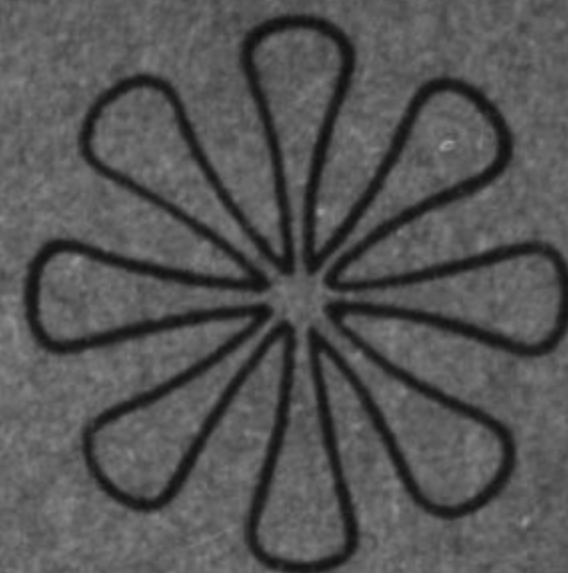


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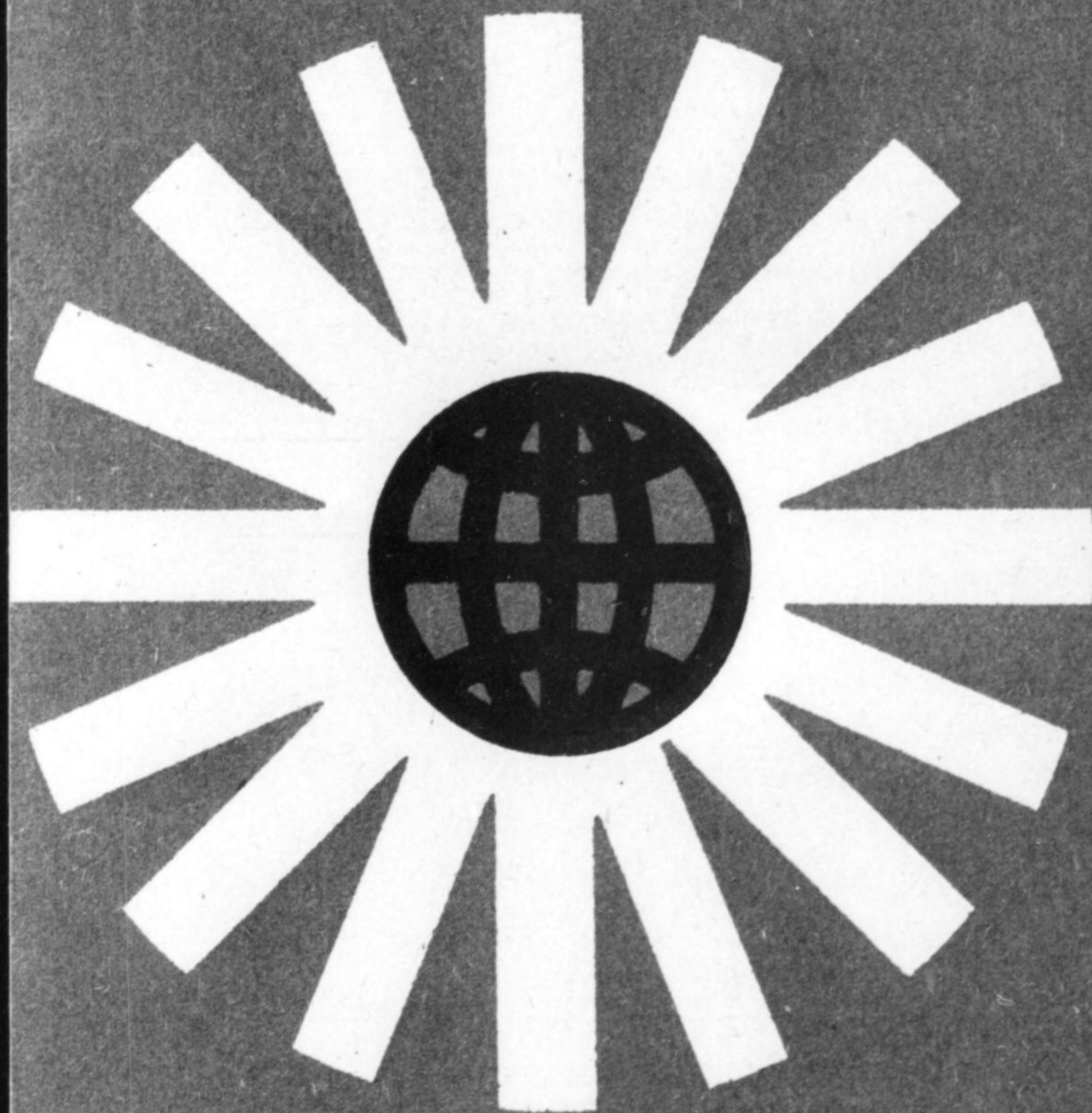


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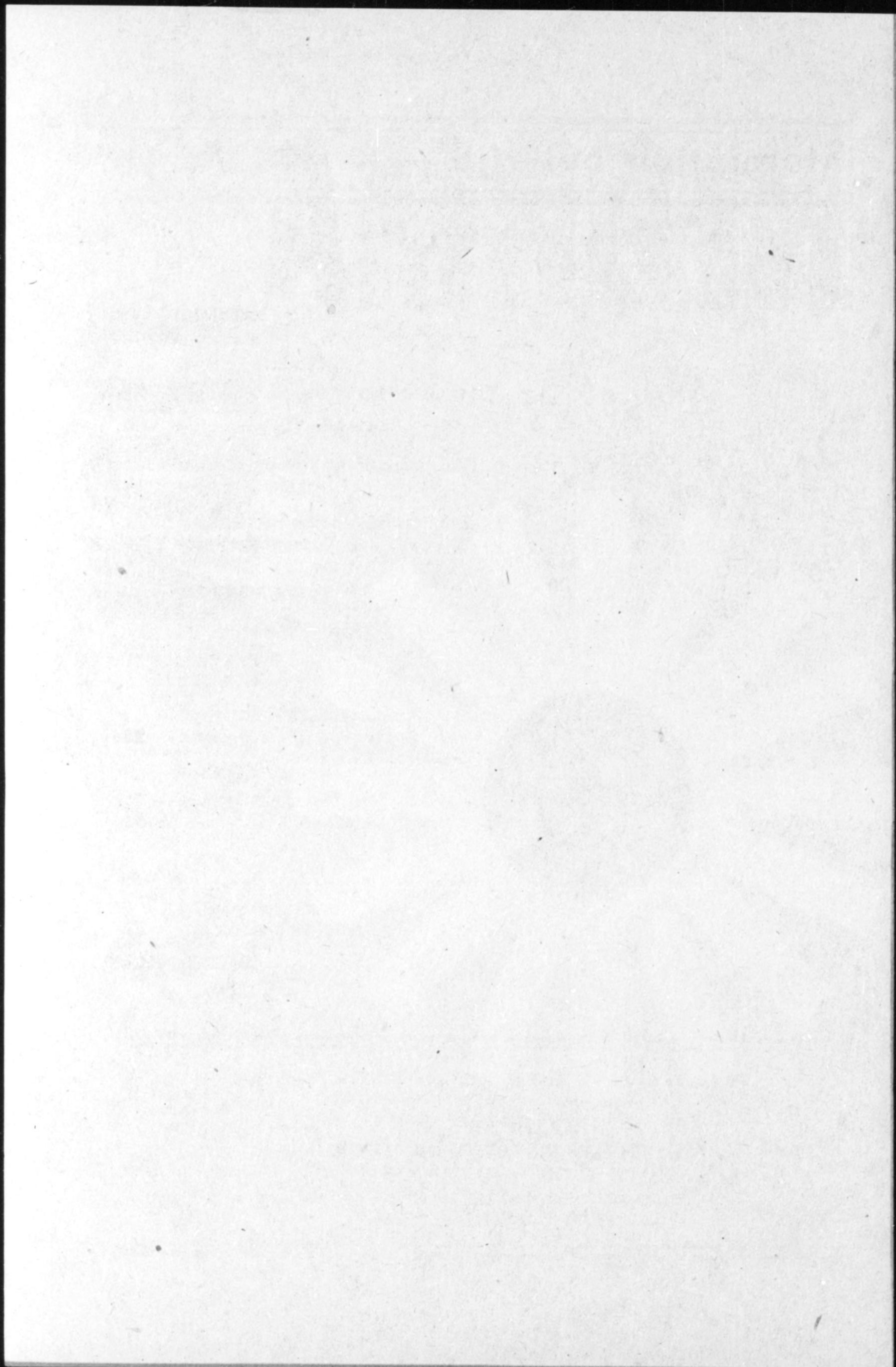
**SALT II JOINT
COMMUNIQUE**

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CUBA

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15

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THE VIENNA SUMMIT

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and James Carter, President of the United States of America, met in Vienna, Austria, over June 15 to 18, 1979. The participants in the meeting held talks and signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.

Below we publish excerpts from the speeches made by Leonid Brezhnev at the dinners given by the participants at the embassies of the United States and the Soviet Union in Austria on June 16 and 17, and the statement made by Leonid Brezhnev at the signing of the Soviet-U.S. documents on June 18, as well as the main part of the Joint Soviet-American Communiqué.

**FROM THE SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV
AT A DINNER GIVEN IN HIS HONOR
BY JAMES CARTER AT THE U.S. EMBASSY
IN VIENNA ON JUNE 16, 1979**

We are here as guests of peaceful neutral Austria. And this is, to a degree, symbolic. For it is a fact that it was possible to achieve such a status for this country largely due to the cooperation of the USSR, the USA, as well as France and Britain. This is one of the tangible results of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Even the first day of the talks has shown that the two sides clearly understand the importance of the problems under discussion. It was already in the first half of the 70s that the USSR and the USA agreed to do everything they could to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war. Our countries pledged to develop peaceful relations between them on the basis of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. It was not easy to come to those agreements; differences in the social structures, political systems and views of the two sides stood in the way. Yet, common sense and an understanding of realities prevailed.

It is unfortunate that subsequently relations between our two countries began to develop unevenly. They went through a period of stagnation and even regressed somewhat from the charted course. This affected the entire world situation as well. It is my feeling that

this meeting can become an important step in improving Soviet-American relations and ameliorating the international climate.

Yet, progress along this road will no doubt require, as before, no small amount of energy, courage and perseverance. For, however absurd it may sound, there are those who oppose normal relations and peaceful cooperation between our two countries. Tensions in Soviet-American relations suit them. And some just dream of precipitating a clash between the USSR and USA. As I see it, Mr. President, it is our common duty to our peoples and, indeed, to the entire world not to allow such schemes to materialize.

The foes of mutual understanding between the USSR and the USA make active use of the myth of the so-called "Soviet military threat." Strange as it may be, the greater the Soviet Union's contribution to the development of peaceful relations among states, the more resolute its sponsorship of concrete proposals to limit armaments and lessen the threat of another war, the more persistent is the spreading of fables concerning our policies.

There are also continued attempts to portray social processes taking place in one country or another or the struggle of peoples for independence and social progress as "Moscow's intrigues and plots."

Naturally, Soviet people are in solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples. Our assessments of the political regime in this or that country may sharply differ at times from the assessments of certain quarters in the USA. But the USSR is against interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. This is our position of principle. We believe that every people has a right to decide its own destiny. Why then pin on the Soviet Union the responsibility for the objective course of history and, what is more, use this as a pretext for worsening our relations?

But for all that, I still feel that this time, too, realism and a far-sighted approach and statesmanship will finally triumph. Particularly, since the champions of improving and developing our relations have powerful allies — millions upon millions of citizens of the two countries and all the people of the world.

Pravda, June 17, 1979

**FROM THE SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV
AT A DINNER GIVEN IN HONOR
OF JAMES CARTER AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY
IN VIENNA ON JUNE 17, 1979**

The new treaty is realistic and concrete. Its substance is the quantitative limitation of arms and the curbing of their qualitative improvement. It is built on the principle of equality and equal security. The observance by the two sides of all the commitments under the treaty is reliably verifiable.

