

The festival was attended by a delegation from the CPSU and other Communist parties and newspapers.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Over 100,000 visited the Julius Fucik Park in Prague during the two-day festival of *Rude Pravo*, the Communist daily, which was 55 years old on September 21. Members of the paper's staff were there to describe its work and how it was preparing for the forthcoming 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The program included concerts, sports events and the traditional *Rude Pravo* cross-country race.

The festivities were opened by Oldrich Svestka, secretary of the Central Committee. On behalf of the Communist Party, the government and the National Front, he thanked all journalists, artists, cameramen and the technical staffs of the mass media, and personnel of the communications and transport ministries who carry the paper to every part of the republic.

A vote of thanks, he said, must go also to the readers, listeners and TV viewers, for without their active response and close contacts with them the mass media would not be able to discharge their mission of front-rank fighters for socialism and communism.

Rude Pravo is entering its 56th year, Svestka went on to say. It has always been part of the Communist Party's fight for the political, economic and social demands of the working class and working people generally, for the freedom and fraternity of our nations, internationalist friendship with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world, for the building of socialism. We remember with a feeling of pride the leaders of our Party, Klement Gottwald, Bohumir Smeral, Jan Sverma, Julius Fucik and many more who helped *Rude Pravo* fulfill its militant role and develop the rich militant traditions of our revolutionary press.

The speaker recalled the words of Gustav Husak at the Congress of Journalists: "We should draw on our rich experience. We can be proud of the record of Czechoslovak journalism both during the national-liberation struggle and the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party. We must remember these traditions so as to keep our journalism at a high political and ideological level, a weapon in the fight for a better life, for a better social system."

Svestka expressed the wish that *Rude Pravo* and the Party press as a whole will follow that principle and always be in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism, always be a true and effective assistant of the Party in implementing its policy.

Imbued with internationalism and militant labor solidarity, the fes-

tival has made for closer ties between *Rude Pravo* and its many readers.

FRG

The *Unsere Zeit* festival in Düsseldorf on September 20 and 21 continued the tradition of the worker press and international solidarity festivals, resumed in Federal Germany by the Communist Party. The first festival, last autumn, brought more than 250,000 people to Düsseldorf. This year's surpassed even the most optimistic forecasts, demolishing all the barriers erected by the enemies of the Communist Party and its newspaper, *Unsere Zeit*. Once more the annual celebrations in honor of the workers' press were being held on a massive scale.

The walks in the park, lined with exhibition stands and small concert platforms, were named in honor of Communist newspapers, *Pravda*, *L'Humanité*, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, *L'Unita*. Delegations from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and from European capitalist countries took part in the festivities.

In opening the festival, Georg Polikeit, Presidium member of the German Communist Party and chief editor of *Unsere Zeit*, welcomed the foreign guests, among them the world's first woman cosmonaut, Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, who was given an enthusiastic reception when she addressed the crowd.

There was an international forum of journalists on the Helsinki Conference and the Fight for International Détente. Solidarity in the struggle for the West German workers' interests was the subject of other forums organized in connection with the festival.

Addressing a large meeting at the conclusion of the celebrations, Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, announced that, all told, 400,000 people had visited the festival in its two days. The strength of *Unsere Zeit* and its growing influence lie in the fact that it brings the people the truth and champions their interests, he stressed.

Many took part in a meeting with Communist Party leaders and journalists. There were also many panel discussions for people of one and the same profession and for young people on ways and means of countering the monopoly onslaught, upholding democratic rights and promoting peace. There was universal approval of the European Security and Cooperation Conference and a call to implement its decisions.

The crowds voiced their solidarity with the people of Portugal, its

Communists and genuine patriots fighting for revolutionary change. There was a resolute demand to free Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and all other political prisoners in Chile.

FRANCE

For two days, September 13 and 14, Courneuve, near Paris, was the scene of the annual Fête de l'Humanité, the most popular festival of the French working people.

Hundreds of thousands of Parisians and people from other parts of the country braved the rain to meet with Communist Party leaders and journalists, visit the Man and Machine exhibition and other displays, attend performances by celebrated artists, and see the documentary film "Jacques Duclos, or the Triumph of Life." The festival demonstrated anew the Party's growing influence, its closer ties with the people and the increasing support of its policies.

The participation of dozens of fraternal papers and of numerous foreign guests gave the festival an air of proletarian internationalism. There was wide interest in the Soviet pavilion, the main theme of which was "Siberia, Land of Science." Soviet cosmonaut O. G. Makarov was given a warm welcome.

On September 14 there was a mass meeting addressed by Roland Leroy, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary and director of *L'Humanité*.

"In the battle for freedoms and democracy," he said, "the Communists have always been in the front ranks. That follows from the very nature of the Communist Party, which is dedicated to the abolition of exploitation and the unparalleled flourishing of democracy and freedoms. The history of our Party is proof that we are the only party in France that has always stood for freedom and has never, under any circumstances, come out against democratic rights. The Communists have always been on the side of those committed to freedoms and they need no lecturing from anyone on how to defend freedoms and democracy.

"By its very nature, our Party is a force that illuminates the path to victories and new freedoms, and to the flourishing of democracy. Proof of that will be found in "The Democratic Challenge," a book by our general secretary, and in "To Live in Freedom," the draft declaration of liberties advanced by our Party, and in our fight for political freedom in the factories.

"Our Party's struggle is part of the tempestuous progress in the

world of today. That is why our festival should be seen as a great act of international solidarity, a festival of unity. For since its very inception, *L'Humanité* has voiced the unity policy of the French Communist Party. That policy and our struggle contributed in no small measure to the appearance of the common government program. Today, as in the past, our policy and struggle are the earnest of victory, the earnest that this program will be brought to reality for, as Etienne Fajon says in his book, "unity comes through struggle." And we shall continue the struggle to impart a higher quality to the alliance of the Left and make it the core of an alliance of the people of France. Our alliance would be stronger still if we were able to foil all the speculation of its enemies, for instance, if the Socialist Party adopted our proposal for joint struggle against Portuguese fascism and for an immediate agreement in view of the forthcoming municipal elections.

