



SPECIAL ISSUE ON LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION: PUERTO RICO AND SUPERPOWER CONTENTION IN LATIN AMERICA

Puerto Rico is a colony of US imperialism. This places the US as the primary enemy of the Puerto Rican people in their just struggle for national liberation. It is our special duty, as communists in the oppressor nation, to support and lend direct aid to the genuine liberation movements of Puerto Rico. In order to be in a position to give this concrete aid, investigation must be carried out on the particular problems confronting the liberation movement in Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rico's relationship to the world situation.

While Puerto Rico has historically been a colony of US imperialism, the USSR has begun to establish a toehold on the island through its agents within the independence movement. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) is the main agent of revisionism in Puerto Rico. With some minor differences, the political line of the PSP is identical to that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and other revisionist parties throughout the world. Moreover Cuba, through such mechanisms as the Havana Conference in 'support' of Puerto Rican independence and sponsoring a UN resolution (which declared the PSP to be the sole and legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people), serves as another important source for revisionist influence within the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The following article on superpower contention in Latin America is the first in a series by Marxist-Leninists for an Independent Puerto Rico (MLIP), which will seek to educate and inform the people of the US about the urgent questions confronting the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for national liberation and independence. In this article, MLIP seeks in particular to expose the role of social-imperialism throughout Latin America. We also hope this series will facilitate the writing of a party program, as a step toward building a genuine communist party. Other articles will focus upon Cuba as a neo-colony of the USSR, US imperialism in Latin America, and the objective and subjective conditions in Puerto Rico today.

MARXIST-LENINISTS FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUERTO RICO

Marxist-Leninists for an Independent Puerto Rico developed out of the San Francisco chapter of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, when a split occurred within the PRSC due to the organization's revisionist and opportunist stand in relation to support work for the Puerto Rican independence movement. Our support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people is based on opposition to both superpowers, with the understanding that the US is today the main enemy of the Puerto Rican people, while the USSR represents the secondary enemy. MLIP holds that the Marxist-Leninist movement in the US must break decisively with the revisionist ideology of the PRSC. Our movement must actively take up the Puerto Rican national question as a programmatic task. It must build mass support for the struggles of the Puerto Rican people within the US. In order to truly carry out our duty of proletarian internationalism, we hold that Marxist-Leninists in the US must actively take up the task of party building, as we seek avenues to build close unity between the struggle of the peoples of the US and Puerto Rico. MLIP is a committee composed of different Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals, whose purpose is to facilitate these important tasks.

FOCUS ON SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM:

SUPERPOWERS IN LATIN AMERICA

Historically, the main reserves of US imperialism have been the Black Nation, the Southwest region, Puerto Rico, Canada, and all of Latin America. The super-exploitation of these nations and peoples has served as a springboard for the expansion of US imperialism throughout the world. Within the hemisphere, the revolutionary struggles developing in Latin America and the Caribbean have revealed this area as the most likely, at the present moment, to break away from the imperialist system. To temporarily contain this anti-imperialist upsurge, the US has been forced to install fascist dictatorships--most recently in Chile and Argentina.

Thus, in order to defeat our 'own' bourgeoisie, it is the urgent task of the US proletariat to establish a powerful alliance with the peoples of Latin America and to give concrete political and material aid to their struggles. Our struggle against the US bourgeoisie must merge with the struggle of the peoples in Latin America and become one common hemispheric struggle. For the US proletariat, one of the most important expressions of proletarian internationalism is hemispheric unity with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean against imperialism and social-imperialism. To do this we must first build a genuine Communist Party which can lead the proletariat and organize support amongst the broad masses for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. The Party Program will establish the theoretical foundation which guides and directs the work of our Party. As a step towards developing the principle of proletarian internationalism and hemispheric unity, we offer this analysis of superpower contention in Latin America, particularly on the role of social-imperialism, about which little has been published.

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

The role of US imperialism in Latin America has been well documented.¹ A few examples: through 1974, US direct foreign investment in Latin America was nearly \$20 billion -- over five times the amount invested in Africa.² The US invested nearly \$4 billion there during the years 1950-65, and this investment returned over \$11 billion to the US (that is, in addition to the amount that was reinvested in Latin America) in superprofits.³ The US military, along with the CIA, has instrumented and/or supported numerous invasions and coup d'etats. To mention a few: in June, 1954, CIA and US-trained Guatemalan forces toppled the progressive government of Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz. CIA forces invaded Cuba in the Bay-of-Pigs incident in April, 1961. The US supported and helped bring about a right-wing coup d'etat in Brazil in April, 1964; a year later, President Lyndon Johnson sent in 40,000 US troops to prop up the brutal military dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. US imperialism's role in the September, 1973, coup d'etat in Chile is well known: the US and US-dominated institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank cut off credit channels to President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government. This helped to create the conditions for the bloody military takeover, as did the CIA's funnelling millions of dollars to the reactionary forces. The US military had innumerable ties with its Chilean counterparts; US civilian and military personnel directly participated in the events leading up to the coup. Most recently (March, 1976), the US was instrumental in overthrowing Isabel Peron's government in Argentina.

What has received limited attention is the role of social-imperialism in Latin America. The theory that Latin America, the 'backyard of US imperialism,' stands outside the

sphere of superpower contention is a bankrupt and extremely dangerous concept. Contention between the two superpowers increases daily and extends to all corners of the globe. In addition, US imperialism has been forced to take a more defensive position. This is a result of the historic defeats of US imperialism in Indo-China and the intensified competition between all imperialist powers in a world market which was once dominated by US imperialism after World War II. As the newest imperialist power, the USSR is making an all-out effort to gain world-wide hegemony. The role of the USSR in Angola and the Soviet military buildup in Central and Eastern Europe are a few examples of this. While Latin America and the Caribbean have been traditional strongholds of the US, we will document the political, economic and military penetration of Soviet social-imperialism.