This is the result of many years of efforts, a fair balance of interests. Every provision, I would even say every word of this treaty, has been weighed and pondered over scores of times.

Of course, it is a compromise, for it could not have been otherwise. Each side would like some parts of the text of the treaty to be somewhat different, more suitable to it, but each side has had to yield something, taking into account the legitimate interests of the other side. Any attempt to rock this elaborate structure, which it has been so hard to build, to replace any of its elements, to pull it closer to one's own self would be an unprofitable exercise. The entire structure might then collapse, entailing grave and even dangerous consequences for our relations and for the situation in the world as a whole. President Carter and other leading statesmen in the USA have also warned against this in their recent statements.

As far as we are concerned, I can assure you that the leadership of our Communist Party, and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the entire Soviet people are well aware of the importance of the understanding reached. I am convinced that they will fully support it and will not accept any back-peddling, any attempt to undermine its spirit and its letter, and once the treaty has been concluded, the USSR will strictly and faithfully observe it like all other agreements it has signed.

The SALT-2 treaty will open up the way for advancing further toward SALT-3. This work will probably be even more complicated. A number of serious strategic and geographical factors that so far have remained outside the framework of our talks will have to be taken into account. Yet, I believe that given a firm will and a constructive and honest approach, we will be able to cope with that task as well.

President Carter and I have also reached a common view that agreement on SALT-2 should provide an impetus for making faster headway in the talks on other questions of limiting competition in the military field.

It is high time, at last, to reach agreement at the talks being held here in Vienna on force and arms reduction in Central Europe. Our talks with the President have shown that both sides come out for speeding up this work, and we believe that a useful role here can be played by the initiative and good example of the USSR and the USA. I believe we will be able to make some joint steps in this respect. We will hope that one "Vienna" will give an impetus to another.

We attach very great significance to cooperation between the USSR and the USA in international affairs. The might and influence of our countries impose on them a special responsibility. The key to success, we believe, does not lie in a propaganda barrage or in playing with "combinations of forces," but in wise restraint, respect for the legitimate interests of the partner and a fair striving to learn to understand one another in the construction of a more sensible and safer world. Acting in this spirit and not directing our cooperation against any third countries, we, I trust, will be able to do much that is useful both for the peoples of the USSR and the USA, and mankind as a whole.

We already have quite a good experience of interaction in international affairs. Suffice it to recall, for example, the joint efforts to eliminate the seat of war in the Middle East in 1973. And, of course, cooperation in preparing for the All-European Conference in Helsinki.

The leaders of the USSR are known to be convinced supporters of the relaxation of international tensions. But détente is only a start. In our relations with the United States as well as with other states we would like to achieve more. We would like to have truly good-neighbor relations that would be sound and stable, and would exclude the possibility of armed conflicts. To this end we are prepared to put in a lot of work to bring our peoples closer together. This, of course, requires reciprocity. Bridges of mutual understanding are something that can only be built simultaneously from both sides.

Therefore, we regard as useful the exchange of views with President Carter on the development of Soviet-U.S. relation in the fields of economy, science, culture, and so forth. I should like to hope that our meeting will provide a fresh impetus in this respect too.

FROM THE STATEMENT BY LEONID BREZHNEV AT THE SIGNING OF SOVIET-U.S. DOCUMENTS

Together with President Carter we have just signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty and related documents. This was an event that has long been awaited by the Soviet and American peoples, the

peoples of other countries, by all who want a stable peace and are aware of the danger emanating from the further buildup of nuclear arsenals. In signing this treaty, we are helping to defend the most sacred right of every man — the right to live.

To act in such a way as to prevent an outbreak of nuclear war is an obligation that the Soviet Union and the United States have jointly assumed. The treaty that has been signed today reaffirms our desire to fulfill that obligation. In terms of both quantitative and qualitative limitations on strategic arms it goes far beyond the SALT-1 agreement. The entry into force of this treaty opens up the possibility to begin elaborating subsequent measures not only to limit but also to reduce strategic arms.

By concluding the SALT-2 treaty we are making a major step forward along the road of an overall improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations and, consequently, of the entire international climate.

For the Soviet Union this is a logical continuation of the peaceful foreign policy set forth by our party congresses, a course we intend to follow in the future, too.

JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN COMMUNIQUE

1. GENERAL ASPECTS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

There is an Agreement between the Sides that the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is of great importance for the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and that it significantly affects the development of the international situation as a whole. Recognizing the great responsibility connected with this, the Sides have expressed their firm intent to continue working toward the establishment of a more stable and constructive foundation for Soviet-American relations. To this end, the two Sides acknowledged the necessity of expanding areas of cooperation between them.

Such cooperation should be based on the principles of complete equality, equal security, respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, and should facilitate the relaxation of international tension and the peaceful conduct of mutually beneficial relations between states, and thereby enhance international stability and world peace.

The Sides reaffirmed their conviction that full implementation of

each of the provisions of the "Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America." as well as other treaties and agreements concluded between them, would contribute to a more stable relationship between the two countries.

The Sides stressed the importance of peaceful resolution of disputes, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and of efforts so that conflicts or situations would not arise which could serve to increase international tensions. They recognize the right of the peoples of all states to determine their future without outside interference.

Recognizing that an armed world conflict can and must be avoided, the Sides believe that at the present time there is no more important and urgent task for mankind than ending the arms race and preventing war. They expressed their intention to make every effort to attain that goal. To that end, they also recognized the value of consultation between themselves and with other governments, at the United Nations and elsewhere, in order to prevent and eliminate conflicts in various regions of the world.

The Sides note with satisfaction the growing practice of contacts between government officials of the USSR and the USA in the course of which key questions of Soviet-American relations and pressing international issues are discussed. The process of developing useful ties between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the U.S. Congress and of exchanges between non-governmental organizations is continuing.

The talks again confirmed the specific significance of personal meetings between the leaders of the USSR and the USA in resolving the basic questions in the relations between the two states. In principle, it has been agreed that such meetings will be held in the future on a regular basis, with the understanding that the specific timing will be determined by mutual agreement.

Agreement has also been reached on broadening the practice of consultations and exchanges of opinion between representatives of the Sides on other levels.

II. LIMITATIONS OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS

The two Sides reaffirmed their deep conviction that special importance should be attached to the problems of the prevention of nuclear war and to curbing the competition in strategic arms. Both Sides

recognized that nuclear war would be a disaster for all mankind. Each Side stated that it is not striving and will not strive for military superiority, since that can only result in dangerous instability, generating higher levels of armaments with no benefit to the security of either Side.

Recognizing that the USSR and the USA bear a special responsibility for reducing the danger of nuclear war and strengthening world peace, L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter have set before themselves the task of taking major steps to limit nuclear weapons with a view of finally liquidating them, and to complete successfully other arms limitation and disarmament negotiations.

SALT. In the course of the meeting, L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter confirmed and signed the Treaty Between the USSR and the USA on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the Protocol thereto, the Joint Statement of Principles and Basic Guidelines for Subsequent Negotiations on the Limitation of Strategic Arms and the document entitled Agreed Statements and Common Understandings Regarding the Treaty Between the USSR and the USA on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

At the same time, the Sides again stressed the great significance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and Strict Compliance with Its Provisions and of other agreements previously concluded between them in the field of strategic arms limitation and reducing the danger of nuclear war.

Both Sides express their deep satisfaction with the process of the negotiations on strategic arms limitations and the fact that their persistent efforts for many years to conclude a new Treaty have been crowned with success. This Treaty sets equal ceilings on the nuclear delivery systems of both Sides; to begin the process of reductions it requires the reduction of existing nuclear arms; to begin to limit the threat represented by the qualitative arms race, the Treaty also places substantial constraints on the modernization of strategic offensive systems and the development of new ones.

The new Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Protocol thereto represent a mutually acceptable balance between the interests of the Sides based on the principles of equality and equal security. These documents are a substantial contribution to the prevention of nuclear war and the deepening of détente, and thus serve the interests not only of the Soviet and American peoples, but the aspirations of mankind for peace.

The two Sides reaffirmed their commitment strictly to observe every provision in the Treaty.

L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter discussed questions relating to the SALT-3 negotiations and in this connection expressed the firm intention of the Sides to act in accordance with the Joint Statement of Principles and Basic Guidelines for Subsequent Negotiations on the Limitation of Strategic Arms.

Comprehensive test-ban treaty. It was noted that there has been definite progress at the negotiations, in which the UK is also participating, on an international treaty comprehensively banning test explosions of nuclear weapons in any environment and an associated protocol. The Sides confirmed the intention of the USSR and the USA to work, together with the UK, to complete preparation of this treaty as soon as possible.

Non-proliferation. The two Sides reaffirmed the importance they attach to nuclear non-proliferation. They consistently advocate the further strengthening of the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and confirm their resolve to continue to comply strictly with the obligations they have assumed under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. They stressed the importance of applying comprehensive international safeguards under the International Atomic Energy Agency and pledged to continue their efforts to strengthen these safeguards.

They noted the profound threat posed to world security by the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and agreed that the states already possessing nuclear weapons bear a special responsibility to demonstrate restraint. To this end, they affirmed their joint conviction that further efforts are needed, including on a regional basis, and expressed the hope that the conclusion of the SALT-2 Treaty will make an important contribution toward non-proliferation objectives.

Both Sides further committed themselves to close cooperation, along with other countries, to insure a successful conclusion to the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference in 1980, and called upon all states which have not already done so to sign and ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Vienna negotiations. L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter emphasized the great importance the Sides attached to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe in which they are participating with other states. A reduction of the military forces of both Sides and the implementation of

associated measures in Central Europe would be a major contribution to stability and security.

ASAT. It was also agreed to continue actively searching for mutually acceptable agreement in the ongoing negotiations on anti-satellite systems.

Conventional arms transfers. The two Sides agreed that their respective representatives will meet promptly to discuss questions related to the next round of negotiations on limiting conventional arms transfers.

Chemical weapons. The two Sides reaffirmed the importance of a general, complete and verifiable prohibition of chemical weapons and agreed to intensify their efforts to prepare an agreed joint proposal for presentation to the Committee on Disarmament.

Radiological weapons. L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter were pleased to be able to confirm that bilateral agreement on major elements of a Treaty Banning the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Radiological Weapons has been reached. An agreed joint proposal will be presented to the Committee on Disarmament this year.

Indian Ocean. The two Sides agreed that their respective representatives will meet promptly to discuss the resumption of the talks on questions concerning arms limitation measures in the Indian Ocean.

Other questions of arms limitations and general disarmament. In discussing other questions connected with solving the problems of limiting the arms race and of disarmament, the Sides expressed their support for the final document adopted at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. The Sides noted their support for a second special session of the UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament and for that session to be followed by the convocation of a world disarmament conference with universal participation, adequately prepared and at an appropriate time.

The USSR and the USA will continue to cooperate between themselves and with other member-states of the Committee on Disarmament with its enlarged membership for the purpose of working out effective steps in the field of disarmament in that forum.

In summing up the exchange of views on the state of negotiations being conducted between the USSR and the USA, or with their participation, on a number of questions connected with arms limitation and disarmament, the Sides agreed to give new impetus to the joint efforts to achieve practical results at these negotiations.

III. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

There was a broad exchange of views on major international issues. The Sides expressed their support for the process of international détente which in their view should become increasingly specific in nature and spread to all areas of the globe, thus helping to promote increased international stability.

L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter devoted particular attention to situations of tension which complicate the international situation and interfere with positive developments in other areas. The two Sides believe that all states must conduct themselves with particular responsibility and restraint in order to contribute to the elimination of present situations of tension and to prevent new ones from arising.

The two Sides noted the importance of increasing international cooperation on such global issues as the promotion of worldwide economic development, the protection of the environment, and the peaceful use of space and the World Ocean. They expressed their support for the efforts of the developing countries to deal with the problems they face.

Noting the important role of the UN as an instrument for maintaining peace, security and the development of international cooperation, the USSR and the USA confirm their intention to promote the improvement of the effectiveness of this organization on the basis of the UN Charter.