"For the alliance to be strong, there must be a strong Communist Party. *L'Humanité* and its Sunday edition, *L'Humanité-Dimanche*, are working for such an alliance, working to become a more effective weapon in the workers' fight against the government.

"Thousands of people have joined our ranks at this festival, and thousands more will join, for this will give them a meaning in life. Let all who can no longer put up with the domination of the financial tycoons, and want to live in a society that can make full use of all the potentialities of our age, know that they can achieve that goal only by joining the Communist Party. By joining our Party, young people become fighters for the new world. Thousands joined the Young Communist Movement here at the festival.

"And so, our festival is also a political event because it will become an important stage in starting 1,500 new factory nuclei and in bringing 100,000 new members into the Party and another 100,000 into the Young Communist Movement before the end of the year."

ITALY

Over a million took part in an impressive demonstration and rally at the two-week *Unita* festival in Florence, which ended on September 14.

Among the many foreign delegations was one from the CPSU led by Mikhail Zimyanin, chief editor of *Pravda*. This year the guest of honor was the German Democratic Republic, represented by a delegation led by Hermann Axen, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The presence of delegates from the socialist countries, Communist and Workers' parties and

national-liberation movements was expressive of the international solidarity between the Italian Communists and working people and the peoples fighting for progress, peace, and freedom and socialism.

Addressing a mass meeting, General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer said the Italian Communist Party enjoys the firm confidence of the majority of the working class and of a substantial part of the middle strata, the youth and the intelligentsia. The recent regional elections, he noted, have created a new political situation. The right-wing forces were discomfited and forced to retreat. The popular, democratic and anti-fascist forces made headway. The left parties, the Italian Socialist Party, and particularly the Communist Party, increased their vote. The basic reason for the success of the Italian Communists lies in their utter dedication, in their close links with the people, their militancy, their policy of closer unity of the working class and all popular, democratic and anti-fascist forces.

Discussing the economic situation, Berlinguer reminded his audience that the country is in a state of profound crisis, with declining production and investment and the threat of more unemployment. In this situation, he stressed, unity of the people in upholding their rights is a vital necessity.

The general secretary also emphasized the need for Italy to take foreign policy initiatives. He pointed to the important positive changes in the international situation, citing, in particular, the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which, he said, was the result, above all, of the Soviet Union's far-seeing and persevering peace initiative.



FROM THE PARTY PRESS

U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE MOYNIHAN DOCTRINE*

The revival of Moynihanism and the nuclear first-strike strategy reveals that the struggle to make détente and peaceful coexistence irreversible has merged at a new level with the struggle to make decolonization and social progress irreversible.

During the 1960s, the Moynihan Report came up with an "analysis" of the condition of Black people in the U.S. that placed the blame for their intensifying problems not on the oppressor, but on the victims. The reasons for inequality in jobs, housing, education, etc., etc. were — according to this report — not to be found in the class and racist structure of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism but within the Black community. Now, casting according to type, the Administration has selected Moynihan to project an international counterpart of the racist concepts in his report: i.e., to blame the widening economic gap between many of the underdeveloped and less developed nations and the imperialist nations, not on U.S. and world imperialism, but on its victims.

In 1964, on the eve of U.S. imperialism's escalation of its "pacification" program in Vietnam, Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Moynihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor, as head of a committee to develop a program for "pacification" of the Black masses, who refused to interpret the legal gains of the civil rights struggles as an end — but rather as a new starting point in their long fight for the substance of equality.

This committee produced *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, which came to be known as the Moynihan Report. As its tactic, this report conceded that the lot of Black Americans had consisted of slavery followed by discrimination. But this belated official recognition of a 300-year history of oppression was accorded not to point up the government's obligation for a national program to wipe out inequality — but instead to project new, more subtle racist

*Daniel Patrick Moynihan, American Sociologist and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations — Ed.

rationalizations for the government's persistent refusal to take affirmative action.

The report achieved its goal by obscuring the fundamental fact that the extension of Black inequality from the past into the present is directly connected with capitalism, with the racist policies of monopoly and its two-party domination of the electoral process. Instead, the report contended that the source of inequality lies in the Black "family structure."

By this racist interpretation of the Black condition (including the manipulation of statistics), the report was invaluable to the monopolists in their aim of reversing the gains of the civil rights struggles rather than carrying out economic and social measures against racism and inequality.

Having absolved monopoly of responsibility for Black inequality, the report sought to divert the growing demand for national action against racism and poverty by a call for "action" that would be turned against the Black community. In developing its racist theme that the solution of the Black condition lies not in an anti-monopoly struggle but within the Black "family structure," the Moynihan Report stated:

"At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time. Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the Negro American. . . . The cycle can be broken only if these distortions are set right. In a word, a national effort toward the problems of the Negro Americans must be directed toward the question of the family structure."

By picturing the Black condition of inequality as arising within the Black "family structure," this report identified the *results* of oppression as the *cause* of oppression. Thus it runs ahead on into the fact that Black family life — despite the "distortions" caused by 200 years on the auction blocks of northern slave traders and southern slave owners, followed by more than 100 years of racist economic, social and political pressures of genocidal proportions — has shown a matchless capacity for survival through struggle!

Among its numerous contributions to racism, the Moynihan Report labeled the Black community a "tangle of pathologies." (This is a phrase Moynihan took over from the writings of Dr. Kenneth Clark. Clark used it in an anti-racist sense, but because the phrase has no scientific *class* content Moynihan was able to twist Clark's intent into

its opposite.)

Now, courtesy of Moynihan, we have yet another racist stereotype at large in the land, aimed at covering up the fact that the "tangle" of institutionalized racism generated by monopoly is the source of inequality.