US imperialism remains the main enemy of the people of Latin America today. However, we know there is a constant struggle for the redivision of the world based on the relative and continuously changing political, economic and military strength of various imperialist powers. On the one hand it would be a serious mistake to belittle the strength of the US and obscure the difference between the main and secondary dangers. On the other, the recent history of Latin America vividly illustrates previous shifts in strength between German, British, and US imperialism. The latter had 'small beginnings' in the struggle with various European powers for hegemony. Its presence later grew by leaps and bounds. Similarly, we must recognize the potential for the USSR to challenge US imperialism and the real threat that social-imperialism represents to the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. In fact, in a few countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, the growing political and economic penetration of social-imperialism has led to sections of the comprador bourgeoisie aligning with the Soviet Union. In Argentina, where the penetration of social-imperialism is the greatest in Latin America outside of Cuba, the USSR is now seriously challenging the dominant position of Yankee imperialism. The Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina (M-L) now characterizes the situation as a 'dependent country in contention' where the primary and secondary enemy may change from moment to moment.

Certainly, relative to US imperialism, the penetration of Soviet social-imperialism in Latin America is fairly limited and weak. But it would be undialectical to overlook the motion of that penetration, which is one of rapid acceleration, and it would be mechanical to measure that penetration only in terms of, say, trade, or the export of Soviet finance capital, or, for that matter, only in terms of the Soviet Union. Social-imperialism spreads its tentacles in many forms: through the military of a given country; through the revisionist 'communist' parties throughout Latin America; through its Eastern European satellites, which march to Moscow's tune; through Cuba and its market; through sectors of the comprador bourgeoisie of various countries.

FORMS OF ECONOMIC PENETRATION

As the figures in our table show, Soviet trade with Latin America, excluding Cuba (and in all the examples given, we mean excluding Cuba), multiplied fifteen times between 1970 and 1976. Eastern European trade with Latin America is growing just as rapidly. For instance, trade between Poland and Brazil is expected to multiply nearly twenty times to \$3 billion per year from 1976 to 1980.

A genuine socialist country has trade relations with many different countries. However, all trade is based on the principle of equality and mutual reciprocity. The lopsided nature of the trade between Latin America and the COMECON ('Communist Economy' -- Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary) countries is most revealing. We urge the reader to study the figures in the table on Latin American-COMECON trade. Seventy, eighty and even ninety percent of that trade is consistently in the form of exports to the COMECON countries. What is the significance of these figures? By initially running trade deficits and reducing prices, COMECON opens new markets for itself and encourages the reliance upon both its markets and the import of COMECON manufactured goods and spare parts. Social-imperialism attempts to develop

such trade relations by the revisionist theory that trade with the 'socialist' countries can be used as a 'lever' by oppressed nations in their struggle for economic independence and self-determination. The Soviet Journal, Foreign Trade, comments, 'Extended trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union are not only an objective necessity arising out of the international division of labour, but also a major element in the Latin American countries' drive for economic independence...The very possibility that these states can increase their trade with the Soviet Union makes foreign monopolies be more realistic in their trade policy. In other words, trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union creates a qualitatively new situation for the development of the Latin American countries...' ⁴ As the experience of India, Egypt and other countries colonized by the USSR has shown, ⁵ however, once the 'bait' has been taken, trade balances rapidly shift in favor of the USSR, the terms of trade quickly deteriorate, and a new dependency relationship is created. The USSR reaps huge superprofits from these trade relations. Moreover, many countries are then forced deeper into debt to pay for imports from the USSR. Often, the social-imperialists will refuse to renegotiate loans, demand immediate payment, or tighten the terms. This line of credit to finance imports becomes an important mechanism of control and domination.

The kind of commodities exchanged follows a typically imperialist pattern, with the Soviet Union exporting mainly manufactured goods while it imports raw materials and semi-finished products. From the same Soviet Journal, we learn the following: 'Soviet imports of some products account for a significant proportion (of its Latin American trade --ed), i.e. wool, coffee, vegetable oils, cocoa butter, tin, etc.' The 'relative share of manufactures in (the Latin American) countries' exports to the Soviet Union is so far insignificant. Possible increases are largely contingent on Latin American purchases of Soviet goods.' 'The share of machinery and equipment in Soviet exports to Latin America exceeds 30 percent. With oil and oil products excluded (they are not stable articles of Soviet exports to Latin America), this share averaged more than 50 percent in the past five years.' ⁶ If there is any doubt how the Soviet's use trade relations as a means for further penetration, the author of this article, N. Gladkov, dispels it in two sentences which could comprise part of an advertisement in the Wall Street Journal were we only to substitute the word 'American' in place of the word 'Soviet': 'Soviet exporters only sell their machinery and equipment if they are sure they can provide all the necessary spare parts and technical servicing on the spot. This gives a better opportunity for increased Soviet sales on the Latin American market.' ⁷