The Sides noted with satisfaction the positive developments which have taken place in recent years with respect to the situation on the European continent. They underscored the significance of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The two Sides agreed that continuation of the CSCE process is important to promote security and cooperation in Europe. They called attention to the need for full implementation of all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The USSR and the USA will work to facilitate a constructive meeting of the representatives of the participating states of the All-European Conference, which is scheduled to take place in 1980 in Madrid.

Each Side reaffirmed its interest in a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East and set forth its position on ways and means of resolving the Middle East problem.

There was an exchange of views concerning developments in Africa. The Sides noted some normalization of the situation in certain areas of that continent, and the efforts of the independent states of Africa toward cooperation, economic development and peaceful rela-

tions and the positive role in this respect of the Organization of African Unity. They also indicated their respective views regarding the situation in southern Africa.

The Sides recognized the importance of peace and stability in Asia for the world peace. They agreed that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations in the area must be fully respected. They also indicated their respective views regarding the situation in Southeast Asia.

IV. COOPERATION IN BILATERAL MATTERS

The importance of cooperation between the USSR and the USA on the basis of mutual benefit, in accordance with the agreements which exist between the two countries, was emphasized. The Sides took note of positive developments in the wide range of cultural, academic, scientific and technical exchange programs, which are continuing between the two countries.

Proceeding on the established principles of equality, reciprocity and mutual benefit as the basis for the conduct of such programs, the Sides reaffirmed their commitment to continue and intensify cooperation in these areas.

The two Sides confirmed that economic and commercial relations represent an important element in the development of improved bilateral ties. Both Sides stated their position in favor of strengthening these relations, and recognized the necessity of working toward the elimination of obstacles to mutually beneficial trade and financial relations. The two Sides expressed their determination to encourage the relevant organizations and enterprises in their respective countries to enter into mutually beneficial commercial agreements and contracts on a long-term basis.

L.I. Brezhnev and J. Carter expressed mutual satisfaction with the results of the talks which were held. They are convinced that the deepening of mutual understanding between the Sides on several issues as a result of the meeting and the consistent implementation of the agreements which have been reached will facilitate the development of Soviet-American relations and represent a joint contribution of the two countries to strengthening détente, international security and peace.

June 18, 1979

L. Brezhnev

Jimmy Carter

Pravda, June 19, 1979

number 15, 1979 15

**IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PRESIDUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR,
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR**

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having discussed the results of the meeting of L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with President J. Carter of the United States, held in Vienna on June 15-18, 1979, approve wholly and completely the activities of the Soviet delegation led by L.I. Brezhnev, and express profound satisfaction with the results achieved at the meeting, and primarily with the signing of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the Protocol to the Treaty and other associated documents, and also the Joint Soviet-American Communiqué.

Agreement on these questions became possible as a result of the long and strenuous work of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR and due to the personal contribution of L.I. Brezhnev to the preparation and holding of the meeting, to the cause of consolidating world peace, curbing the arms race, and developing mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems.

The Vienna meeting marks an important step forward along the road of improving Soviet-U.S. relations and the entire international political climate. Complete implementation of the documents signed in Vienna opens up new possibilities for stopping the build-up of nuclear missile arsenals, ensuring their effective quantitative and qualitative limitation. Solution to this task would be a new stage in arresting the nuclear arms race and would pave the way to a substantial reduction of armaments and realization of the supreme goal: complete discontinuation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and liquidation of their stockpiles.

The new Treaty is based on the principle of equality and equal security and constitutes a fair balance of the interests of the USSR and the USA. No departures from it can be regarded as permissible. The Soviet Union is prepared to fulfill to the end the commitments it has assumed and proceeds from the premise that the other Side will

approach the question likewise. This will allow the next stage of strategic arms limitation talks to begin shortly.

L.I. Brezhnev and President J. Carter also had a useful exchange of views on questions that are the subject of other ongoing multilateral and Soviet-U.S. negotiations on the limitation of armaments and achieving disarmament. Implementation of the provisions of the SALT-2 Treaty is called upon to stimulate an early successful conclusion of these talks.

During the meeting, a frank comparison was made of the positions of the USSR and the USA on key issues of the present-day international situation, including problems where these positions differ. Exchange of opinion on these questions is useful.

The fact that both Sides resolutely came out in favor of further deepening détente is being positively assessed in the Soviet Union. Also of much importance is the consent of the Sides that the positive changes, which have taken place in the situation on the European continent and are reflected in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, need strengthening and developing through steps aimed at supplementing political détente by military détente. In this context, the Soviet Union attaches much importance to necessary progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The Soviet Union regards it as its duty to continue a consistent and relentless struggle against the arms race, for the reduction and discontinuation of the manufacture of all types of arms, for the further relaxation of international tensions, for lasting peace throughout the world.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR believe that the Vienna meeting opens up possibilities for more consistent widening of the areas of Soviet-U.S. cooperation on the principles of full equality, equal security, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. According with the vital interests of the peoples both of the USSR and the USA, such cooperation makes international peace more lasting.

L.I. Brezhnev's Vienna meeting with U.S. President J. Carter and its results aroused extensive positive comments throughout the world. This shows once again that the Soviet-U.S. agreements facilitating limitation of the arms race, consolidation of the détente and strengthening of peace, accord with the interests of all countries

and all mankind. The results of the meeting are being approved by the broad mass of the people, by realistic statesmen.

The Soviet people, wholeheartedly supporting the policy of peace, carried through by our party and the Soviet state, positively assess the results produced during the Vienna meeting. The successes of this policy give Soviet people renewed strength and energy in accomplishing the great tasks of communist construction.

Pravda, June 22, 1979

NINTH CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Portuguese Communist Party held its Ninth Congress over May 31 to June 3 in Barreiro, near Lisbon. The Congress was attended by 1,752 delegates representing 9,000 party branches. It was also attended by over 60 delegations of fraternal communist and workers' parties, national-liberation movements and other progressive organizations.

PCP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal presented the Central Committee's Report.

More than 100 delegates discussed the theses and the CC Report. The Congress unanimously approved the Report, the political resolution, resolution on the agrarian reform, resolution of solidarity with the country's working people and several other documents.

At its concluding sitting the Congress elected the party's leading bodies. Alvaro Cunhal was re-elected General Secretary of the PCP.

At its first plenary meeting on June 3 the PCP's new Central Committee elected the Political Commission and Secretariat of the CC PCP.

Below are excerpts from the CC PCP Report to the Ninth Party Congress.

FOR THE LOFTY GOALS OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The Ninth Congress of the PCP marks the conclusion of great collective work. The preparatory work and the Congress itself have shown once again that the Portuguese Communist Party operates and

acts as a huge collective, conscious of the fact that its line and activity result from the work of all its members.

The Congress will be yet another proof of the inner-party democracy, the militant and creative spirit of the PCP, its deep class origin, dedication to the people and country.

In November 1976, when the Eighth Congress of our party took place, an offensive had already been unleashed aimed at restoring the positions of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism.

Our Eighth Congress concluded that such a policy did not correspond to the new Portuguese reality created by the revolution, nor the Portugal that had destroyed the monopoly groups and undertaken an agrarian reform of a socialist character and therefore would not solve a single important national problem, but, on the contrary, would aggravate them all.

Subsequent events have confirmed these conclusions of the Eighth Congress. Capitalist recovery prevented economic recovery and drove Portugal to the edge of disaster.

Many were saying then that the Portuguese people could not stop the reactionary forces' offensive and successfully defend the revolutionary gains.

Our Eighth Congress concluded that such statements were unfounded and that the working class, the popular masses and the democratic forces were in a position to defend the April gains.

Subsequent events have also confirmed these conclusions of the Eighth Congress.

Despite the permanent, violent, arbitrary and illegal offensive against the freedoms and other achievements of the revolution, they have, on the whole been upheld and constitute an integral part of the Portuguese democratic regime.

Reaction declared then that with the aid of a policy of capitalist recovery the workers' and people's movement would be divided and would lose the strength and dynamism of the first two years of revolution.

Our Eighth Congress stated confidently that this would not happen and set the task of strengthening and developing the workers' and people's movement on all fronts.

Events have confirmed the conclusions and forecasts of the Eighth Congress for since then the people's fighting unity has been strengthened, the mass struggles have increased, new social strata have been won over, the unity organizations have gained in strength and the workers' and people's movement has been established, in the

Portuguese political context as a decisive and unparalleled force for the defense of the democratic regime and the interests of the people and country.

Reaction claimed that the PCP, having no part in the government, would see its ranks and influence waning rapidly.

The Eighth Congress stated that such claims were unfounded and set the task of a general strengthening of the party as a decisive force in the new, democratic Portugal.

Subsequent events have confirmed also these conclusions and forecasts of the Eighth Congress, and our party — which in the hard political battles of this period fully justified the title of a party of truth, of hope and of the future — is today even more united, more closely linked to the working class and the masses and stronger than ever.

Our Ninth Congress takes place at a time of great uncertainty and instability. The reactionary forces in the government are maneuvering and planning putsches. They demand the unconstitutional revision of the Constitution and the liquidation of the regime. This is a new crucial period for Portuguese democracy.

THE PCP AND PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY

The PCP exists, lives and acts to serve the people and the country.

Within the political forces, it is the most solid and consistent defender of the liberties and the other revolutionary gains of the democratic regime.

It is a tireless fighter for the unity of the working class and of all workers, for a stronger alliance with the peasantry and the anti-monopoly classes and strata, for the drawing together, mutual understanding and common action of all democrats.

Life continues to prove that democracy cannot be defended and built up against the workers and against the PCP, but only with their participation.

Without the communists, and still less against the communists, there can be no democracy in Portugal.

The strengthening of the PCP meets the interests not only of the communists but of all those who want Portugal to continue along the path of freedom, democracy, progress and national independence opened by the April revolution.

The party has become considerably stronger since the Eighth Congress. In terms of organization, militancy, ability to mobilize and influence, it is undoubtedly the largest Portuguese party.

Nevertheless, considering its great responsibilities and its role in

the defense and building up of the democratic society, *the party is still not strong enough to fulfill its historic tasks.*

We can only say that "*it is strong enough*" when we are able to achieve, together with the working class, the popular masses, other democrats and patriots, the necessary turn in Portuguese politics.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Since the Eighth Congress, the party organizations have been considerably broadened and strengthened. At the time of the previous congress the party had 115,000 members. At the beginning of 1978, after the campaign in defense of the gains of April, there were 142,512 members. We are happy to report that by the end of this April, party membership had increased to 165,000, not including the 30,000 members of the YCL and the Communist Student League.

There are some who think that such a large increase in membership will not strengthen, but, on the contrary, weaken the party, because the gains in terms of quantity will be losses in terms of quality.

There is no doubt that among so many new members there may be some who lack the qualities required of a party member.

But the indications are that only the best come to the party. *The party's quantitative increase has been at the same time a qualitative improvement.*

Our enemies recognize the high level of organization and militancy of our party. Yes, we have a high level of organization and militancy, but we must reinforce the organization of the party even more, for the PCP was not born just for the sake of existing, but to achieve, together with the working class and with the Portuguese people, the final victory of democracy and to open the road to socialism.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK

The period since the Eighth Congress was characterized by fierce ideological struggle due to the intensification of the class struggle, to reactionary offensives against the revolution's achievements and against the democratic regime, to the heroic fight of the people in defense of the Portugal of April, to the creation, in practice, of an unconstitutional situation and to attempts to put an end to the democratic regime that is enshrined in the Constitution.

Special attention was given during this period to the process of unmasking the new ideological expressions of the counter-revolution and a deeper theoretical elaboration of the Portuguese revolution's principal problems, namely the link between democratic freedoms

and the agrarian reform and nationalization, between political democracy and the final abolition of monopoly capitalism, the role of the masses and of political power in revolutionary changes.

In the period since the Eighth Congress we witnessed the political and ideological debacle of "left" radicalism and the failure of the discredited social-democratic concepts, whose anti-popular and capitulationist character were revealed to the people.

At the same time, there were shortcomings in the party's ideological work, namely in combating reactionary and opportunistic theories, and in the theoretical elaboration of the party's proposals on building democracy and socialism.