It is hardly coincidental that before Moynihan was named U.S. Ambassador to the UN, a widespread and apparently coordinated campaign to reactivate his racist sociology was underway. The meaning of this move can be fully appreciated only if one remembers that when the Moynihan Report originally appeared it received immediate condemnation from the Black liberation movement and its allies. As a result its presence was camouflaged, at least in "respectable" circles, for almost a decade.

Now the report's philosophy appears more and more openly in the mass media and in the writings of the journalistic, academic and political supporters of monopoly in both its parties — including their "liberal" circles. This phenomenon undoubtedly bolsters those currents in the Democratic and Republican parties competing for the favors — and even the Presidential candidacy — of George Wallace.

In this connection, *Fortune* magazine in its "Special Bicentennial Issue" (April 1975), carried several articles by both "liberal" and conservative writers reflecting the Moynihan thesis. This was especially evident in the way these articles interpreted the facts and figures showing the widening gap between white and Black income over the past decade.

Among the articles dealing with the present status of Black people, the one by Juan Cameron — "Black America: Still Waiting for Full Membership" — emerges as an example of the "liberal" revival of the Moynihan doctrine. (Even its title reflects one facet of the "tangle" of lies monopoly propagates about Black people: Black Americans are not "waiting" for anything; they are fighting for everything they are entitled to!)

In large type on the opening page the following editorial comment appears:

"(The) . . . achievements (of Black Americans) are still clouded, however, by widespread discrimination — and the seemingly *unsolvable* plight of the poor. (Emphasis added — H.W.)"

For the brief period of 1965 to 1969, "Black income was drawing somewhat closer to average white income," states Cameron — ignoring the fact that even this temporary advance was brought about only by the strength of the civil rights struggles.

On one hand Cameron makes it appear that this short-lived narrowing of the gap between Black and white income applied to Black people as a whole instead of only a small minority. However, he points out that even from 1965 to 1969 the "gap was widening *within* the Black community." (Emphasis in the original.)

He puts the blame for this on the Black masses, describing the income gap as "between the able and less able" — covering up the fact that monopoly responded to massive pressure from Black people as a whole with limited advancement for only a tiny percentage. With this coverup, Cameron buttresses his thesis of the seemingly "unsolvable plight of the poor" in still another way.

In true "liberal" fashion, Cameron appears to make a relatively frank admission about the condition of Black people only to go on to another "tangle" of lies. For instance, he concedes that "Blacks were hit harder than whites by the 1970 recession." He then adds, "Whites haven't done very well either, thanks to recession and roaring inflation."

But far from admitting that Blacks have been hit even harder by "roaring inflation" than whites, Cameron asserts they have found a way to beat it:

"According to one recent study, Blacks living on welfare can afford more than twice as much in the way of goods and services as welfare families could in 1947."

According to Cameron, neither massive unemployment, "roaring inflation," nor the omnipresent barriers of racism are the cause of the income gap. Echoing Moynihan, he claims, "One continuing drag on black income, and perhaps the most important, is family instability."

Cameron then proceeds to help monopoly put even more bolts on the door leading to the allegedly "free" and "open" society. He suggests no programs to counter the current depression-scale unemployment (in fact, this is a subject he does not even mention). Instead he encourages monopoly in its drive to cut back on welfare — as a stimulus to Blacks to go out and get jobs! He states:

"It would not seem beyond the political imagination to draw up a welfare program that encouraged work and stable families. . . ."

Cameron goes on to speak of "white attitudes" but hides the fact that these "attitudes" are fostered by the racist monopolists' control of government, institutions and media. Further, he tries to make these "attitudes" appear acceptable instead of racist by stating, "To whites it seems only rational to be wary of school integration in a city like New York. . . ."

While he seems to concede a possible need for change in these "attitudes," he consigns the task of bringing this about to "time": "White attitudes will no doubt continue to change over time. . . ."

But "time" can be used to advance either the interests of the masses or the monopolists, and Cameron, in true Moynihan style, attempts to place it in the service of the latter — by putting the responsibility for overcoming racist "attitudes" on its victims:

" . . . The crux of the problem lies somewhere in the ghetto . . . somewhere in . . . the tangle of pathologies there."

This racist concept is aimed not only at the doubly and triply oppressed Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Native American Indian peoples. That its real purpose is to divide the oppressed and exploited of *all* colors everywhere — including whites — to divert them from a united struggle for an alternative to their plight, is confirmed when Cameron states:

"Unfortunately, nobody knows how to work any dramatic improvement in such an underclass, *whatever the racial makeup.*" (Emphasis added — *H.W.*)

In this article Cameron is writing directly for the ruling class, at whose center are the top 500 national and transnational corporations for which *Fortune* magazine serves as a virtual house organ. This is why he can openly acknowledge that for monopolists the masses of workers — "whatever the racial makeup" — are an "underclass."

This admission exposes the indivisibility of capitalism and racism. It reveals that racist and class oppression are interconnected features of monopoly rule, and that racist doctrine and practices are inherent in capitalism's drive for profits and superprofits.

Racism and anti-communism, monopoly's twin weapons, have a special function in the present era of the general crisis of capitalism and the rise of the world system of socialism — when the world revolutionary process, involving the socialist camp, the working classes of the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movements, is on the ascendancy. Their aim is to divide the working class — "the underclass, whatever its racial makeup" — and to separate the international working class and the liberation movements from their allies and most advanced contingents: the working class in power in the socialist countries, from Moscow to Berlin, from Hanoi to Havana.

Another article in this issue of *Fortune* is "The Revolution of Rising Entitlements," by Daniel Bell, whose previous writings hailed the presumed advent of a "post-industrial society" in which a managerial and technocratic elite would displace both corporate

monopoly and the working class.

Now Bell has found yet another way to assist the monopolists in their impossible task of preventing the working class from displacing them: he joins those who are adapting the Moynihan doctrine to the current crisis of U.S. and world imperialism.

Bell warns *Fortune's* corporate readers that:

"... the promise of equality has been transformed into a revolution of rising 'entitlements' — claims on government to implement an array of newly defined and vastly expanded social rights."