The USSR justifies this exchange of manufactured goods for agricultural products and raw materials by the revisionist theory of the 'socialist international division of labor'. According to this theory, different countries are better able to produce certain commodities than others due to 'natural historical and geographical conditions'. Theoretically, each COMECON country supplies particular commodities to the other on a supposedly equal basis. The reality of such a division is that first, other countries are totally dependent on the Soviet Union for machinery (particularly the means of production) and some essential raw materials, ⁸ and second, the economies of these countries are characterized by monoculture and the inability to become self-reliant in both industry and agriculture. The consequences of this development may best be exemplified by Cuba. When the world price of sugar plummeted from 65¢ a pound to 8¢ from 1974 to 1976, Cuba's economy fell with it, provoking Castro to warn the Cubans that 'serious difficulties... fundamentally of an economic nature' lay ahead for them. ⁹ Cuba is now virtually economically dependent on the Soviet Union. Its debt to the latter is some \$4.6 billion. ¹⁰ The Soviet Union alone accounts for more than one half of Cuba's imports, and one-third to one-half of its exports. ¹¹ The bulk of these imports are machinery, equipment, and oil and oil products; Cuba's exports to the Soviet Union are primarily raw materials, specifically, sugar, nickel, tobacco, and foodstuffs. ¹²

Another important avenue for the penetration of social-imperialism is through the export of capital. Lenin listed the export of capital as one of the five 'basic features of imperialism.' ¹³ Concerning loans from capitalist countries, Lenin wrote the fol-

lowing: 'The most usual thing is to stipulate that part of the loan that is granted shall be spent on purchases in the creditor country...'¹⁴ and 'finance capital...is not concerned with bourgeois morality but with skinning the ox twice -- first, it pockets the profit from the loan; then it pockets other profits from the same loan which the borrower uses to make purchases from the capitalists.'¹⁵ Now, unless we take the view that Lenin was a revisionist, we might conclude from the following quotations from *Bolsa* (Bank of London and South America) Review that we are talking about imperialism: 'The USSR has agreed to extend a US\$600m (equivalent) line of credit to Argentina, repayable over ten years at 4½%, to finance the purchase of turbines and other equipment for hydroelectric projects and for petroleum exploration and development.'¹⁶ 'Poland is expected to offer a US\$100m (equivalent) credit payable over ten years at 4½ to 5%, for the purchase of industrial equipment.'¹⁷ 'A Czech bank has granted Peru a 5½ year US\$1.25m loan at 3¾%...'¹⁸ We felt it necessary to quote extensively from the British publication to demonstrate several points. First, the COMECON countries regularly 'stipulate that part of the loan...shall be spent on purchases in the creditor country.' Second, the COMECON countries regularly 'skin the ox twice' by charging interest -- and at hardly insignificant rates at that -- as well as by making such stipulations. Third is the very question of charging interest. By contrast, in all our research, in every instance of Chinese loans to Latin American countries, the loan was interest-free. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, which can hardly be accused of being pro-Chinese, has written, 'Unlike Soviet foreign aid loans, all of China's are interest free, with many Chinese loans ending up as outright grants to impoverished nations.'¹⁹ Further, the trend of COMECON loans and credits is to charge higher and higher interest rates: whereas the average rate charged was about 2½ to 3% around 1972, the norm today is more like 5%, and the Eastern European puppets often outstep their Soviet master in this respect, charging rates higher than the admittedly capitalist countries in many cases.

Hydroelectric projects constitute one of the most important areas for the investment of Soviet and Eastern European finance capital in Latin America. The COMECON countries have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in loans, and furnished hundreds of millions of dollars worth of machinery and equipment, for such projects. Of key importance is the River Plate Basin, encompassing parts of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. The most important projects within this region are the Argentine-Uruguayan Salto Grande Project, the Brazilian-Paraguayan Itaipu Project, and the Yacireta Apipe Project, involving Argentina and Paraguay. The region 'contains the largest potentially exploitable iron deposits in the world, rich land for agriculture and cattle, oil deposits, coal and a wide range of minerals including uranium, thorium, and vanadium,'²⁰ in addition to its potentially immense hydroelectric power. These projects not only provide access to the region's raw materials, but also an immense market for the export of capital and heavy machinery. Obviously, imperialism and social-imperialism have the same designs for this area; not surprisingly, the region is a key area of contention between the superpowers in Latin America.

When we speak of contention between the two superpowers, however, we must also speak of collusion. While contention for worldwide hegemony is primary, the 'identical imperialist political concepts,'²¹ as the Albanians describe it, dictate that imperialism and social-imperialism sometimes work together to carve the world up between themselves and to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of the people. Albania Today states: 'The activation of their strategy for global domination...requires a coordination of the practice and, gradually, the theory of the two superpowers in foreign policy.'²² In Latin America, as in the rest of the world, there are examples of just such collusion such as the formation of a consortium of two US companies -- Blaw Knox and Thyssen Incorporated -- and Machinexport of Moscow to finance and furnish the expansion of the Argentine state steel corporation SOMISA in 1974,²³ or the financing of a \$400 million hydroelectric plant in Colombia by Energomachexport of the Soviet Union, Westinghouse of the US, and an international consortium of banks.²⁴