In the present situation, the ideological battle must take into account the instability of the situation, the considerable tactical mobility of political forces and the sudden and abrupt fluctuations in existing alliances.

It is characteristic of the Portuguese situation since April 25, that the counter-revolutionary forces are hiding their real political aims behind a smoke screen of theoretical discourse.

However, the essential traits of fascist and neo-fascist ideology are readily discernible in their prolific theoretical ramblings.

This reality necessitates an intensified fight against the ideological counter-offensive of the reactionary forces and opportunism (especially against its allegedly new aspects) whose aim is to justify and present the capitalist, big landowner and imperialist recovery and the restoration of state-monopoly capitalism and the liquidation of the democratic regime enshrined in the Constitution as something inevitable.

It is essential, too, to fight against right-wing opportunism and ultra-left adventurism, against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, neo-colonialist and social-democratic concepts and theories of national surrender to imperialism.

Constant attention to and analysis of new phenomena and new situations, a more profound study of Portuguese society, the Portuguese revolution and the party's political line, the study and formulation of revolutionary experiences and dissemination among the broadest masses of the results of this study and of ideological and theoretical elaboration remain the fundamental direction of the ideological work of the party, which is armed with the powerful weapon of Marxism-Leninism.

Theory, when it wins over the masses, becomes a material force in political struggle.

Already today, the party's revolutionary thought acts as a material force in Portuguese social and political life. We shall do our utmost to enhance this force with every passing day.

UNITY, INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, STYLE OF WORK

The unity of our party is a reality that is expressed in theory and practice. It is a source of great joy, pride and confidence for all of us communists.

One might ask (and some do): *What are the basic reasons for our party's unity?*

Why is it that during such an irregular and fluctuating revolutionary process, replete with complex situations and moments of uncertainty and danger, the unity of the PCP — a continuously growing party that retains the character of a cadre party while becoming a mass party — has persisted without any breaches?

How is it that all other parties have experienced many internal crises, divisions, conflicts, splits, resignations and expulsions affecting both the leadership and the rank and file, and that, on the contrary, our party, while constantly developing and engaging in colossal activity, has maintained absolute cohesion?

In the eyes of others this unity may seem a mystery. For us, party members, its causes are clear.

The unity of our party stems from its class nature, its correct line, as demonstrated by facts, the solidity of its principles, its Marxist-Leninist education, the close links between the party leadership and the membership, active participation of the entire party in drafting the general line, respect for its militants, the practice of collective work at the level of each organization and of the entire party. This unity is the result of inner-party democracy, with democratic principles having become so much a part of the whole atmosphere that they are taken for granted. This unity is the result also of the conscious discipline emerging naturally and spontaneously from its very activity which is no longer felt to be an obligation for it has long become a voluntary practice and a way of acting and living within the party.

Unity is inseparable from our party's *style of work*, which has evolved in the course of its development and in accordance with its political line, its leadership's work criteria, its solutions of organizational questions, its cadre policy and revolutionary experience.

An intrinsic class spirit in all its activity, collective work combined with individual activity, fraternal criticism, easy and natural self-

criticism, comradeship, mutual respect, fraternity and solidarity among communists, democracy as a principle, as a work guideline and habitual behavior, authority obtained through work and not due to formal reasons, a respectful approach to all tasks, including minor ones, the party leadership's constant direct contact with the rank and file and the masses, dynamism, energy, initiative, dedication — all these are fundamental characteristics of our party's style of work.

Many of our achievements have their roots in this style of work. We shall work to maintain and reinforce it.

We are many, and we shall be more. We represent an invincible force when all of us and each one individually is guided by the same thought, the collective thought of a great party collective — an alliance of will, energy and determination that is closely, constantly and organically linked with the working class and the popular masses.

PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

The entire activity of our party is inspired by love for our people and our country.

We are waging a struggle for the freedom, welfare and happiness of the Portuguese people, for the independence, integrity and progress of our country.

As patriots, we Portuguese communists do not confine ourselves to narrow national interests, as if Portugal were a separate planet and the Portuguese people had nothing to do with the life and struggle being waged on the earth, with the life and struggle of the peoples of other countries.

We never forget that the struggle of our party and our people is part of a universal process whose fundamental characteristic in our time is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

When here at this Congress, among our many guests, side by side with the representatives of the CPSU, a party that carried out the first socialist revolution and founded the first workers' and peasants' state and which at present heads a country playing a decisive role in world revolution, when, side by side with the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the other socialist countries, whose number increases with new victorious revolutions, when side by side with the representatives of communist and workers' parties with dozens of years of history in the international communist movement, we see and hear the representatives of the most recent successful revolutions, the representatives of the revolutionary African, Arab and Asian parties which, although not communist, lead democratic

and progressive revolutionary transformations in their countries, *it is a vivid testimony that the forces of imperialism and reaction are unable to hold back the onward march of history, that humanity is proceeding irresistibly along the road to freedom and the independence of peoples, peace and social progress, liberation from all forms of exploitation and oppression, along the bright road of socialism and communism.*

Imperialist pressures on Portugal are tremendous and powerful. Imperialism's support for internal reaction endangers Portuguese democracy. Yet we should not forget that the evolution of the international situation and the world balance of forces favor the forces of democracy, national independence, peace and socialism. We should not forget that capitalism has lost, once and for all, its historical initiative, that while the general crisis of capitalism is growing deeper, attesting to the insolubility of its contradictions, the socialist countries — the unconquerable bastions of the cause of the workers and peoples all over the world — are proceeding with the construction of a new society, the international communist and working-class movement is proving to be the most important and powerful political force in the contemporary world, and the national-liberation movement is recording new and historic victories.

The revolutionary process is not uninterrupted and regular, Imperialism is not capitulating, but is trying to obstruct the progress of the workers' and peoples' struggle. It is flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, organizing terrorist networks, promoting the establishment of fascist and reactionary dictatorships, unleashing armed aggressions, violating the most elementary human rights.

In addition, it is spending colossal sums on ideological subversion and international intrigue with the aim of splitting the anti-imperialist forces. The Peking leaders (as we, Portuguese, have directly experienced) actively collaborate in the disruptive maneuvers and, together with imperialism and the most reactionary forces, oppose the struggle of the workers and the peoples in general.

But the communist and the anti-imperialist movement is not headed toward division, but toward stronger cooperation and unity.

The strengthening of mutual cooperation and solidarity between the communist and workers' parties, between all anti-imperialist forces, is of fundamental importance in defeating the forces of imperialism and reaction and in successfully carrying forth the liberation struggle of mankind to its final and complete victory.

The PCP considers national tasks in defense of the people and the country and international tasks commensurate with proletarian internationalism to be indivisible.

We consider the support and solidarity of the fraternal parties, the revolutionary forces and working people of other countries to be of the highest value for our struggle. And here, at our Ninth Congress, we would like to express to our foreign guests the deep gratitude of the communists and workers of Portugal for their support of and solidarity with the Portuguese revolution and our party.

We also ask our guests that upon returning to their countries they make it known that the Portuguese communists, who spare no energies or their very lives for the cause of their people and country, will always be faithful to the principles of fraternal friendship, active support and solidarity with the fraternal parties, with all revolutionary forces, all workers and peoples of the five continents.

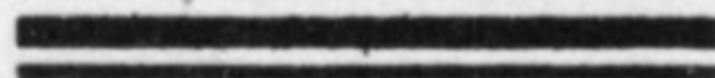
Sometimes foreign guests ask us: "What has remained of the Portuguese revolution? Isn't it all over?" We trust that our guests will be firmly convinced *that the Portuguese revolution is alive, that it exists in the reality of the country, in the strength and determination of the workers' and popular movements, in the continuous growth of our party and its expanding links with the masses.*

Portuguese democracy now faces furious attacks by the reactionary forces, who are intent on destroying its achievements. Portuguese democracy is seriously threatened.

But the Portuguese people, the Portuguese democrats have enough strength to confront reaction and finally ensure the achievement of the great goals of the democratic and national revolution.

The Portugal of April, the Portugal of the carnation revolution, the free, democratic and independent Portugal, the Portugal of the nationalizations, and of the agrarian reform, will be defended, consolidated. It will proceed finally on the road to socialism.

This is the program of the Portuguese communists. To achieve it, we will spare no effort or energy and, if necessary, will give our very lives.



DOCUMENTS

SUPPORT FOR THE PEOPLE OF SANDINO

*Statement by the Communist Parties
of Latin American Countries*

The heroic struggle long waged by the Nicaraguan people to overthrow the hated Somoza tyranny has reached its peak. It has been spreading from day to day under the leadership of the Sandinista National-Liberation Front, resolutely supported by the Patriotic Front and other democratic forces. All the peoples of Latin America and other countries admire this struggle for liberation and support it.

We leaders of the Communist parties of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Dominican Republic, Panama and El Salvador, urge the progressive forces of the world to enhance their solidarity with the Sandinista people engaged in armed struggle.

We welcome the solidarity with the people of Nicaragua expressed by Cuba and the whole socialist community, and also the dignified stand taken by Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia.

Only those who hate freedom and humanity, only the darkest and most reactionary forces, only those who oppress their own people or enslave and torture other peoples can come out in defense of the vile Somoza dictatorship and help it to massacre the Nicaraguan people up in open rebellion against the tyranny.

That is exactly what is taking place. U.S. imperialism, which installed the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua, and which built up and armed the National Guard, and has been supporting their opprobrious rule for over 40 years, is now the chief supplier of weapons, equipment and mercenaries to insurgent Nicaragua. The government of Israel, the strangler of the Palestine people and other Arab peoples, has been giving Somoza active and large-scale military aid. The fascist pro-imperialist governments of Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and Uruguay have been giving Somoza overt military support.

The imperialists, Zionists and fascists have grossly meddled in Nicaragua's affairs and trampled human rights in that country. The

progressive and democratic forces of the world will not remain indifferent in face of these violations of the Nicaraguan people's right to decide their own destiny. The governments abiding by international law, and international bodies, the United Nations in the first place, must condemn this high-handed and criminal intervention without delay.

Imperialists, Zionists and fascists, hands off Nicaragua!
Long live the Sandinista people up in arms!
Down with Somoza!

Luiz Carlos Prestes, General Secretary, CC Brazilian CP
Luis Corvalan, General Secretary, CP Chile
Narcisco Isa Conde, General Secretary, Dominican CP
Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary, People's Party of Panama
Antonio Maidana, First Secretary, CC Paraguayan CP
Schafik Jorge Handal, General Secretary, CC CP El Salvador
Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, CC CP Uruguay

June 8, 1979

FULFILLING THE FIRST CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Meeting, CC CP of Cuba

The eighth plenary meeting of the CC CPC, held on May 4, 1979, examined fulfillment of the First Congress decisions. Various agencies — party bodies, YCL, state and mass organizations — analyzed the results of the first three years of the 1976-80 plan period.

This analysis enabled the Central Committee to assess the gains, as well as the objective obstacles and subjective shortcomings which hamper effective realization of some goals and objectives of the five-year plan.

The results can be summed up as follows:

The output of sugar during the 1978 harvesting campaign exceeded 7.3 million tons, that is, one million tons more than in 1975.

Satisfactory results have been chalked up in the construction of four new sugar refineries. If the present pace is maintained, the five-year plan goals will be reached. At the same time, steps must be

taken to further the program of investments for the construction of new sugar refineries.

Beginning with 1976, the generation of electric power has been growing continuously. Consistent realization of investments will make it possible to produce 9 million kilowatt-hours of electric power in 1980.

During these years, industry was given priority in investment plans. Despite material shortages and shortcomings in this sector and in construction, the volume of investments averaged an annual 20 per cent increase in this period. This permitted the commissioning of a large number of industrial enterprises, including such important five-year plan projects as power stations (in the framework of the energy program), a sugar-cane harvester plant, two pipe and irrigation equipment factories, a battery and a tire works, a printing complex in Guantanamo, four plants for pasteurizing products, three bakeries and three poultry and meat-packing plants.