He then goes on to state that,

"... demands, furthermore, are now defined as rights. Clearly, the demand for equality now goes far beyond equal opportunity, or protection against unfair hazards. Too many Americans who got that protection still came out losers. What is now being demanded is equality of result — an equal *outcome* for all." (Emphasis in the original.)

To argue directly against enforcement of equal opportunity measures would expose Bell's racist aims too blatantly. So he disguises his objective in the pseudo-radical concept of utopian equalitarianism — equality of "result" for *individuals*.

Science has, of course, long since proved that all races are equal. But because individuals of whatever racial or national group have varying capacities, "equality of result" on an individual basis is an obvious impossibility. When Bell substitutes *individual* "equality of result" for that of an entire group, he is injecting a false issue to perpetuate a system with built-in *inequality* for Blacks and all oppressed minorities.

A comparison between this view and the Moynihan Report exposes their racist identity. The Moynihan Report is simply more blatant in stating the same concept:

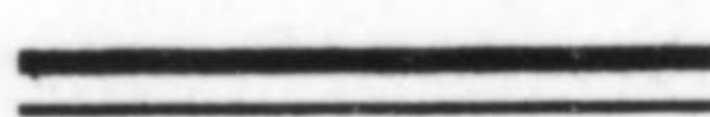
The members of one group almost invariably end up well to the fore, and another far to the rear.

Thus Moynihan and Bell concur in the racist view that inequality is inherent in Black people.

Henry Winston

Daily World, August 16.

(An excerpt from a new pamphlet)



THE LOGICAL END OF REVISIONISM

The time that has passed since the counter-revolutionary action by a political bloc of right-wing revisionist and anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia has shown once again that revisionism is not a constant or relatively stable policy. It is merely backsliding, desertion of the Marxist positions in favor of bourgeois ideology and politics.

Developments in Czechoslovakia since the late 1960s confirmed that one cannot remain on revisionist positions for a long time. Only two roads lead from them. The first is to recognize one's errors and correct them by working honestly for the good of society. That road was taken by the overwhelming majority of those who had been misled by the right-opportunist demagoguery which in 1968 had temporarily spread in our country and our Party.

There is, however, another road. It leads through insistence on revisionist positions to open service of foreign reactionaries. That road was chosen by several hundred Czechoslovak political emigres and a handful of renegades inside the country, like Dubcek, Kriegel and Mlynar.

Within the emigre ranks the anti-communist machine makes the most use of so-called reform communists. The latter pose as Communists and Marxists though they take part in anti-communist campaigns, give interviews to Radio Free Europe and become associated in capitalist countries with ultra-reactionary political pressure groups.

These renegades call for the continuation in Czechoslovakia of all that ended in August 1968. They are grouped around the Rome-based *Listy* (Letters), an emigré paper supervised and financed by those who direct anti-communist propaganda.

In line with the plans and instructions of bourgeois anti-communist centers the reform Communists strive to misinform and mislead fraternal Communist parties in Western countries. The less successful they are the more have they been turning lately toward the Social Democrats and the "New Left."

The very people who posed as the "living embodiment of the Prague spring," and who still demonstratively pledge loyalty to it, now serve as an example of the ideological and political backsliding of opportunism and revisionism to anti-communism.

In the 1960s they proclaimed themselves "creative" and "genuine" Marxists. Today some of them openly renounce Marxism, while

others continue to distort it. For instance, revisionist economists Ota Sik, Eugen Löbl and Radoslav Selucky now reject Marxism. In his latest book Sik attempts to strengthen the ranks of those who have been trying to prove for more than a hundred years that Karl Marx was wrong. A truly farcical example of ideological apostasy is provided by Radoslav Selucky. Once he wrote a book, "West is West," critical of imperialism. Now in emigration, anxious to "correct" his former actions and show gratitude to his employers, he has written an anti-communist pamphlet entitled "East is East" (Index Publishers, Cologne, 1972). Jiri Hochman, one of the main spokesmen of the right in *Rude Pravo* in 1968, and its Washington correspondent for several years before that, soon after his departure abroad was, in 1974, given a lecturing job at the University of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio. The destinies of these people show once again that revisionist "real Marxism" is closer to anti-communist Marxology than to genuine scientific socialism.

The revisionists of the 1960s posed as principled fighters against dogmatism. Now they extol Chinese Maoism, the most vulgar kind of scholasticism. These Czechoslovak renegades are acting in the same way as Roger Garaudy, as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists and politicians, from Jean-Paul Sartre to Franz-Josef Strauss. What unites people of such different ideological and political views, what is common in their admiration of Maoism? It is first of all hostility to The Soviet Union, to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist world.

In the 1960s the Czechoslovak right brandished the slogans of democracy and humanism. In emigration some of them have openly taken neo-fascist positions. In the polarization of bourgeois political forces the political emigrants usually belong to the most reactionary wing. Ludek Pachman is serving as a propagandist of the Strauss-led Christian-Social Union. He is criticizing the Vatican for what he sees as its too liberal negotiations with socialist states. Eugen Löbl is vice-chairman of an emigre organization headed by war criminals. In the spirit of the pro-nazi collaborationist regime swept out 30 years ago by the Slovak national uprising, this organization proclaims in its program secession from Czechoslovakia and establishment of a separate Slovak state. Ivan Svitak in one and the same breath proclaims neo-fascist slogans and extols Maoism. The kind of democratic and humane socialism the Czechoslovak political emigres advocate is evident from their joint actions with Solzhenitsyn, the late Cardinal Mindszenty, the Springer publishing concern in West Germany, Radio Free Europe, etc.