MEANS OF POLITICAL PENETRATION

The USSR exerts its political influence in Latin America in a number of different ways. The revisionist 'Communist' Parties found in all Latin American countries serve as a fifth column for social-imperialism. As vehicles for revisionist ideology, these 'C'Ps renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat and the need for armed struggle to overthrow imperialism and the bourgeoisie. The revisionists sow illusions about the bourgeois state, claiming that such institutions as the police and the military are 'neutral' or stand 'above classes'. The practical effects of revisionist influence was seen in Chile, where the Chilean 'C'P ideologically and organizationally disarmed the working class and paved the way for fascism. For example, in July and August, 1973 -- that is, in the two months directly prior to the bloody coup d'etat in Chile -- the 'Communist' Party of Chile could claim that 'the policy of armed suppression of the peoples' struggle for their rights is doomed to failure, for the balance of power has changed in favour of peace, democracy, and socialism,'²⁵ and that 'representation within the Cabinet of the army and the carabinieri (the police -- ed) shows that the Popular Unity government has their support and that they are prepared to do all in their power to...save the country from chaos, bloodshed and civil war.'²⁶ In fact, it was precisely these forces -- the army and the police, that is, the armed apparatus of the capitalist class -- that led the fascist coup against the Chilean patriots. The Party of Labor of Albania correctly summed up the treacherous role of the revisionists on the situation in Chile as follows: 'The Communist Party of Chile, one of the main forces of the Allende Government, was a fervent partisan of the Khrushchevite theses of 'peaceful transition' both in theory and practice. Following instructions from Moscow, they claimed that the national bourgeoisie, and imperialism, have become more moderate, tolerant and reasonable and that in the new class conditions allegedly created by the present-day world development, they are no longer able to pass to counter-revolution.' 'But such theories, as the case of Chile once more showed, cause the working masses to remain undecided and disoriented, weaken their revolutionary spirit, and immobilize them in the face of the threats of the bourgeoisie, they paralyse their capacity to carry out firm revolutionary actions against the counterrevolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie.'²⁷

The Conference of 'Communist' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean held in Havana in June, 1975, was an effort by the Soviet Union to consolidate and direct the work of its revisionist agents in the Western Hemisphere. This conference put forth that in Latin America, 'it was the existence of the first socialist state and the firm policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that...enabled Cuba...to achieve national independence and establish socialism,'²⁸ that the representatives of these parties 'once more proclaim the respect, trust and admiration they feel towards Lenin's fatherland and the party inherited from the Bolsheviks,'²⁹ and that 'the strength of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries...will be even more decisive...for the peoples of Latin America,'³⁰ in their future struggles.

Now a neo-colony of the USSR, Cuba is an extremely important vehicle for Soviet political influence. Through international forums such as the Havana Conference on Puerto Rico, and the Cuban resolution in the United Nations proclaiming the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party as the 'sole and legitimate' representative of the Puerto Rican people, the Cubans consistently put forward the line of the CPSU. Another way this is done is through the deployment of Cuban technical and/or military advisors in various Caribbean and Latin American countries.³¹ The use of Guyana as a stopover point for Cuban mercenaries en route to Angola³², as well as Guyana's supplying rice, sugar and other foodstuffs to the MPLA there³³ has alerted many peoples of Latin America to the threat of Cuba as a 'front' for the Soviets' hegemonic designs throughout the world.

On the international level, it is clear from its role in the United Nations that the Soviet Union is opposed to all major moves by Latin American countries to gain greater economic self-reliance through the regulation of exports and the stabilization

of prices. The Soviet Union has opposed the formation of all economic associations such as the Andean Pact and the Economic System of Latin America (SELA). In Panama, rather than supporting the just struggle of the Panamanian people for ownership and control of the canal, the Soviet Union has called for the 'internationalization' of it. The Soviet Union has opposed the attempt by many Latin American countries to extend their territorial waters to 200 miles and safeguard their fishing industry.

Perhaps nowhere of late in Latin America has the treachery and conciliation of revisionism been revealed in all its nakedness more than in Argentina. Argentina is an excellent example of the co-ordinated policies of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) internationally and its revisionist agents within the country. The March, 1976, coup d'etat there was seen as a 're-establishment of order' by Izvestia.³⁴ While the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of Argentina -- the Revolutionary Communist Party (M-L) and the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist -- as well as Trotskyist, terrorist, and other organizations were banned by the junta, the Argentine 'C'P was merely suspended. An article appeared under this headline in the Mexico City newspaper Excelsior: 'Critical Support and Appraisal to the Military Junta from the Argentine CP'. The article went on, 'The Argentine CP announced today its 'critical support' to the military junta...In a declaration given...by the Central Committee of the CP, the action taken by the armed forces was applauded...(T)he official documents (of the junta) coincide with points of view of (the Party's) own program.'³⁵

Though the barbarity in Chile is rivaled or even surpassed by the current situation in Argentina -- with concentration camps in both countries, and reports of as many as 30,000 political prisoners in the latter -- the Soviet Union has consistently blocked moves to have the case raised in the United Nations' third commission in Geneva.³⁶ Why Chile but not Argentina? Perhaps the most important reason is this: the Soviet Union has become Argentina's biggest single market.³⁷

A deep split exists within the Argentine ruling circles, and the Soviet Union now has powerful allies within the comprador bourgeoisie. The split has become most visible since 1974, when the European Economic Community, responding to pressure from the US bourgeoisie, banned the import of all beef (as the US has done for 20 years) from Argentina. Seventy percent of all Argentine beef exports had previously gone to Europe. The USSR then stepped in and began to buy up massive amounts of Argentine beef. 100,000 tons were purchased in 1974 and 1975.³⁸ As a result, a section of the comprador bourgeoisie, led by one of the largest cattle breeders in the country, former president General Alejandro Lanusse, have openly aligned themselves with the USSR. With such friends maneuvering for power and influence within the military dictatorship, is it any wonder that the revisionist Communist Party gives 'critical support' to the junta, or that the CPSU defends it on the international level?