During this period foreign currency revenues from the export of foodstuffs have increased. Fishing now takes second place in bringing in convertible currency. High quality and an extensive variety of products have contributed to success in this sphere.

The output of citrus fruit averaged an annual 13 per cent increase. The program elaborated for 1979-80 suggests that the First Congress decisions will be fulfilled.

The output of eggs is growing apace. In 1978, despite the reduced area under crops and thanks to the 32 per cent increase in yields, a half a million quintals (1 quintal = 46.0 kg.) more paddy rice was produced than in 1975.

Over the first three years of the five-year period much has been done to reduce infantile mortality, which now amounts to 22.1 per thousand children below the age of one year. Such diseases as polio, tetanus, congenital malaria and diphtheria have been fully eradicated.

The objective of applying the system of economic management and its planning has been fulfilled by 96 per cent. The qualitative side of these results is less satisfactory owing to problems that keep cropping up in the course of deep-going changes. In this case they are due to the accelerated progress of introducing the economic management system, the differing levels of technical, material and spiritual development of economic departments, and the varying capacity of our cadres to assimilate new methods of work.

The Central Committee pointed out that during the three years that have elapsed since the Congress planned growth was seriously ham-

pered by the grave and inevitable consequences of objective external factors. The situation brought about by the lowering of sugar prices on the world market was aggravated by the crisis of capitalism, particularly the economic, currency and energy crisis, the crisis of international trade and runaway inflation. All this has resulted in higher prices of the manufactures and foodstuffs which Cuba has to buy on the capitalist market. These factors increasingly damage our trade balance with this market, restricting our opportunities for obtaining the necessary goods in the convertible currency zone.

But despite the substantial difficulties stemming from outside factors, appreciable headway has been made, though in some branches it falls short of the level envisaged by the First Congress directives for the current five-year period. These results were achieved not only through the efforts of our working people but also with the aid and cooperation of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, both in scientific and technical cooperation and in trade, which is conducted on a genuinely equitable basis. This helped to establish favorable relations of exchange for our economy, without which today's development level could not have been reached. Witness the situation in the underdeveloped countries and the non-oil producing countries. The crisis has paralyzed their development, leading to their regress and further impoverishment.

The meeting emphasized the significance of a policy aimed at ensuring the domestic production of spare parts, which is important above all for agriculture, the sugar industry and construction, for reducing imports from capitalist countries and ensuring spare parts for the basic types of production. It also stressed the need to increase the output of agricultural machines and spares, particularly sugar-cane harvesters.

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction the major successes in education. In the past few years the number of children attending school has substantially increased, particularly in the system of secondary education: whereas in 1959 there were 88,000 secondary school pupils, today they number more than a million. The number of places in the network of children's institutions has increased noticeably, the training of teachers has improved with a corresponding improvement of their qualifications, and more rational use is made of classrooms. Practically all children between 6 and 12 years of age now attend school. The network of specialized schools has expanded significantly.

The study-work principle is being further consolidated in the educational sphere.

The meeting stressed the need for more attention to upbringing in educational institutions, for carrying it out in close contact with the family, public and political organizations, thus helping to achieve the noble task of bringing up the younger generation in the communist spirit.

The formation of the Ministry of Higher Education, expansion of the network of higher educational institutions and reorganization of their work have yielded positive results, which must be consolidated. The number of students attending day and evening courses has increased, but on the whole the level of progress remains low. At present efforts are made to reach envisaged goals and to achieve qualitatively better results. Work is under way to improve the system of raising the qualification of scientific and pedagogical personnel.

Multilateral and bilateral scientific and technical contacts have developed satisfactorily. Headway has been made in resolving the fundamental problems of the sugar and food industry, fishing and the communications system. Scientific research for the practical application of the latest achievements in electronics and cybernetics and the use of mineral resources is also going on successfully.

Three years after the First Party Congress, the country can take pride in its extensive and solid gains in state construction. Ninety-eight per cent of the registered voters took part in the nationwide discussion of the Constitution, and 97.7 per cent voted for its adoption. Thus, the socialist Constitution was approved and proclaimed, and in accordance with it the state institutions were reorganized, a new politico-administrative division established, and a new system of economic organization of enterprises set up. All this is the result of the colossal and intensive organizational, juridical and practical work, comparable only to the measures implemented during the first years after the establishment of people's revolutionary power.

National, provincial and municipal bodies of state power have been set up and the administrative apparatus has been reorganized, particularly the division of state institutions into national-economic and sectoral. The work of the courts has been repatterned (they now also deal with labor legislation), and a state arbitration commission has been set up. The National Assembly of people's power has adopted 23 laws, which together with the decrees and decrees-laws constitute the foundation of the new juridical set-up of the state which is building a socialist society.

A struggle must be carried on in the administrative and state apparatus against the existing shortcomings, negligence and irresponsibility. In addition to ideological and political education and organizational measures, laws should be enforced against those who fail to discharge their duty to the people and the socialist state.

The Young Communist League has continued the work of educating the new generation in the spirit of working-class traditions of struggle and labor endeavor.

The YCL has done much to organize the movement of shock-work projects, which have acquired a nationwide scale. The YCL has mobilized the necessary labor force for these projects and has launched a drive for the fulfillment of production targets. Despite this, the youth is still not the most dynamic force at these construction sites.

The mass organizations have achieved good results in delimiting their tasks and functions from those of the administrative and state bodies.

The trade union movement has grown much stronger. It has fulfilled most of the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Workers' Central Union of Cuba, and has held its 14th Congress.

The CC pointed out aspects of trade union work which must be dealt with more vigorously and profoundly: the content of production meetings, participation by the trade unions and working people in discussing and resolving diverse socio-economic development problems and in mastering the new system of economic management and planning.

It is necessary to raise the role of the trade unions in the struggle against every manifestation of conformism, justification of deficiencies, irresponsibility and indolence, which seriously damage the country's economy.

The Defense of the Revolution committees continue to carry out the task of defending the revolution and combating individual manifestations of anti-social behavior, a heritage of the past. Special mention should be made of their participation in setting up organs of people's power, in supporting their activity and facilitating public activities.

The Federation of Cuban Women is engaged in raising the cultural and general educational standards of housewives. It has attained significant successes in raising the political and ideological level of women, in realizing their social equality with men, despite the fact that limitations stemming from the economic situation hamper the

solution of many problems of a material character and complicate the realization of this task.

The party has succeeded in improving its social composition and increasing working-class representation. Its membership has grown and the mechanism and methods of its relations with state institutions, the YCL, trade unions, National Association of Small Farmers, Federation of Cuban Women, Defense of the Revolution committees and other public organizations have improved, and its ties with the masses have grown stronger. The party has substantially improved its activity at all levels and the interaction between them, as well as its policy in relation to party cadres and control over their activity. At the same time, there are still shortcomings in the work of party bodies and primary organizations that must be overcome.

The sixth CC plenary meeting elected a National Control and Auditing Committee of the party and approved its Rules.

Subsequently, on the instruction of the Political Bureau, similar bodies were set up in provincial party committees.

The political and ideological training of party cadres and rank-and-file members at party schools and in the network of the party education system has improved, as has its efficiency, study plans and the teachers' qualifications.

The party's decisions on raising the cultural level of cadre and rank-and-file party members have been fulfilled satisfactorily.

The eighth CC CPC plenary meeting also examined fulfillment of the First Party Congress resolutions of foreign policy. It reiterated that they have been implemented in accordance with the principles set down in the resolutions.

The bonds of cooperation and inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union, with which we are linked by fraternal relations and common goals, continue to grow stronger. Relations with the other socialist-community countries have also become closer. The Communist Party of Cuba is working for stronger unity of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Exposure of the Chinese leaders' treachery is a permanent feature of our foreign policy activity, particularly in the recent period, which was marked by China's vile armed aggression against the heroic people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Proletarian internationalism is the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

In Latin America we are continuing our efforts to strengthen relations with the peoples of the region, in support of the fraternal

countries' unity against rapacious exploitation, interference and domination by U.S. imperialism. Despite the criminal blockade imposed by the United States and the illegal forcible occupation of part of our territory in Guantanamo, we are staunchly upholding our principles and resisting the pressure, predatory intentions and threats of imperialism aimed at eroding our sovereign policy.

The 11th World Festival of Youth and Students, held in Havana in July 1978, signified a substantial success for the progressive youth movement which upholds peace throughout the world.

The plenary meeting paid special attention to the movement of non-aligned states, which is to hold its sixth summit conference in Havana over September 3 to 7, 1979. In this respect every measure has been taken to consolidate the movement's unity, to safeguard its independence on the international arena and to support its struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid.

The plenary meeting emphasized that in implementing the decisions of the First Party Congress in an adverse international economic situation and despite the aforementioned difficulties and shortcomings, our people have in these past three years done much for the country's economic and social development. During this period the Cuban working people have on numerous occasions displayed exemplary labor endeavor and a genuine spirit of sacrifice, staunchness and dedication in building the socialist homeland.

These achievements palpably show the advantages of socialism and the enormous possibilities it opens up before the revolutionary peoples. They enable us to look to the future with still greater optimism. The remaining year and a half before the Second Party Congress will require of our working people and the people as a whole even more sustained and effective creative effort.

Accordingly, the eighth Central Committee plenary meeting urges all party bodies and YCL organizations, state administrative bodies, public and mass organizations to elaborate corresponding measures and to carry them out with enthusiasm and resolve. We are convinced that the summing up of results next year will show that we have all been worthy of our patriotic and revolutionary traditions, the international prestige of the Cuban revolution, the talent and wisdom of our party, the example of dedication, firmness, lucidity and audacity provided daily by our guide and leader, Fidel Castro.

Abridged from *Granma*, May 16, 1979

RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Statement by the FCP Political Bureau

The Political Bureau has made a preliminary analysis of the results of the elections to the European Parliament.

These elections were chiefly marked by a large number of abstentions; by the fact that the French Communist Party maintained its positions, receiving 20.6 per cent of the votes and 19 seats; by a drop in the number of votes cast for the Socialist Party, and by an overall maintenance of the positions of the right-wing forces with a swing within their ranks in favor of the Union for French Democracy, the party of the President of the Republic.

Various aspects of these elections show that the supranational projects ran up against the people's profound adherence to national realities.

1. The exceptionally high share of abstentions means a flagrant defeat for all the political forces which set up the Common Market and which are working for its extension and for more vigorous integration along supranational lines. These forces pivoted their campaign on confusion and demagoguery, but were unable to win the massive support of the French people. The large number of abstentions and unfilled ballots shows the doubts, resistance and mistrust on the part of millions of French men and women with respect to an operation which imperils the country's sovereignty and independence. The large number of votes cast for the "smaller party rolls" is yet another proof of the non-acceptance and disquiet.

2. By maintaining its percentage of the poll, the French Communist Party achieved a positive result.

The millions of men and women who voted for the FCP have rejected foggy and chosen clarity and honesty. They went all out in their intention to oppose supranational Europe, the Europe of capital, and to fight for a fraternal and peaceful Europe of the working people.

They explicitly expressed their intention to combat the anti-socialist policy of Giscard, Barre and Ceyrac and to defend the advantages, rights and freedoms acquired in the course of a noble struggle by generations of citizens, of the working people, to preserve national sovereignty.

In so doing, they wanted to promote the building of a new, powerful and lasting union, for which the French Communist Party has been fighting. Their merit in making this choice is all the greater because Francois Mitterrand and the leaders of the Socialist Party (notably, in the final phase of the electoral campaign) displayed, with respect to the French Communist Party, its activists and leaders, an aggressiveness which one has not seen in France for many years.

3. Quite obviously, this anti-communist attitude had a dual purpose: to camouflage the convergence of the Socialist Party's line with the perspectives of Giscard d'Estaing and his followers, and to overcome the difficulties faced by the Socialist Party in working for an acceptance by the rank-and-file socialists of its common front with Helmut Schmidt's Social-Democratic Party of Germany. These growing difficulties are confirmed by the drop in the number of votes cast for the Socialist Party.

These facts throw into relief the noxiousness of the Socialist Party's right-wing orientation. By refusing to fight for effective anti-capitalist reform, by proposing solutions similar to those advanced by the right-wing parties, and by practising an anti-communist policy, the Socialist Party helps the right-wing forces to maneuver and to stay in power. The successes of the conservatives in the Common Market countries serve to confirm this.