The degradation of the people who in 1968 extolled patriotism, national interests and identity, organized nationalistic parades, resurrected old bourgeois nationalistic traditions and symbols was demonstrated at a conference held in the West German resort town of Bad-Weissee last January. It was a gathering of reactionary Czechoslovak emigré leaders and the führers of the revanchist union of Sudeten Germans. The speaker for the so-called reform communists on behalf of Jiri Pelikan was another renegade, Josef Pokstefl. The Sudeten Germans were represented by their "president" Walter Becher. The emigres discussed with the revanchists a political program for their "common motherland," Czechoslovakia. Significantly, this was the first case of such open fraternizing of Czechoslovak emigres with West German fascists and revanchists. The bourgeois emigres who had left the Republic after February 1948 had never gone that far. This happened only now, with the active participation of people who had recently claimed for themselves a monopoly on Czechoslovak patriotism and accused the Communist Party of a lack of "national pride," respect for national traditions and "independent initiative in foreign policy."

Acting hand in glove with the reactionary political emigres is a *handful of renegades within Czechoslovakia*. Finding no support or response at home, they resort to the help of the bourgeois anti-communist ideological machine. In effect, it is not the anti-communist machine that serves those people but they who serve it.

Early this year a series of anti-Czechoslovak pamphlets appeared in the West: the "Smrkovsky memoirs," letters of Dubcek, Vaclav Havel, Ludvik Vaculik and others. All these infamous writings are part of an extensive anti-communist campaign obviously masterminded by anti-communist centers.

The subject of that campaign is malicious slander of the development and present situation in our country. The main target, however, is not so much the citizens of Czechoslovakia as the progressive forces and broad public opinion in the capitalist world. The sponsors of the campaign tried to torpedo preparations for the conference of European Communist parties and poison the atmosphere at the final stage of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. At the same time the campaign was to serve bourgeois propaganda as a means of diverting attention from the sad state of imperialism. The political emigres abroad and some of their allies and accomplices at home invoke false arguments to create the impression in the West that the mounting crisis is not a consequence of the contradictions of the

capitalist social system but a universal feature of our time, and that economic, political and cultural conditions in the socialist countries are no better than in capitalist states.

If we in Czechoslovakia take notice of that campaign it is rather for reasons of our internationalist duty than internal political and ideological necessity. The anti-socialist opportunists and revisionists have lost their positions in Czechoslovak society. The overwhelming majority of the citizens have come to see the reactionary nature of their ideas and slogans, while a few concealed foes of socialism are unwilling to gamble on a beaten card for a second time. Since bourgeois propaganda is trying to present Dubcek and the like as heralds of the Czechoslovak people's will, it is our international duty to show that these people represent no one but themselves, their shattered ambitions, unfulfilled aspirations and bitter animosity to a society that has shown it can get along well without their Messianism.

The current anti-communist campaign is simultaneously a reflection of the political, ideological and moral putrefaction of revisionists and renegades. It shows once more that revisionism *objectively* serves reaction and anti-communism and that its representatives sooner or later become tools of the international bourgeoisie, and that they do so *quite consciously*. Back in 1968 some people could think that the Dubceks, Smrkovskys, Goldstückers and Pelikans had done a service to the Czechoslovak counter-revolutionaries and international anti-Sovietism and anti-communism involuntarily, as a consequence of their errors and misconceptions, that they had the very best intentions. Today there can be no doubt about the deliberate anti-communist actions of those people.

Of decisive significance for society is the objectively reactionary role of revisionism, not the subjective intentions or emotions of its representatives. But even the subjective aspects of revisionism matter, especially from the point of view of preventing its relapses in good time. With some people the beginnings of revisionism are not usually due to evil reactionary designs. There are certain laws and connections in the ideological corruption of people who become vehicles of revisionism, and it is necessary to study better and sum up these laws and connections and draw practical conclusions from them.

Marxism-Leninism does not skirt the question of the social basis for the spread of revisionism, especially the penetration of petty-bourgeois influences into the working-class movement. A specific aspect of the question is an investigation of the social, political and psychological roots of the political and ideological corruption of

people who are *representatives, bearers and theoreticians* of revisionism.

As a rule, they are representatives of the former petty-bourgeois intelligentsia who joined the working-class movement. Their principal motivation at the time was a rejection of old exploiter capitalist society for its social and political injustices. Basically, theirs was a romantic, ethical critique of capitalism linked with illusory ideas of revolution.

The attitude of these people to socialism is superficial and emotional. Lacking any class identification of their fate with socialism, they start by selecting those elements of Marxism-Leninism that appeal to their petty-bourgeois democratic liberalism and humanism. Typical of revisionists therefore is speculative reasoning divorced from political economy and scientific communism, and, as a result, divorced from real life and, hence, empty. Thus, revisionism clashes with Marxism-Leninism not only in its "finished" form. The very superficiality in mastering the theory of scientific socialism is a cause of revisionism. Ideological immaturity is temporarily concealed by emotional likes and dislikes. They are not an expression of a proletarian mentality, as is the case with workers, but of a wavering petty-bourgeois mentality. Where there is a continued process of political and ideological tempering representatives of the former petty-bourgeois intelligentsia may grow into devoted, active Communists that are a pillar of the Party in its theoretical and practical work. But if the educational influence on the temporary fellow-travellers and supporters from among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia is not strong enough there develops a clash between their nebulous ideas and reality, between simplified dogmas and practice.

A petty-bourgeois intellectual disenchanted by the imperfections and mistakes of the revolution and the fact that people have not turned into angels is not a unique thing in history. As a rule, such people fail to realize that they are prisoners of their own illusions utterly divorced from reality. They hold that the ideals and program of the revolution were betrayed. Some drop away from the revolution, others seek lost ideological ground in a combination of their former "socialist" schemes with other theories that seem modern and attractive to them. They try to squeeze the working-class movement into the Procrustean bed of their speculations. However, the divergence between the movement and their positions continues to deepen.

Revisionist intellectuals see themselves as unrecognized Messiahs

and look for opportunities to put their ideas into effect. Their road leads them, through factions and coalitions with various opposition groups and trends, to the positions of the bourgeoisie, usually of its most reactionary wing, to the positions of deliberate hostility toward socialism, resulting in ultimate treachery.