PENETRATION BY MILITARY SALES AND ASSISTANCE

We mentioned the military penetration of social-imperialism. Again, relative to the US, this is insignificant. But it is a developing trend, and it has been accompanied by a revisionist, thoroughly bankrupt stance on the role of the military on the part of the revisionist 'C'Ps of Latin America as well as the CPSU. Militarily, Peru is the foot-in-the-door for social-imperialism, after Cuba. In October, 1968, a coup d'etat took place, led by the armed forces. Within the next several months, the Peruvian junta expelled and confiscated the holdings of several US corporations. At the same time, however, the junta opened its arms to further investment by other US, as well as Japanese, Western Europe and COMECON monopolies, and it soon won the support of such revolutionary forces as the Wall Street Journal and the Nixon administration, not to mention the Soviet revisionists. The Soviets put forth, and the revisionist CPs followed suit, that the 'left-wing' Peruvian junta was leading the 'revolutionary process' in Peru. In December, 1973, Peru bought military helicopters and 40-ton medium tanks from the Soviet Union.³⁹ In June, 1976, 152 members of the Peruvian army travelled

to the Soviet Union for five to ten months of military courses; this was the biggest Peruvian military contingent ever to go abroad.⁴⁰ In July, 1976, Peru bought 36 Sukhoi Su-20s (export version Mig-23s) from the Soviet Union. The Russian deal is understood to include Cuban support, training, and maintenance.⁴¹ The right-wing California Mining Journal reported that in March of this year 'the Soviet Union signed a \$700 million, 20-year arms pact with Peru.'⁴²

To mask their support of these reactionary military regimes, the revisionists put forward the thesis of 'the military as a revolutionary force within capitalist society'. The Conference of 'Communist' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean stated: 'In recent years deep ideological, political and social changes have taken place among important forces which in the past were instruments at the service of the oligarchy and imperialism, and which today become elements of progress and even of revolutionary potentiality.' 'Those changes are perceptible within some Latin American armed forces. The movement of revolutionary origin and content...under the leadership...of the armed forces...in Peru (is) clear evidence...of the firm evolution of patriotic consciousness.'

Comrades, again we felt obliged to quote at length to completely expose revisionism, in this case on the question of the state, particularly the military. Marx wrote that 'to smash the bureaucratic military machine...is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution.'⁴⁴ And in contrast to the revisionists, who speak of the 'peaceful revolution' in Peru⁴⁵ Lenin echoed Marx when he wrote that 'it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible (our emphasis--ed) not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class.'⁴⁶ The revisionists call themselves 'Marxist-Leninists', yet their 'theory' is in direct opposition to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. It is instead a justification for supporting and assisting military juntas throughout the continent. As the Peking Review states, 'Much emphasized in the new tsars' action programme is infiltration into Latin American military forces. Chieftains of the Brezhnev clique openly underlined penetration by pro-Soviet elements into the Portuguese military forces as an example to follow in making big inroads into the military forces in Latin America.'⁴⁷

One final point to be made is this: at the same time as the revisionists put forward the 'peaceful road to socialism', the Soviet Union is selling arms to the military, as in Peru. And it is the people against whom the arms are used, as was the case when the Peruvian junta used tanks, helicopters and riot police to break the strike of Lima's microbus drivers in July of last year,⁴⁸ or when similar measures were taken against students, fishermen, political prisoners, and campesinos in late 1976⁴⁹ and the students in February, 1977.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION: OUR TASKS

We must support all movements within Latin America and the Caribbean which stand opposed to, and tend to weaken, both imperialism and social-imperialism. While US imperialism is the main enemy in the hemisphere, we must constantly expose the role and growing influence of social-imperialism. The lesson of Angola has profound implications for the entire world: if both superpowers are not opposed, a real danger exists that one imperialist master will replace another, particularly when the Soviet Union poses as a 'socialist' country and the 'natural ally' of oppressed nations struggling for independence and national liberation.

Proletarian revolution within the United States will give immeasurable assistance to all oppressed nations and peoples of the world. Our primary obligation to the peoples of Latin America is to overthrow our 'own' bourgeoisie. This is the essence of proletarian internationalism!

The following table includes figures from various sources. The reader will note that the figures contradict each other in some cases.

TRADE BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA (excluding Cuba) AND COMECON