4. The June 10 returns constitute a good base from which our party can and must develop its activity.

Some dreamed of a historical decline of the French Communist Party. After Giscard d'Estaing, François-Poncet even went to the extent of announcing as much in the United States a few days ago. Extraordinary pressure was put on the working people, on the electors, on the communists themselves in order to bring about such a decline, to push the French Communist Party into the background, and to reduce it to the status of a mere auxiliary force, an instrument of social-democratic policy. The outcome of the June 10 elections, held after the cantonal elections, provides convincing proof of the futility of this dream. All those who cherished it and worked for its realization are obliged to reckon with the facts. This is the major lesson to be drawn from the elections.

That is why the results of the elections strengthen the communists in their intention to sustain and extend all the necessary action against the austerity, the high cost of living, the unemployment and against the encroachments on the rights and freedoms that have been gained. The working people can count on them.

The June 10 returns will strengthen the communists' determination to put into effect the decisions of the 23rd Congress, to extend in every area, with spirited initiative, all the opportunities offered by these returns. In accordance with the decisions of the Congress, the communists will try to remedy the faults and insufficiencies, including those which came to light as a result of the elections. In their continued efforts to reinforce the party, they will do their utmost to make it increasingly a party of struggle working in the very midst of the masses. In their day-to-day activity, they will work to inspire, enlighten, organize and unite. This is how they will help the working people, the young, the women and the intelligentsia to achieve the changes the latter need.

L'Humanité, June 11, 1979

DEFEND MAY DAY GAINS AGAINST ATTACKS BY REACTION AND FASCISM

A Communiqué of the Communist Party of Turkey

The working class and the national-democratic forces of Turkey marked May Day, the day of international unity and solidarity of the working people, by mass demonstrations in Izmir and Mersin, which were disciplined and well organized. They stood up in defense of May Day against attacks by the reactionary and fascist forces. They have been strengthening their unity of action and cohesion of their ranks above all in the struggle against NATO and U.S. imperialism, against the fascist danger, and against the state of emergency and the government's measures designed to lower living standards.

Despite all the bans and efforts to divide the various contingents of the democratic forces, the bloc of the bourgeoisie, the government and the military failed to intimidate the working class of Turkey and to make it depart from its road. The provocative trap laid by the country's ruling circles failed to work. The moves by the bourgeoisie by means of which it had hoped to prevent the holding of May Day demonstrations by the working class and the other working people were a fiasco.

The CPT sends its greetings to all the workers, members of the

trade union DISK and TURK-IS associations, the peasants, the working people, the progressive and revolutionary young people and women who on May Day displayed great courage, and a high level of class awareness, and carried high the banner of national independence, democracy, peace and socialism. The party conveys its congratulations on this success to the communists, socialists, the members of the Republican People's Party (RPP) and Kurd democrats who staged the May Day demonstrations in a united and orderly manner, and also to all the working people who came from all over the country to participate in this great hundred-thousand-strong manifestation in Izmir.

That day, the government sent its troops against the people. It intensified the terrorism first in the provinces in which the state of emergency had been declared, and then all over the country. Millions of inhabitants of Istanbul were prohibited from going out into the streets. With the mass arrests, the government turned the stadiums into concentration camps. It ordered the arrest of members of the DISK Executive Committee, the chairmen of the Workers' Party and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey. It announced the closure of democratic associations. The government, relying on a majority of the RPP and joining with the forces of reaction, countered the peaceful demonstration with terrorism. Its encroachment on the workers' democratic rights and freedoms has gone hand in hand with an ever wilder anti-communist slander campaign and chauvinistic repression of the Kurds. This process is closely bound up with its policy of diktat and pressure, which is conducted with respect to our country by the NATO countries, U.S. imperialism and the International Monetary Fund.

The CPT demands the release of members of the DISK Executive Committee, the chairmen of the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey and all the patriots arrested on May Day, and also an end to the judicial proceedings started against them. There must be an end to the bandit raids on Kurdish villages. The state of emergency must be lifted. The Nationalist Radical Party and all the centers which stage terroristic acts must be outlawed. The diktat of imperialism, NATO and the IMF must be resisted. The CPT urges the communists, socialists, social democrats and all the members of the RPP and Kurdish democrats to join together in resisting these moves and to strengthen the unity of their ranks.

*Central Committee
Communist Party of Turkey*

FROM THE PRESS

OPPORTUNISM — THE DESTRUCTIVE GERM

Gus Hall
General Secretary CPUSA

In a basic sense, all varieties of opportunism have one root and a single purpose. It is an unnecessary and unprincipled accommodation and, in the end, a capitulation to the pressures of the enemy. It is a sacrificing of the longer-term and more basic interests of the working class and the people behind the guise of getting concessions on some immediate questions. "It is the preachment of class peace."

Opportunism is the product of political and ideological corruption. In many cases the interest of the class is exchanged for some personal gain or bouquet for the opportunist. Opportunism is an evasion of principle. It spins a soft silken web over the basic contradiction between working-class interests and capitalist class interests. It works to place the working class and people's interests into the shadow of capitalist class interests. With opportunism, the unnecessary and unprincipled compromises and accommodations are always at the expense of the exploited.

In the world arena, the unnecessary and unprincipled accommodations and capitulations are always at the expense of world socialism and national liberation and the working-class movement. Opportunism prepares the political and ideological soil that leads to co-optation by the enemy.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Opportunism often becomes a force that links different ideological currents, which then feed on each other. Birds with opportunistic feathers tend to flock together. Lenin wrote about one such linkage:

"Opportunism and social chauvinism have the same political content, namely, class collaboration, repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repudiation of revolutionary action, unconditional acceptance of bourgeois legality, confidence in the bourgeoisie and lack of confidence in the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin, *Against Re-*

visionism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 275-6.) And,

“Social chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form. It is quite ripe for an open, frequently vulgar alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staff.” (*Ibid.*)

The linkage between opportunism and social chauvinism continues to this very day. The “vulgar alliance” between the Maoist social chauvinists and U.S. imperialism is “opportunism in its finished form.”

There is a similar linkage between opportunism and racism. Whenever there is an opportunistic, evasive approach to the issues of the class struggle, there is also an opportunistic silence or evasion of the struggle against racism. They are birds of a feather. They feed on each other and both are an accommodation to the pressures of monopoly capital.

MAOISM: TWO SIDES OF ONE COIN

If the political and ideological antibodies are not on the job, opportunism takes qualitative leaps and very quickly reaches the point where it turns into complete capitulation and betrayal of working-class interests. However, even when opportunism reaches the level of betrayal, because it is unprincipled it still tries to operate behind a smoke screen of radical and even revolutionary clichés. Maoism is a most clear-cut showcase of opportunism, including its ugly, final decaying stage, in which opportunism and social chauvinism have become fully developed and have formed an alliance with imperialism. Maoism has become “overripe for its open, vulgar alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staff.”

The military aggression against the people of Vietnam by China is a classic example of the end result of bourgeois nationalism and opportunism when they go unchallenged.

From the day it took root in the Communist Party of China, Maoism has been, in its basic essence, anti-working class. Maoism is a mixture of petty-bourgeois radical empty-headedness, the backward mentality of the feudal warlords, the arrogant nationalism of the capitalist class — all wrapped up and held together with the glue of opportunism. It has trained a leading cadre of imperialist-oriented, unprincipled opportunists.

China's military aggression is anti-working-class, anti-socialist and anti-national liberation. This criminal attack should provoke second thoughts among many forces within the world revolutionary process. The leaders, including communist leaders, who have for opportunis-

tic reasons encouraged and fed Maoism must in all honesty take a second, hard look at what they have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the present criminal acts of Maoism. Without the opportunistic encouragement by forces within the world revolutionary process Maoism would most likely not have reached the present ugly stage.

The opportunistic fig leaves that "Maoism is China's internal affair," or "We should not criticize other parties," or "We treat each party equally, in the same manner" have been blown away. If we are to learn anything we must draw the lesson that not to fight opportunism within the ranks of the forces of the world revolutionary process is itself opportunism and can only lead to serious set-backs.

Maoism is also proof of how the right and "left" varieties of opportunism are, in fact, two sides of one coin. Until a few years ago Maoism covered itself with the most left radical and revolutionary words and phrases of any in the world. They accused everybody of being soft and prettifying U.S. imperialism. Trade with the U.S. was "betrayal." Agreement to stop atmospheric A-bomb testing was "being a dupe of U.S. imperialism." Calling for a coalition against the monopolies was "reformism," etc. It was always obvious that this was a phony cover for opportunism. So without stopping to take a breath Maoism switched and became the real prettifier of U.S. imperialism. The switch was easy because it was only a change of covers.

OUR HISTORY AND OPPORTUNISM

As a rule, political parties, like individuals, would like to forget that which is unpleasant in their past. In this sense, the Communist Party is different. It is not that we enjoy going over past errors. However, we believe it is necessary for two reasons: to be serious about the present requires honesty about the past, and it is a way of learning from history.

It is easier for political parties to review past errors after they have been corrected and time has eased the pain. After the passing of time it is also easier, in retrospect, to be more objective about one's mistakes. Hindsight is always more objective. The passing of time erases the subjective and the elements of "extenuating circumstances" that surround all events.

Reviews by political opponents are not honest or truthful because they concentrate on and exaggerate the weaknesses and errors. This has been the case with the errors in our party's history which are identified with "Browderism." Most so-called histories of Brow-

derism are one-sided, slanted and out of context. The truth is that even during the period of the errors the Communist Party continued to make important contributions to the struggles and movements of the people.

In a sense this year is an anniversary. Forty years ago was the beginning of a period of the influence of opportunism. However, the main feature of the party's work in this period was not negative. The party continued to initiate and lead struggles in many important areas. In their everyday activities most of the party members paid little attention to Browder's pronouncements. Their activities cannot be characterized as opportunistic.

Opportunism is not a newcomer on the U.S. political and ideological scene. It has always been the unwelcome, unwanted camp follower in and around the working-class and revolutionary movements. The "crude, cynical" class collaborationist variety has been the official policy of the top trade union leadership most of the time.

Opportunism is a most insidious virus. And, like a virus, it penetrates a healthy, living cell unnoticed. Throughout each of the phases of its growth the change is ever so slight. There is always a logical-sounding defense for each new step.

Because a serious working-class revolutionary party must always look for better ways of carrying out its tasks, opportunism also picks this as a convenient vehicle. That is why for periods it goes undetected.

Tactics are a necessary feature in any struggle. They are a way of dealing with the constantly changing conditions of the forces involved. Without tactics the working class and the progressive forces in general would become sitting ducks. Hence, for as long as possible opportunism presents itself as a "tactical" variation.

Opportunists always attach themselves to the correct idea that life constantly produces new phenomena. Therefore, they say, all they are doing is "reflecting on the new developments."

Again, this is a convenient cover because a Marxist-Leninist party, basing itself on a science, must keep abreast of what is new and must reflect on and respond to all new questions.

The science of Marxism-Leninism makes it possible not only to see what is new; it is also a guide that tells us how to look at what is new. Here opportunism and Marxism-Leninism part company. Capitalism gives rise to new factors. But the new never replaces the basic essence of classes, class exploitation and the class struggle. Within capitalism these are constants.

For the opportunist, the "new" starts by minimizing, downgrading and finally replacing the class essence of capitalism. Their "new," as a rule, is an attempt to conjure up an image in which the class struggle disappears, the class contradiction fades into a maze of contradictions and the working class blends into and becomes "the people" or "the poor."

Life gives rise to new situations. But as long as there is capitalism the "new" situations will never be able to develop outside of the class reality. The "new" will not be able to exist alone or to ignore the system of class exploitation and the irreconcilable class antagonisms. The "new" will always develop within the general confines of the class struggle. Opportunism maneuvers to take the "new" outside of this class framework.

In its basic essence, opportunism is an accommodation to the pressures of the enemy. The accommodation is always at the expense of the working class.