That has been the road traversed by people of the type of Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Pelikan, Goldstücker and Sik; that has been the road of Garaudy, Kolakowski, Djilas, as well as Trotsky, Kautsky and others.

It has been proven that the only firm and reliable guarantee against revisionism is the Party's constant concern for the ideological and political education of its members and all citizens, including the timely theoretical and practical solution of all the new social problems on which revisionism capitalizes, timely and consistent friendly criticism of all errors and deviations from Marxism-Leninism, the continuous merger of the Marxist-Leninist theory with revolutionary socialist practice.

Milan Matous
Tvorba, No. 34, 1975.

DEMOCRATS RESIST THE TERRORISTIC FRANCO-ARIAS LAW

The decree signed into law by the Franco government on the pretext of "combating and preventing terrorism" and made effective with feverish haste would seem to date from the 1930s, when fascist Berlin announced the advent of the "millennium of the Nazi Reich."

The law refurbishes, modernizes and makes tougher the repressive legislation enacted during the bloodbaths of 1936 and 1939. It defines other "crimes" and provides for monstrous penalties, including death.

In the preamble, the authors of the law assert with unheard-of insolence that the law is "analogous to similar special laws recently passed in Britain, Italy and France and to a similar German bill." This

formulation, which can fool no one, is an attempt to conceal the fact that the law in question is widening the bottomless gulf separating Franco Spain from the rest of Europe.

In the very first articles of the law, its authors deliberately "mistake" terrorism for communism, separatism and illegal organizations, or in other words, organizations opposed to the dictatorship, as well as for every form or manifestation of the people's struggle for their rights and freedoms.

It is not terrorism that preoccupies a regime whose sole policy is terror and repression. The regime is uneasy about the growing struggle of the workers, students, members of the professions and peasants. It dreads the growing unity of large segments of Spanish society expressing a desire for freedom and fighting for it in one form or another.

"Terrorism" is a pretext. Many articles of the law define and specify diverse "crimes" ranging from strikes, street demonstrations and solidarity with persons under investigation or convicted, to ordinary criticism made "publicly, in explicit or covert terms." It is not a law against terrorism but a law endangering the whole of Spanish society.

A substantial part of the law is devoted to the press and news media. They are forbidden to tell the truth about what goes on in the country or to express critical views. Sentences on journalists provide for penalties varying from suspension of employment or non-payment of salary over a period of three months to complete dismissal without severance pay. Periodicals and newspapers may be suspended for three months or one year or banned altogether.

The Council of Ministers, Ministry of the Interior, Director-General of Security Bodies and local authorities may impose administrative fines of various amounts, which may be as high as 5m. pesetas.

The law draws a deliberately vague distinction between civil and military judicial authority, so that an ordinary "crime" in the form of a critical opinion may be referred to a court martial. This is not an accidental attempt to compromise and tarnish the army by involving it in a new wave of fascist reprisals. It is the reverse side of the coin. On the one hand, the regime arrests and tries officers charged with holding democratic views. On the other, it uses the army as a repressive force against the people.

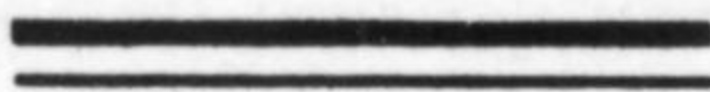
The law establishes standards expediting court proceedings and abolishes appeals and the reference of cases from one judicial authority to another. The purpose of appointing three lawyers for the

defense, one of whom is named officially, is to replace a lawyer who fails by another. Repressive forces are free to break into homes, arrest people and torture them. They may withhold for 10 days reports on arrests made by them.

This monstrous and absurd law is a challenge to Spanish society and the world. Franco came to power over a mountain of corpses. He is now trying to prolong the agony of his regime by resorting to a new round of brutal repression.

This fascist, terrorist law is an expression of weakness, not strength, of fear, not security. The regime feels that it is derailed. It sees the most diverse sections of Spanish society rise to action to demand changes, freedoms and rights. National reality calls for a democratic way out of the situation and the final abolition of the dictatorship. Our people will not allow themselves to be intimidated. They will step up their fight. The first resolute and courageous reaction is the strike in the Basque region in defense of the lives of Garmenida and Otaegui. It is the angered voice of a people protesting against the dictatorship's last act of desperation. The task of everyone is to turn the law into an epitaph of Franco, prevent the transfer of power to Juan Carlos, put an end to seeming liberalization and stop the ingratiating talk of those who dream of evolution within the framework of the regime. It is very important to give new impetus to the process of unification of the broadest possible strata, of all the political and social forces wanting a free system in Spain. In the light of the law, it is clearer than ever that there is only one way to abolish fascism and win democratic freedoms. It is the way shown by the Democratic Junta of Spain, or, in other words, action by all of the country's democrats in which the people can express their will and their resolve to do away with the dictatorship. Faced with this action, the terroristic law will prove completely powerless and will be buried. So will Franco and his regime.

Mundo Obrero, No. 26, September.



TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF TERROR IN PARAGUAY

Paraguay, an inland state with an area of 406,752 sq. km. and a population of 2.3 million, is an important base of U.S. imperialism in South America.

From 1811, when independence was proclaimed, to 1870, when it was defeated in the war against the Triple Alliance of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (800,000 dead out of a population of 1.3 million), Paraguay was the most prosperous country in Latin America. It built the continent's first railway, telegraph lines and foundries. The country preserved its national independence despite the attempts of British imperialism to penetrate it.

In the subsequent period the bourgeois Colorado and Liberal parties alternately ruled Paraguay, pursuing a policy detrimental to the nation and in the interests of foreign states. The defeat in the 1870 war spelled the end of sovereignty and plunder by Britain and, later, by the United States.

In 1932 fighting began between Paraguay and Bolivia for the possession of Chaco, a desert region on the boundary of the two states. It was also a war for oil between the Standard Oil branch in Bolivia and the Royal Dutch Shell subsidiary in Paraguay. This war took the lives of 35,000 Paraguayans.