Country	Year	Exports to COMECON Country	Imports from COMECON Country	Total Trade	Exports as % of Total Trade	Balance
Argentina -	1971	\$30.3m*	---	---	---	---
Soviet Union	1972	\$24.1m*	---	---	---	---
	1973	\$82.1m**	---	77m Rub.	---	---
	1974	\$290m***	\$40m***	\$330m***	88%	+\$250m***
	1975	\$382m**	\$14m**	\$396m**	96%	+\$368m**
Sources: *LAER, 5/17/74; **LAER, 10/8/76; ***LAER, 1/10/75; figures in rubles, Foreign Trade, 12/75 USSR						
Argentina-						
COMECON	1971	\$43.3m*	\$10.9m*	\$53.2m*	81%	+36.4m*
	1972	\$44m***	\$9m*	\$53m*	83%	+35m*
	1973	\$100m**	---	---	---	---
	1974	\$149.8m**	\$27.6m**	\$177.4m**	84%	+\$122.2m**
Sources: *LAER, 5/17/74; **LAER, 6/13/75						
Brazil-						
Soviet Union	1973	---	---	126mRub	---	---
	1974	111mRub	91mRub	202mRub	55%	+20mRub
		\$135.4m*	\$67.1m*	\$202.5m*	67%	+68.3m*
				\$250m***		
				\$170m**		
	1975 (total)	---	---	\$500m** (forecast)		+\$300m**
	(Jan - Sept)	\$262.5m*	\$33m*	\$295.5m*	89%	+\$229.5m*
Sources: *LAER, 4/30/76; figures in rubles, Foreign Trade 12/75; **LAER, 4/18/75; ***Bolsa Review, 4/75						
Brazil-	1974	\$40.5m	\$29.5m	\$70m	58%	+11m
E. Germany	1975 (J-S)	\$34.3m	\$19.6m	\$53.9m	64%	+14.7m
Source: LAER, 4/30/76						
Brazil-	1974	\$34.8m	\$6.5m	\$41.3m	84%	+28.3m
Bulgaria	1975 (J-S)	\$16.5m	\$2.2m	\$18.7m	88%	+14.3m
Source: LAER, 4/30/76						
Brazil -	1974	\$53.2m	\$13.3m	\$66.5m	80%	+39.9m
Hungary	1975 (J-S)	\$28.1m	\$5.4m	\$33.5m	84%	+22.7m
Source: LAER, 4/30/76						
Brazil -	1974	\$79.1m	\$29.9m	\$109m	73%	+49.2m
Poland	1975 (J-S)	\$105.9m	\$47.4m	\$153.5m	69%	+58.5m
Source: LAER, 4/30/76; LAER, 3/12/76 mentions a trade treaty between Brazil and Poland that 'foresees the growth of trade between the two countries to US\$3,000m by 1980 from the US\$160m at present.'						
Brazil-	1971	\$13.5m*	\$15m*	\$28.5m*	47%	-\$1.5m*
Czechoslo-	1972	\$21.2m*	\$27.1m*	\$48.3m*	44%	-\$5.9m*
vakia	1973	\$40.1m*	\$17.3m*	\$57.9m*	69%	+\$22.3m*
	1974	\$31m*	\$29.7m*	\$60.7m*	51%	+\$1.3m*
		\$31.1m**	\$24.4m**	\$55.5m**	56%	+\$6.7m**
	1975 (J-S)	\$31.6m**	\$9m**	\$40.6m**	78%	+22.6m**
Sources: *Czechoslovakian Foreign Trade, 9/75; **LAER, 4/30/76						

TRADE BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA (excluding Cuba) AND COMECON

Country	Year	Exports to COMECON Country	Imports from COMECON Country	Total Trade	Exports as % of Total Trade	Balance
Brazil - COMECON	1969-73 (avg.)	\$187m	\$76m	\$263m	71%	+111m
	1975	\$759m	\$206m	\$965m	79%	+\$553m
Source: Investing, Licensing & Trade Conditions Abroad (by Business Interntl) 10/76						
Colombia-	1968	---	---	\$46m**	---	---
Eastern	1970	---	---	\$66m**	---	---
Europe	1973	---	---	\$57m**	---	---
	1974	\$54.3m*	\$26.9m*	\$91.2m*	71%	+37.4m*
	1975	\$43.0m*	\$25.5m*	\$69.3m*	63%	-18.3m*
Sources: *Colombia Today, 5/76; **IAER, 6/21/74						
El Salvador	1973	\$6.1m	\$0.1m	\$6.2m	98%	+\$6m
COMECON	1974	\$10.7m	\$0.2m	\$10.9m	98%	-\$10.5m
Source: Central America Report, 1/10/77						
Uruguay-						
Soviet Union	1974	---	---	---	---**	---
	1975	\$65m*	\$9m*	\$74m*	88%	+\$56m*
Sources: *LAER, 4/30/76; **Foreign Trade, 12/75 - Uruguay's exports to the Soviet Union in 1974 were 'several dozen times' more than her imports from the Soviet Union						
Latin America -	1970	---	---	\$80m**	---	---
				79m Rub		
Soviet Union	1973	---	---	326m Rub	---	---
	1974	310m Rub	110m Rub	420m Rub	74%	+200m Rub
				\$420m**		
				\$600m*		
	1976	---	---	\$1,200m*	---	---
Sources: LAER*, 11/19/76; **LAER, 3/19/76; figures in rubles - Foreign Trade, 12/75						

FOOTNOTES

1. For information on this subject, we recommend as a starting point the following sources: Latin America: The Struggle with Dependency and Beyond, edited by Ronald H. Chilcote and Joel C. Edelstein, Cambridge, Mass, Schenkman Publishing Co, 1974; Alonso Aguilar, Pan Americanism From Monroe to the Present: A View from the Other Side, Monthly Review Press, NY, 1968; North American Congress on Latin America, NACLA, NY and Berkeley, publishes monthly reports, as well as other works, detailing various aspects of US imperialism in Latin America
3. Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, Modern Reader, NY, 1969, p 198
2. US Dept of Commerce Survey of Current Business. Quoted in Business International 1/2/76
4. N. Gladkov, "Trade and Economic Relations Between the Soviet Union and the Developing Latin American Countries", Foreign Trade, 12/75, USSR, p 11
5. For a comprehensive analysis on the role of social-imperialism in India, see Soviet Social-Imperialism in India, by the Communist Party of India (M-L), reproduced by the Indian People's Association in North America (IPANA), Quebec; on the Soviet role in Egypt, see Peking Review, 1975, No. 31 and No. 52; 1976, No. 14; also see Mahmoud Hussein, Class Conflict in Egypt, 1945-1970, Monthly Review Press, NY.
6. Gladkov, op. cit., p 14
7. Ibid, p 14
8. Carlos Echague, El Otro Imperialismo, Buenos Aires, Ediciones De Mayo, 1974, p 177 Echague gives these figures, taken from the Soviet Minister Patolichev in the periodical Vease Novedades de la Union Sovietica, 6/73: "The USSR provides practically the totality of the petroleum, the iron ingots...it sells 75% of the petroleum products; ...it provides 66% of the cotton, coal and manganese; it sells 90% of the ferrous minerals and 30% of the lumber" to the other COMECON countries.