OPPORTUNISM'S LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT

Of necessity, opportunism deals with and thrives on falsehoods. It manufactures and rests on false premises. It conjures up false images of Marxism-Leninism and then proceeds to battle against the non-existing windmills.

Opportunists always keep repeating the clichés: "We are original;" "We are democratic;" "We are creative and innovative;" "We are autonomous." They frame these clichés in a manner that would induce people to draw the conclusion that other Marxist-Leninist parties are *not* "autonomous," "creative," "democratic." It is opportunism to keep repeating such clichés when it is common knowledge that there are no threats or dangers to any party's "autonomy" or "creativity."

Opportunism has its own inner laws of development. Each defense of an old, wrong position becomes a further step on the path toward the swamp of opportunism.

Beginning insidiously and unnoticed, opportunism very quickly goes for the jugular vein of the revolutionary body politic. It very quickly attacks the question of class, the class struggle and the class approach to problems.

The main contention of capitalist ideology has always been that capitalism and the capitalist class represent the interests of all the people, that there are no classes or separate class interests and therefore no need for a class struggle.

RETREAT FROM THE CLASS QUESTION

The development of Browderism was also a process of softening and backing away from the class question. The "people's front" was interpreted as a substitute for the class struggle. The "united front" and the "Communist Association" replaced the Communist Party. The "people's movements" replaced the working class. Opportunism took the correct concepts of "people's front," "united front" and "people's movements" and injected into them an opportunist content.

Following in the footsteps of other opportunists, Browder tried to sidestep scientific thinking, especially Marxist-Leninist concepts. This is understandable since Marxism-Leninism has its very roots in the class struggle, the very idea Browder worked so hard to bypass and cover up.

Browder concentrated on the pragmatic approach:

"National unity must be built on the foundation of an economic program which does not contradict the prevailing ideology, in which conflicting class and national interests can be reconciled."

It is clear Browder was for a "national unity" in which the interests of the working class were "reconciled" and buried. The corporations are always for "national unity," for "reconciling" class interests, as long as they can continue exploiting the workers, as long as the "unity" does not interfere with their profit-making process.

Thus, working-class interests were placed in the shadow of ruling-class interests. This was an accommodation to the "prevailing ideology," the ideology that upholds and apologizes for capitalism.

NEGATING THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

In his opportunism, Browder tried to bypass the concept that the inner workings of capitalism designate the working class as the only revolutionary class, the class which life under capitalism compels to take the lead in the struggle for social progress. Browder, in his opportunism, put on the shelf the unavoidable truth that the working class must of historic necessity take the lead in the struggle for and the building of socialism.

Therefore, in his fantasy world the question of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" also becomes a moot question. If the "intelligent men" would go along without resistance, there was no need for the working class to express its class will. The concept became "useless" because the concept of the advanced role of the working class was "an old, useless formula."

For Browder, the dropping of the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not a matter of semantics. No one has ever insisted that the exact words must always be used. If an idea can be expressed with words in more current usage, or words that express the concept more precisely, that is how the idea should be presented.

However, for Browder, the dropping of the words reflected the discarding of the concept — the discarding of the concept reflected the repudiation of the concept of class struggle and the role of the working class. They were all concessions and accommodations to the pressures of the corporate trusts. It was an effort to become "respectable" and acceptable in the eyes of those who did not accept the concept of the class struggle.

Later it became clear that the discarding of the class concepts were related to the more basic, unstated capitulation flowing from a deep lack of confidence in the working class.

And the first step in avoiding a socialist revolution was to give the people false hope of being able to remedy the evils and eliminate the greed of the monopolies.

This echo sounds familiar today. Browder's pledge was to work for capitalism without crises; a pledge to work for a life without struggle; a pledge to work for stability, for the policy of not rocking the boat and not trying to change the balance of forces that would destabilize the situation.

In today's world such concepts are even more ridiculous because the world revolutionary process is a process of continually and inevitably changing the balance of world forces and rocking the boat of world imperialism.

At different stages of history and in different countries opportunism uses different words. However, capitulation in any language is still capitulation. Opportunism speaks with the same political and ideological tongue. The seeds, the roots of opportunism remain basically the same, as the following examples strikingly demonstrate:

Earl Browder: "The decisive sections of American capitalists have abandoned the old policy of hard-boiled reaction and imperialism."

In working to win over the bourgeoisie Mao Tse-tung proposed: "To achieve this aim we should be prudent in dealing with the economic position of this class and, in principle, should adopt a blanket policy of protecting them."

And not long after, Roger Garaudy: "What can be done here and now is to press the United States for a form of capitalism that has human goals — for a purposeful capitalism. It is the only way to bring

about a regeneration, and to open up the prospect of a creative future for the United States and the world."

Such are the words of capitulation, in any language. They are all advocates of the alliance of "intelligent men."

One step followed another. Once the class approach, the class struggle and the role of the working class is repudiated it follows logically that there is no real need for a revolutionary working-class party that represents the working class in all its struggles.

Thus, the Browder-led process of liquidating the Communist Party set in.

This process of liquidation did not start with organizational or physical liquidation. The process was one of first liquidating the role, the functions, of the party. Slowly, the party gave up taking independent positions. Less and less, it spoke in its own name. More and more, it became only the supporter of movements led by other forces. There was an acceptance of the cockeyed idea that the party "narrowed down" mass movements, and that anything that was non-party was "broad." Even a unity with small "left" sects who influenced no one became an obstacle to Browder's opportunism.

Browder kept denying that he was liquidating the Communist Party. Each new opportunistic step was presented as necessary, as a way of giving the party a "broad," a "mass" base. But it became an obstacle to the alliance of "intelligent men."

Opportunism reduced the party and warped its policies so they would be "acceptable" to the most backward sectors of the people. However, as the party's base moved toward the less politically developed section of the population it also began to lose its influence with the more politically and ideologically advanced sectors of the people. This is always the result of opportunistic policies.

There was a softening up of the party's position against our own imperialism. It was easier to talk about "imperialism in general," or against the "imperialist oppression" of some other country.

Step by step the imperialist essence and the struggle against U.S. capitalism was shifted to the back burner. Browder even objected to any discussion that would have updated the study of imperialism. He opposed all efforts to examine imperialism concretely. In the final stages, Browder denied its very existence. This was a concession to monopoly capital because any scientific examination would have exposed the inherent and continuing rapacious nature of the U.S. imperialist monster.

Browder worked out and presented extensive plans for long-range

economic, Common Market-like arrangements between U.S. imperialism and other capitalist countries, especially between the United States and the countries of Latin America. What was obviously missing in these plans was any mention of the struggle for the interests of the working class. It was argued and "assumed" that some of the benefits of these plans would "trickle down" to the workers of each country. This was an opportunistic concession to influences of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism.

Opportunists always back away from taking a forthright stand against the imperialism of their own country because they do not believe it is possible to convince workers that it is in their self-interest to oppose the imperialist policies of their own country. This backing away is an accommodation and a concession to bourgeois nationalism. Opportunism and bourgeois nationalism invariably become inseparable.

The party also softened its position in the struggle against racism. This was in line with the opportunist capitulation to the pressures of the enemy.

When one understands racism as a special instrument of exploitation and extra corporate profits, then it becomes clear why opportunism always accommodates and retreats from the struggle against racism as it does from the class struggle.

Racism has always been a central pillar of the ideology of imperialism. For U.S. capitalism, racism has always been and remains an instrument of both its foreign and domestic operations. The explains why the weaknesses in the struggle against racism have always been so closely tied in with all expressions of opportunism.

Browder's blueprint for a peaceful path of no struggle was an opportunistic illusion in which there was no struggle for socialism. It was an illusion because no matter how influential a working-class party becomes it can not, in advance, promise that the capitalist class will bow to the desires of the majority. Even a majority vote does not guarantee such a development. The majority must always be prepared for counter-attacks, for counter-revolution.

A working-class revolutionary party can promise to seek for the most peaceful path that is possible. But it cannot make promises or give guarantees, because it cannot speak for monopoly capital.

The undoing of Browder opportunism was the hard realities of life itself. The class struggle would not go away. Monopoly capital continued to exploit the working class. It refused to be guided by Browder's "common sense." U.S. imperialism did not give up its drive for

world domination. Its class policies had nothing to do with being intelligent or not being intelligent. They were dictated by the inner laws of capitalism.

The leadership and membership of the Communist Party who had, to one extent or another, gone along with the more "honest" varieties of Browder opportunism resoundingly rejected the "crude, cynical" varieties. The party resolutely returned to the policies of class struggle, the path of socialism, and to seeing the science of Marxism-Leninism as its compass, its guiding light.

By drawing the necessary lessons from the errors, the Communist Party, USA has continued to lead and make contributions to the struggles of the working class and the people of the United States. The "crude, cynical" stage of Browderism forced our party to take a hard, deep look as to where Browder's opportunism was leading the party.

The criminal, counter-revolutionary actions and policies of the Maoists compel the leaders in all sectors of the world revolutionary process to take a new hard look at a number of basic questions.

For some time, there has been a recognition that because the world revolutionary process takes in a wide spectrum, including the movements for national liberation and revolutionary movements in countries that are mainly involved in agriculture and lands where the remnants of feudalism are still strong, there is a massive influx into the revolutionary movements of people who have not had working-class experience. This is an overall positive historic development. However, what has not been given enough attention is that these non-working-class forces also bring with them non-working-class ideas. They are not familiar with the class struggle from their own experience. They must get this from the experiences of other struggles.

In the struggle for national liberation and in the anti-imperialist movements, nationalist sentiments have played a positive role. As a result of the victories of the forces of the world revolutionary process, the balance of world forces has shifted against imperialism. Imperialism has been forced to retreat.

The new hard look should include examining whether the influx of non-working-class ideas and concepts, including the influences of nationalism, is being accepted, passively, without an ideological struggle, in the hope that the experiences within the revolutionary process will give these non-working-class masses the understanding of the class struggle.

While recognizing the positive aspects of petty-bourgeois nationalism in some phases of the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, the new hard look should include an examination of whether there has been the necessary struggle against its negative side and against its use by reactionary forces, and whether the historic period of its maximum positive effects has not passed.

The new hard look should include an examination of the damage that results from replacing working-class ideas, working-class solidarity, working-class internationalism, with appeals to nationalism, even when it is for a good cause.

The assessment that the balance of world forces has shifted is correct. However, the new hard look should include whether some forces and parties have not drawn wrong conclusions from this correct assessment. Some seem to have concluded that because of the shift the world revolutionary process will continue without a struggle. This leads to accommodation and capitulation to imperialism.

The new hard look must include a study of wrong conclusions and erroneous ideas about the very correct and necessary concepts of détente and coexistence. Some conclusions are based on the illusion that because imperialism is forced to retreat and accept détente, it also gives up its aggressive intentions. This leads to opportunistic agreement with imperialism.

It is necessary to take a new hard look at the ideological long-range effects of anti-Sovietism, a new look at the responsibility of the forces within the world revolutionary process who have, for opportunistic reasons, encouraged others or have themselves participated in spreading anti-Soviet slanders and, therefore, the contribution they have made to the development of Maoism to its present stage.

It is necessary to take a new hard look at these developments because they are at the root of some of the opportunistic developments.

There is a need for a process of continuous exchange among Marxist-Leninist parties, among leaders of all the forces propelling the world revolutionary process. There is a critical need to strengthen the working-class, Marxist-Leninist antibodies in the world revolutionary movement.

The recent actions of the Maoists, including the despicable, monstrous aggression against socialist Vietnam is a setback for the forces of the world revolutionary process. However, it can also be the historic turning point in the struggle against opportunism.

Abridged from *Political Affairs*, May 1979

JAMAICA: AT MERCY OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Trevor Munroe

General Secretary, Workers Party of Jamaica

The Evans family is a typical working-class family in Jamaica. Father earns \$40 a week, mother does a little day's work now and then.

The children did not go to school all last week because it was rent week. This takes over 30 per cent of the family's small income and they are two weeks in arrears. The Evanses could not afford the bus fares and lunch money for the children. Bus fares have just gone up another five cents.