On May 4, 1954, Bavarian-born Gen. Alfredo Stroessner came to power with CIA blessing and support. Since then a reign of terror set in in the country. The standard of living is among the lowest in Latin America though Paraguay is a rich country exporting maize, tannin, manioca, sugar and meat. The capitalist market crisis has a direct bearing on its exports, notably the export of meat.

Though 57.6 per cent of the gainfully employed population live on the land and account for 21 per cent of the GNP, the land does not belong to those who till it. The feudal structure of farming has remained, with 2,500 latifundist families owning 76 per cent of the land. Some 24 per cent of the cultivated area is owned by the state-founded Institute of Rural Welfare, which sells land to foreigners. For instance, an area larger than that of Belgium or Holland is possessed by Mate Rachera Co. of Brazil, Nerbatera del Amambay of Argentina, Agra Paraguaya Ltd. of the United States, and Industrial Paraguaya of Britain. Only one per cent of the land is tilled by peasants, most of whom merely lease plots and actually remain in serfdom.

About 230,000 Paraguayans, or 10 per cent of the population, are jobless. Because of unemployment or political persecution, a million people have emigrated to Argentina. Many fine sons of the people have had to leave their country. Among them are J. A. Flores, a celebrated musician and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, who died two years ago in Argentina, and novelists Elvio Romero, Augusto Roa Bastros and Ruben Barreiro Saguier.

Industry is weak. There are textile mills in the south, cement plants put in operation a few years ago, dam-building firms, and refrigerator companies (Brook Bond Liebig's of Britain and International Products Co. of the United States). The exploitation of workers is growing, as is also their struggle. Under pressure from below, the government-controlled Confederation of Paraguayan Workers, whose leaders were trained in the yellow trade unions of the United States, is often compelled to demand higher wages for its members, as was the case on the building sites at Acaray and in the factories at Pilar.

Fascist Brazil is omnipresent in Paraguay. It has come to dominate the textile market by ruining local mills. The Brazilian government is settling leaseholders in the east of the country and in the Chaco area and is supplying arms to Stroessner. On April 26, 1973, it signed with him an agreement on the construction of the Itaipu dam, one of the largest in the world. The agreement proved an act of territorial annexation and a colossal plunder of hydropower resources for the benefit of multinational companies and big Brazilian capitalists. It meant one more step toward attaining the imperialist plans of integration and development under the economic, political and military domination of U.S. imperialism and Brazil, its agent in Latin America. In this way Paraguay is becoming a colony of Brazil and a strategic base of the United States.

The economic situation is deteriorating, with the foreign debt exceeding \$300 million, not counting the \$400 million received as loans. The military-police regime is maintained only thanks to the aid of the United States and other ultra-reactionary regimes such as in Chile, Uruguay and Brazil. The crisis has also hit the local industrialists who are crippled by high taxes and foreign penetration and are therefore unable to develop the national economy. Even the supporters of Stroessner object, though timidly, to the economic orientation of the country. The opposition in the Colorado Party has become more active (the secretary of the Party section at Luque was arrested recently).

Early this year a wave of repressions hit the Colorado Party. Forty

policemen and secret service agents were jailed. The Catholic Church, adhering to the progressive orientation given by the Medellin conference of bishops in 1968, is strongly opposed to the regime. After an armed attack on the Catholic community at Jejui and the arrest of many monks it exposed the "campaign of persecution and destruction of Catholic communities."

In the ranks of three opposition parties with a fragile legal status (Liberal-Radical, Febrerista and Christian-Democratic) the feeling is growing in support of the struggle for political freedoms and genuine democratization.

In spite of police repressions, the Communist Party is growing stronger, tirelessly working for an anti-dictatorial national front. Its paper *Adelante* is coming out again, and membership has increased six times. The Communist Youth Federation is again putting out its paper *Patria nueva*. But repressions continue. Special groups are being set up for this purpose by ex-nazi war criminals and CIA "instructors."

The dictatorship, with all the typical features of a gang of thieves organized for contraband trade in narcotics, is killing and torturing the people opposed to it. According to official data, 1,000 people are kept in prisons and concentration camps in Chaco.

Among them are Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta, who are serving the longest term of imprisonment in Latin America. All three are leaders of the Communist Party. Antonio Maidana was exiled in 1949. He escaped but was again arrested on August 12, 1958. In 1971 he was elected chairman of the Communist Party. Thus, he has been in prison for 17 years though the court ruled twice, in 1960 and 1961, to release him. The same lot befell Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas, Central Committee members also arrested in 1958. Over 100 Communists, including W. Jara, a Central Committee member, were killed by fascists since 1954. The international solidarity which prevented the Stroessner regime from killing its hostages, must assure their release.

Claude Gaudard

France nouvelle, August 11.

ULTRA-LEFTISM IN PERU

The growing number of sectarian and anarchist trends known under the common head of ultra-leftism is one of the most conspicuous developments on the present-day revolutionary scene in Peru.

In Peru it is very much like it is in other countries of our continent. The Marxist classics trace ultra-leftism to economic backwardness, "when the proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed to act as a class." And those are precisely the conditions in which it surfaces on the political stage.

Out of the more than a score of ultra-leftist groups in our country, 14 have an organizational structure of sorts and possess a certain amount of influence on the organized sections of the workers and peasants.

Ultra-leftism should be viewed from different angles. One prominent student of Latin American affairs maintains that at present "there are ultra-left groups and grouplets lacking connections, changing their outlook practically overnight, and preaching freedom of factions."

But despite the justice of this definition, we should also analyze the origin of the phenomenon, its social roots and perspectives.

Latin American ultra-leftism, though it has not yet grown to considerable size ideologically and organizationally, may become a serious obstacle for the revolutionary process, an impediment for the mounting popular struggle for political, economic and social demands.