9. Christian Science Monitor, October 1, 1976
10. Research Aid, 'The Cuban Economy: A Statistical Review, 1968-76', CIA Document, Dec 1976 (available through Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Wash DC) p 14
11. Leon Goure and Morris Rothenburg, Soviet Penetration of Latin America (Wash DC, Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1976), p 43 -- although we received this book too late to incorporate much of it in this article, it provides a wealth of information on the subject of its title; also, Research Aid, op cit, p 7.
12. Goure and Rothenburg; op. cit, p 44-45
13. VI Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p 106
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15. Ibid, p 141
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17. Ibid, May, 1974
18. Ibid, Sept, 1972
19. Wall Street Journal, November 12, 1976
20. Brazil: The Continental Strategy, NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report, Vol IX, No. 4, May-June, 1975, p 6
21. Shaban Murati, 'Identical Imperialist Political Concepts', Albania Today, 6, (7) 1972, p 50
22. Ibid, p 50
23. Latin America Economic Report (IAER), 7/19/74
24. LAER, 7/9/76 and Bolsa Review, 7/76
25. New Times, A Soviet Weekly of World Affairs, #27, July, 1973
26. Ibid, #34, August, 1973
27. 'The Tragic Events in Chile -- A Lesson for Revolutionaries the World Over', Albania Today, November 4, 1973
28. Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, New Outlook Publishers, NY, p 6
29. Ibid, p 6
30. Ibid, p 7
31. Times of the Americas, September 15, 1976, reports that there are 277 Cubans working on four major projects in Jamaica; Flight International, July 24, 1976, writing on the sale of Soviet planes to Peru (see section on military penetration) states: 'The Russian deal is understood to include Cuban support, training and maintenance.'
32. Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1976
33. Miami Herald, November 15, 1976, reports that Radio Havana disclosed this information
34. Latin America Report (LAR), April 2, 1976
35. Excelsior, March 28, 1976
36. Latin America Political Report (LAER) - formerly LAR - 2/18/77
37. LAER, 10/8/76
38. LAR, 7/12/74 and 3/21/75
39. Washington Post, 12/18/73
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42. California Mining Journal, April, 1977
43. Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, op cit, p 37
44. Marx and Engels, Selected Works, English ed, Moscow, 1951, V II, p 420
45. New Times #41, October, 1973
46. Lenin, The State and Revolution, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970, p 9
47. Peking Review #8, February 20, 1976
48. San Francisco Examiner, 7/2/76 and LAR, 7/9/76
49. LAR, 12/17/76
50. San Francisco Chronicle, 2/22/77 and LAPR, 3/4/77

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JOINT DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATIONS
OF THE
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES OF LATIN AMERICA

(We are reprinting this Joint Declaration taken from the newspaper 'No Transar', organ of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, No 192, January 12, 1977.)

The delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Argentina, the Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay, which took part in the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, availed themselves of the opportunity to organize a fraternal meeting, at which they exchanged opinions on the problems of common interest. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of great internationalist brotherhood and showed the high level of maturity of the bonds which unite the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, based on Marxism-Leninism and strengthened through wideranging exchanges of opinions in bilateral, regional, and multi-lateral meetings held in the past. As a result of this meeting the Marxist-Leninist parties names above decided to publish this joint Declaration which is a synthesis of the points of view expressed.

1) The delegations participating in the meeting, unanimously expressed their satisfaction at having taken part in the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which they consider of great significance for the world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist movement. The Albanian communists, brothers of the same ideal with the communists of all countries of the world, have raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism and resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, the invincible weapon of the working class in its struggle for liberation, revolution and the construction of socialism.

2) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America were united in the opinion that this meeting is taking place in a situation which, in general, is in favour of the peoples and their revolutionary struggles.

The two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which in their uncurbed rivalry, are hatching up new plots every day against the independence of the nations, and actively preparing a new world war, are the main enemies of the peoples. For their part the peoples everywhere are mobilizing themselves to defend their vital interests and to fight for their national and social emancipation. The peoples are ever better understanding the policy for world domination which the two superpowers practise, and are striking repeated and powerful blows at them. The progressive forces are trying to forge a broad world front that will unite all those who effectively oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers and their preparations for war. The liberation struggle must be directed against both imperialist superpowers. Although it is true that the main enemy differs in different areas of the world, it would be a grave error, in these circumstances, to disregard the threat represented by the other superpower, to link up with one of them to combat the other. Among the peoples the correct idea is maturing that in face of the war threats of the two superpowers, the revolutionary class struggle must be raised to an even higher level to oppose the outbreak of the war, to weaken the base of the aggressive forces, or to turn the unjust inter-imperialist war into a just liberation war. Socialist China and Albania are powerful bastions of the world revolution. They are sound and reliable bases for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. The unity of the revolutionary forces of the whole world with the true socialist countries is a prerequisite for the triumph of the struggle for national independence, people's democracy and socialism. The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania and the consistent support which these countries give the world revolutionary movement are an internationalist contribution carrying on the finest traditions of the period of the lifetime of Lenin and Stalin.