Chicken necks and backs, canned mackerel and sardines have been the family's only meat for some time now, with flour dumplings and rice making up the rest of the meal. Under a new round of price increases announced in February, chicken necks and backs have gone up from 38 cents to 47 cents a pound — an increase of 24 per cent — and a tin of sardines has moved up 30 per cent. The immediate cause of the price increases has been the removal of subsidies from basic foods and the continued series of monthly mini-devaluations, both dictated to the government as a condition of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreement, signed in May last year.

In return for making available to Jamaica \$240 million over three years to meet critical foreign exchange needs, the IMF has laid down harsh conditions which fall mainly on the backs of the working people.

The IMF negotiating team demanded and got the Jamaican government to agree to a further devaluation of the Jamaican dollar of about 20 per cent followed by a series of mini-devaluations amounting to 15 per cent over a one-year period. (The IMF had earlier gotten the government to devalue twice, in 1977 and again in 1978.)

On top of this, the IMF got the removal of strict price controls and its replacement by guarantees of a 20 per cent return on capital, a 15 per cent limit on wage increases, and sharp cutbacks in government expenditure on state projects and social services were imposed. Taxes on the consumption of working people were sharply increased.

As part of the IMF "growth strategy" the government has been

required to give new incentives to the foreign and local capitalists to increase investment and production. Relations with the socialist countries, which had shown great potential for expansion following the signing of trade and economic cooperation agreements with the Soviet Union, are still on the back-burner.

An important part of the IMF agreement has been a carefully designed aid consortium under the auspices of the World Bank made up of the major capitalist countries and lending agencies operating in the Caribbean. This brainchild . . . doles out a small but steady diet of loans and grants on condition that the government sticks to the IMF agreement.

The results of these measures have been drastic. Inflation, fueled by devaluation, higher consumption taxes and the loosening of price controls, increased from 14 per cent in 1977 to 47 per cent in 1978. Real wages fell about 30 per cent. Unemployment is now around 25 per cent of the labor force and layoffs are continuing. Despite the concessions to local and foreign capitalists, export production continues to falter, and more alarming, 34 per cent of export receipts now go to paying off the growing foreign debt.

Jamaica, like most Third World countries, is deeply locked into the international capitalist economic system. Some 70 per cent of exports and 60 per cent of imports are with the U.S., Canada and the UK. Bauxite and aluminum, sugar and tourism account for 80 per cent of income. The bauxite and aluminum multinationals — Kaiser, Reynolds, Alcoa and Alcan — together still own \$2 billion worth of investments in the island.

Added to the effect of the economic crisis were the effects of the destabilization campaign waged by the U.S. administration in 1975 and 1976. Under the influence of progressive currents inside and outside of the ruling People's National Party (PNP), the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley had embarked on a program of anti-imperialist measures and internal reforms.

These moves were of deep concern to U.S. imperialism. When Henry Kissinger, then secretary of state, visited Jamaica early in 1976, he told Manley: end the close relations with the socialist community and Cuba in particular, and all the doors of U.S. assistance will be open to you. If you persist, you will pay the price.

To Manley's credit, the government did not draw back and Jamaica announced its support for the MPLA in Angola and for Cuba's role in stopping the NATO-CIA-backed and South African forces from their invasion of Angola.

Economic and political sabotage was intensified. Economic destabilization was aimed particularly at bauxite and tourism while financial support and guidance went out to terrorist groups and CIA front organizations springing up overnight. Instead of intimidating the Jamaican masses, the hostile tactics united them and the PNP swept in a landslide victory over the right-wing Jamaica Labour Party in December 1976.

The struggle grew between those forces who argued that the government should rely on the IMF to overcome the balance of payments problems and those on the left, including the Workers Party of Jamaica, who argued that it was precisely because of the worsening effects of the world economic crisis that the government should not accept the terms of the IMF but seek a more progressive solution in closer relations with the socialist countries and deeper economic and social reforms.

The Manley government's decision to accept the IMF agreement was in large part due to the continued strength of the capitalist class within the PNP government and within Jamaica generally. The capitalists felt that a rejection of the IMF loan would mean a severe weakening of their own positions in the country and fought this course bitterly.

The working class, on the other hand, was still weakened by its own divisions and the lack of a strong communist vanguard. It was partly in order to remedy this weakness and to strengthen the struggle against imperialism that the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ) was formed in December 1978.

The WPJ and other left forces within and outside the PNP have warned that the IMF agreement would lead to a strengthening of the right wing in the country and eventual defeat for the PNP. These warnings have begun to materialize.

On January 8, 9 and 10 the opposition Jamaica Labour Party led demonstrations against the increased gasoline prices which were joined by thousands of taxi-drivers, motorists, small businessmen and unemployed and by a small section of the workers. These demonstrations were island-wide in character and led to the barricade of all key roads and highways. Although the majority of the working class remained on the sidelines there was widespread sympathy for the demonstrators.

On February 19, after announcement of a new wave of price increases, the JLP called for a lockout of all private business. The merchants, shopkeepers and a large section of the industrialists

closed their doors in a lockout which put the government further on the defensive. The prospect is for increasing street actions by the reactionary forces leading to the resignation or overthrow of the government if the present course is maintained.

The progressive forces, while defending the government from the reactionary attempts to overthrow it, have been mobilizing mass pressure for abandoning the IMF agreement. Many organizations and unions including those affiliated to the PNP have come out against the terms of the agreement. This struggle is being carried out in a complex situation where the reactionary forces have been gaining strength and have the ability to take over and lead in a right-wing direction mass demonstrations or protests initiated by the left. Despite this these mass struggles have been making gains.

There are some signs that the Manley government may be responding to the growing popular discontent. The government has announced that it intends to renegotiate the IMF agreement to bring a stop to the continuing devaluations. A long awaited law on the disclosure of accounts in trade union negotiations is being brought to Parliament. There are some indications that the economic relations with the Soviet Union are being given greater priority. These developments are being followed closely in Washington. But such steps, while important, are still a long way from the measures needed to halt the deteriorating situation. Neither the working class and its allies, nor the big capitalists and imperialists, will be satisfied with them.

Daily World, May 17, 1979

CHILE: A YEAR OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

Under this title, the Italian journal *Rinascita* carried on May 4 the following article by *Luis Guastavino*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile.

The year 1978 was of tremendous importance for Chile. Mass action was staged virtually every day. This gradually undermined the power of the junta and helped to strengthen the democratic unity which will lead to Pinochet's overthrow. In early January, a mass demonstration was held in face of repression to protest against the fraudulent referendum staged by Pinochet. At the end of December,

demonstrators marched through the streets of Santiago to demand an inquiry into the discovery of bodies at the mines of Loquen and Cuesta Barriga. It subsequently came to light that these were bodies of prisoners declared to be "missing." Nor should one forget that the working people marked May Day in 1978: they assembled in Pedro Aguirre Cerda Square; after a fierce clash with the police which tried to dispel them, the manifestation continued in the streets of the city, where workers handed out leaflets, and then in the Church of San Francisco. The presence of 22 foreign trade union delegations testified to fraternal internationalist solidarity.

Since then, the working class has been the initiator and active participant in the most resolute action in support of democracy, confirming the historical role which it has played in recent decades. There were also the hunger strike staged by miners at the Chuquicamata open-cast copper mines; the world's largest, which forced the authorities to introduce a state of siege, and the countless actions by the Association of Relatives of Missing Persons in the course of which women were most outstanding in their efforts to prevent Pinochet from making international and Chilean opinion forget about the problem. The list could be continued, but these examples show very well that the "Solidarity with the Fighting Chilean People" slogan is being successfully translated into life.

All the action against fascism — whether by the trade unions, students, young people, women and the middle strata — has been marked by broad unity. It is safe to say that the divide now no longer runs between the supporters and opponents of the Popular Unity government, but between a majority of the nation and a handful of people (monopoly trusts and the oligarchy) supporting the dictatorship. That is a great defeat for Pinochet. Important democratic demands have gradually taken shape, and these constitute a militant platform supported by the broadest sections of the country and widely echoed throughout the world. Resolutions by the United Nations and other international bodies, national parliaments, political parties, religious leaders and major trade union associations, all of these are manifestations of vigilance with respect to the dictatorship and concrete help to the Chilean people.

In this situation, the process in which the democratic forces seek to reach agreement has successfully continued. The resumption of struggle by the working class has led to the establishment of a National Trade Union Coordination Center, on which individual groupings of the Popular Unity coalition and the CDP are represented, and

which is having an influence on a sizable part of the country's industrial proletariat. The 24-man commission set up to reject the constitution by means of which Pinochet wants to legalize fascism and to demand the convocation of a free Constituent Assembly, includes lawyers and representatives of all parties: the Popular Unity coalition, the CDP, the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) and also right-wing leaders taking a negative attitude to the dictatorship, and members of the former National Party. The Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Union in Defense of Culture, and the Chilean Human Rights Committee have a similar make-up, with official representatives from the Chilean Catholic Church, and also the Youth Council in Defense of Human Rights. All these unitary initiatives, while not yet signifying complete unity anticipate fresh steps in this direction, although, of course, all manner of difficulties are bound to appear.

International opinion is being given contradictory information on Chile's economic condition. That is why it is necessary to emphasize some facts which have to be reckoned with. The September 11, 1973, putsch was carried out, in particular, in order to impose an economic policy that would cater for the interests of the transnational monopolies based in New York, and Chile's urban and agrarian oligarchy.

Within a month of the putsch, the leadership of the CP Chile predicted that this fascist-type economic policy would first hit the working class, and then have an effect on all the other working people, the small and middle businessmen, and broad sections of the national bourgeoisie. Unemployment is at a level unprecedented in the country's history. Hundreds of companies go bankrupt; others close down their enterprises to use their capital in highly profitable but non-productive export-import operations. Textiles worth \$144 million have been imported (as compared with an average of \$14 million in the past), while Chile's major textile enterprise Fiap Tome has been closed down, resulting in the dismissal of 877 workers. The state services are being dismantled and gradually reprivatized. This has happened with the railways, and also with the national medical service, which now has fewer hospital beds than it had in 1952. These few examples show that the hard economic condition induces all the working people, the middle strata and the numerous groupings of the national bourgeoisie to voice protests.

It is safe to say that the Pinochet dictatorship has not been consolidated, and can hardly be consolidated for the three reasons mentioned above: the economic situation, the working people's struggle

and the rising political activity. The two latter factors have been and will continue to be of much importance, notably because of international solidarity.

The year 1979 will be a year of massive and decisive struggle: two demonstrations — one in Santiago and the other in Loquén, where the bodies of missing prisoners were discovered — were already held in January. The meetings were addressed by spokesmen of the political groups, demanding an investigation of the matter. In February, employees of the national airline resolutely opposed the dismissal of 2,400 persons. The anniversary of Chile's United Working People's Trade Union Center, which Pinochet would like to eliminate, was also marked in February. Then, on the initiative of the National Trade Union Coordination Center, and two trade unions — the National Union of Working People, which is still loyal to Pinochet, and the Confederation of Employees of Private Enterprises, which has up to now not supported the unity line — a press conference was held to demand the repeal of all the anti-trade union decrees. Let us also note that 40 persons signed a petition demanding a government inquiry into the assassination of Letelier. Massive manifestations were staged on March 8. In Santiago, women who were not permitted to assemble at the stadium marched in columns through the city streets. Similar demonstrations were held in Valparaíso and other cities. On the whole, things have started moving in Chile, and this does not, of course, help to strengthen the dictatorship in any way.

Another event with strong reverberations is the return of exiled persons: a committee headed by the Christian-Democrat Jaime Castillo intends to secure for the exiles the right to return to their homeland.

All of this shows that a struggle is under way in Chile, and that it is being carried on in a highly complicated situation, but that it is running in the right direction, without any sensational acts, and with a very high level of activity and cohesion of masses of people. The overall situation in Chile, which it is impossible to describe here in detail, is highly interesting, complicated and eventful. The struggle in Chile also relies on the struggle of other nations. The Chilean people, in accordance with their long-standing internationalist traditions, have continued to voice their solidarity with the struggle of the other people, who like the Italian people, for their part, voice solidarity with the Chilean people and share their experience with them.

Luis Guastavino
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