Maoism and Trotskyism are the two main trends from which the ultra-leftist groups in Peru originate. Both are sustained mainly by non-conformist elements among the students and professionals, many of whom came from APRA or defected from the Communist Party. In the past five years, however, many of these groups, stemming from the Trotskyite groupings headed by Posadis and Pablo, and from the Maoist group that split away from the Communist Party in 1963, have splintered into different minor groups with their own structure and aims.

Others have disintegrated, like the "Rebel APRA," which set out on armed struggle in 1965 as the Revolutionary Movement of the Left, and broke up, after its defeat in the mountains and as a result of subsequent internal differences, into ultra-leftist splinters which are

politically of a Maoist complexion (e.g., Left Revolutionary Movement).

If there is anything these two ideological trends — Trotskyism and Maoism — have in common, it is dogmatism in their views concerning the situation in Peru. They make little or no effort to apply Marxism as a scientific method to the situation in the country. On the contrary, they are either schematic or reduce the facts to dogmas.

Then there is a number of groups among the student youth who proclaim themselves the "sole vanguard of the revolution" and compete among themselves, but tread common ground in respect to vicious anti-Sovietism and systematic anti-communism. In that sense, their campaigns often blend with the anti-communist campaigns of U.S. imperialism and extreme reaction.

Ultra-leftism is most visibly represented in universities, among intellectuals and radicalized trade unions, but its influence is far broader. Ultra-leftist views are reflected even in the "latest" ideological formulations, whose authors, as a rule, lay claim to "originality." It is all a complex process, which we have begun to study in earnest. It is influenced by different ideological trends — from anarchism to various of the latest deviations.

Ultra-leftism has no common ideological foundation, though it prevails within a definite section of society. In fact, it is part of a broad ideological process that has in one form or another spread to all countries, and in Peru has assumed different and very concrete forms — anarcho-syndicalism, social-reformism as locally represented by APRA, Trotskyism and Maoism, the ideas of Marcuse and Garaudy.

It is proper to note that imperialism and reaction have always been able to manipulate all the varieties of reformist and leftist trends for their own ends.

Ideologically, ultra-leftism reposes at present on the following premises:

(a) Defense of the theory of "two imperialisms." This is how the theory was named 26 years ago by V. R. Haya de la Torre. At present, various leftist groups extol it to the heavens. It fairly oozes anti-Sovietism. Attacks on the imaginary Soviet "social-imperialism" are, to be sure, bred by anti-communism, the favorite offspring of reaction and U.S. imperialism. "Invention of an imaginary enemy," Fidel Castro rightly said, "can have one aim only: to sidestep the real enemy."

(b) Continuous attacks against the similarly imaginary "revisionist" policy of the Soviet Union. For ultra-leftist theorists like

Charles Bettelheim, "that which was expected to produce increasingly more socialist social relations has led in effect to capitalist relations to a degree where laws of capitalist accumulation and, consequently, laws of profit, determine the use of the means of production under cover of 'economic plans'." That is the Maoist interpretation of the notorious Trotskyite charge of "bureaucratic etatism," allegedly prevailing in the USSR and breeding a new all-powerful bureaucratic oligarchy exercising government and domination over "its workers."

If this were so, the USSR and other socialist countries would never have made such imposing economic and technical progress, would never have such clear socialist interests — interests of the working class that are equivalent and identical for the entire country. It is precisely in countries where this elementary principle is violated that we witness failure of economic and political plans designed to secure "great leaps" and "cultural revolutions" that exist only in fantasy.

(c) Systematic attacks on the policy of peaceful coexistence successfully conducted by the Soviet Union. For Maoism this is "division of the world" by two superpowers. But the concrete gain of this policy has been détente, which created a situation that facilitated the victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the initiation of important democratic processes in Greece and Portugal, and is for Latin America the most dependable guarantee of the revolutionary advancement of such countries as Cuba and Peru and of substantial democratic and national gains in Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador and Honduras.

That is where the common ground uniting ultra-leftism and reformism in the ideological domain ends. But since they share ideological views, there is just one short step to alliances in the political domain or, which is still more dangerous, to the essentially opportunist and corrupting penetration of leftism into the revolutionary process.

(d) Claims to exclusiveness as the political "vanguard" of the revolution. The ultra-leftists maintain that the working class must seek immediate seizure of power in order to build socialism, that alliance with other classes and social strata diverts the working class from seeking this aim; that the bourgeoisie in collusion with imperialism has wiped out any chance of democratic rule of law and that, consequently, insurrection is the only possible revolutionary action. Everything else, in their view, is reformism.

Take one of the factions of the Revolutionary Vanguard, which publishes the journal *Debate Socialista*, since it is one of the few

groups which ideologically blends Maoism and neo-Trotskyism. Peru, it says, "will come to the first stage of the revolution, the main aim of which is seizure of power by popular democratic forces organized round a party that has its roots in the proletariat and that conducts its line." This stage of the revolution is said to depend on whether or not various popular forces are able to organize independently of the organs ideologically influenced by the reformist bourgeoisie (meaning the official government circles, the Peruvian Communist Party and, lastly Christian Democracy), and to form an alliance based on a common program of struggle shared by different sections of the people.

They speak, consequently, of some other revolution based on their own program and ruling out alliance with the "reformist bourgeoisie." A different position is held by the left Marxist forces, specifically the Communist Party, which has at the latest plenums of its Central Committee expressed accord with the Plan Inca, the plan of the armed forces government, which, in effect, almost completely concides with the Party's program, and, what is more, brings the working class and the people of Peru nearer and nearer to positions leading to socialism.

In this sense there is no "other" revolution for the Peruvian Communist Party, nor any other program, as the enemies of the revolution tried in vain to "prove." This is also why the Party has not gone into bondage to the government, as various ultra-leftist groups would have us believe. We are participants in the revolutionary process in the framework of which Party membership does not signify loss of class political independence and the revolutionary leadership itself recognizes and demands the right of existence for different opinions.

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