3) In the exchange of information the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America observed once again that the great majority of the peoples of our continent are living under military fascist dictatorial regimes. Political terrorism and suppression of liberties are apparent in almost all the countries of Latin America. Assassination of revolutionaries and torture of patriots and democrats constitute the method most used by the repressive forces in their efforts to strangle the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America for freedom. These regimes serve imperialist capital which brutally exploits the working people and plunders the wealth of nations. The trusts and monopolies, as well as the ruling class circles linked with them, utilize these military regimes to savagely exploit our peoples and countries, to extract exorbitant profits from them, at a time when the living conditions of the broad masses of the people are getting worse day by day. The victories of the working class are being liquidated, and in many countries its organizations are under police control or are run by agents of the employers. Relying on the reactionary oligarchy and, in particular, the armed forces of our countries, US imperialism is the promoter and supporter of anti-national and anti-popular tyrannical regimes. The Yankees consider Latin America as their support base and an area under their domination; they make huge investments there from which they draw fat profits; they exploit our natural assets; they interfere brazenly in internal policy; they control the repressive apparatuses and exert a decisive influence on the armed forces. This imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of the continent. Our parties are convinced that the Latin American nations cannot be liberated without attacking and defeating this imperialism, which is particularly rapacious and aggressive on our continent, and without simultaneously liquidating the internal reactionary forces on which it bases itself.

4) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties also considered that Russian social-imperialism is carrying on intensive activities aimed at capturing economic, political, and strategic positions in this part of the world. It offers Latin American countries its so-called aid to camouflage its aims of hegemony and plunder. Just like US imperialism, the social-imperialists are aiming more and more at gaining the support of the reactionary armed forces of the continent, in order to create the conditions to take part in the exploitation of our peoples. This can be seen in Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and other countries. The aim of the Russian social-imperialists is not to help the liberation of the peoples of Latin America. What they really want is to take part in the exploitation of the resources and expand their sphere of influence in our continent. Their anti-imperialist demagogy is simply a smoke screen to hide their plans of domination and exploitation. Their pretensions are in opposition to the interests of the United States of America, which cannot make them the slightest concession and uses every means, even including violence, in its efforts to preserve its hegemonic positions in Latin America.

On the other hand, in their struggle against Yankee imperialism, the Latin American peoples will not permit social-imperialism to sabotage their struggle for national liberation and to take the place of its rival, the United States of America.

5) The delegations present at the meeting stressed the high fighting spirit and the desire of the Latin American peoples to struggle. Despite the heavy blows they have suffered through the establishment of pro-Yankee dictatorships, they have not submitted to their oppressors and are resisting them heroically. The desire for freedom, national independence and the liberating revolution, is growing everywhere. Our peoples hate US imperialism and the reactionary and fascist regimes it props up. They also hate the military traitor cliques, which have usurped power in various countries and have turned into stooges of foreign capital and gendarmes to oppress the broad masses of the people. By launching various forms of struggle, ranging from simple protests and strikes to armed struggle, they are giving reaction no respite and are displaying great courage and heroism in militant actions. The working class, the peasantry and the students are the most active forces of the people's resistance. The Marxist-Leninist parties are turning into leading forces of the people's national, democratic and revolutionary movement. They are pointing to the road of revolution, of the armed struggle of the masses of the people and the broad unity of progressive forces and trends, as the only road which can lead the peoples to their true liberation. The struggle for national independence and

their deep sorrow at the death of comrade Mao Tsetung, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the undisputed leader of the Chinese people, the great Marxist-Leninist and teacher of the proletariat and all the oppressed peoples of the world. Under the wise leadership of comrade Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, the Chinese proletariat and people forged ahead in their revolutionary struggle seized power, and established socialism in China. Thus the formerly backward and dependent China has been transformed into a modern socialist country, a reliable support base for the world revolution. Likewise, under the leadership of comrade Mao Tsetung, the important problem of continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism in China, has been solved correctly. Comrade Mao Tsetung resolutely upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism and launched the struggle against modern revisionism, thus making a decisive contribution to the reconstruction of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. His example as a revolutionary fighter and his ideas, which have developed Marxism-Leninism, will remain indelible in the hearts and minds of the peoples and communists of the whole world.

9) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, hailed the successful results achieved by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. The report presented by the great and tested Marxist-Leninist, the outstanding leader of the Albanian people and of all the peoples of the world, comrade Enver Hoxha, is a very valuable contribution to the elucidation of the important and decisive problems of the present situation that are concerning the revolutionaries of all the continents. It broadens the perspective of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed and sets the flame of confidence in the triumph of their cause ablaze in their hearts. The fiery appeal it makes for the strengthening of the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement aroused lively interest among the delegations. We are sure that comrade Enver Hoxha's contribution will be greatly appreciated by our parties, and will become a source of lessons for the consolidation of their revolutionary activity. The great successes achieved by socialist Albania show how powerful the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are and what a party based on these ideas is capable of doing. The example of the Party of Labour of Albania inspires all the fighters of revolution to drive ahead, overcoming all difficulties, under the banner of the struggle for democracy, national independence, and socialism. The fact that we have beside us the proletarian revolutionary, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, comrade Enver Hoxha, fills us with enthusiasm. His confidence in the future, his theoretical profundity and his political clarity make him one of the greatest revolutionaries of our time.

10) In concluding this fraternal meeting, the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America expressed their unshaken confidence in the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism, in the triumph of the working class, and the revolutionary peoples over imperialism, social-imperialism, and world reaction. From this meeting we emerged stronger in our fraternal ties and loyalty to the noble ideals of proletarian internationalism, even more convinced of the need to work for the unity of the communist and workers' movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our parties will muster all their energies to achieve this objective, in close unity with the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania and the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

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