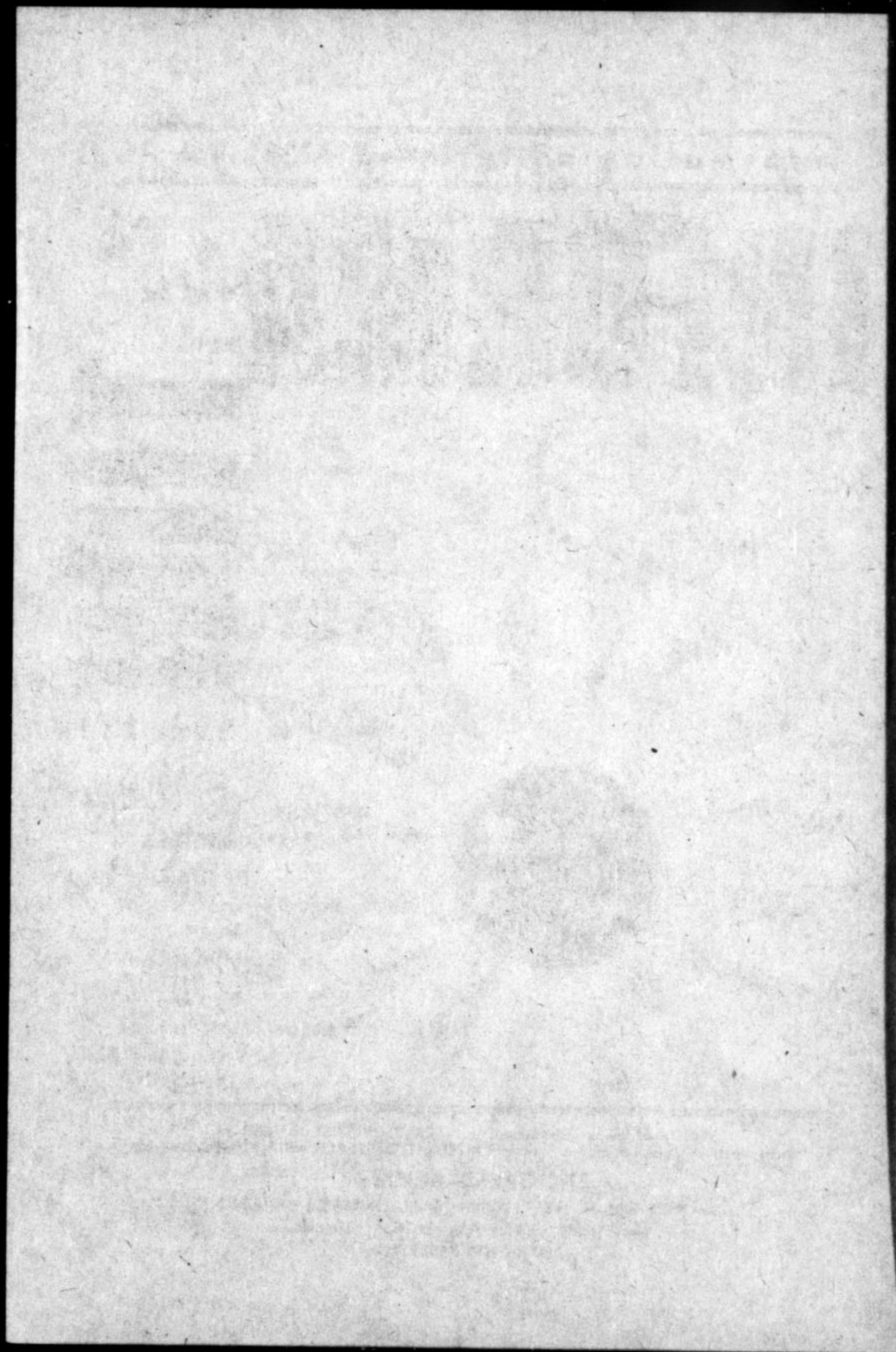




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CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

PARTY ACTIVITY AND SITUATION IN THE PARTY

CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT TO 10th CONGRESS OF SOCIALIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA (Excerpts)

Comrades delegates, our 10th Congress is being held in a situation never before experienced by the Party. Six years have passed since the Ninth National Congress of the SPN in 1966, and they have been rich in events of great significance for our Party. We had to cope with many problems, some helping its progress, while mistakes retarded our development by placing us in difficult and unstable conditions. There are many reasons why this Congress had not been convened earlier.

PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN 1966-1972

The Party was not strengthened organizationally by the Ninth Congress in 1966. In spite of the fact that the Congress adopted new Party Rules and changed the SPN Program our organization remained under pressure of serious internal contradictions caused by a lack of ideological unity, deep differences in viewpoints on cardinal problems and questions of tactics, and also by the weight of opportunism, inactivity and anti-Leninism forced upon the Party by elements occupying influential posts in the Central Committee and Political Commission.

The acute election struggle at the end of 1966 and beginning of 1967, the brutalities committed by Somoza followers on January 22, 1967, which were provoked by adventurists and conservatives, and the government reprisals in the subsequent months brought out all the party's contradictions.

In the tense atmosphere of internal strife, the historical CC Plenum was convened April 23, 1967, which we called the Lenin Plenum in connection with the 97th birthday of the great theorist and leader of the international working class. The opportunist group of Lorio, Eli, Altamirano and their followers, denied the possibility of forcing its disgraceful capitulation views and wrongly overestimating its influence in the CC and primary Party organizations, decided to leave the Plenum hall. The group also publicly slandered

the Party and stated that they left in protest against the "adventurist and terrorist policy" supposedly endorsed by the SPN.

It is important to point to the deep influence this event had on the Party's further development. On the one hand, the split that appeared in the CC following the walkout of seven of its 21 members and candidate members led, as could be expected, to an exceptional situation within the Party. It required intensive explanatory work on the internal and external fronts to expose the renegades' slanderous, confused accusations leveled, then and now, at the Party and its leadership.

On the other hand, however, the removal of these elements and their subsequent expulsion from the Party became the start of a new, fruitful stage in Party life. For the first time there appeared the possibility of strengthening the SPN organizationally on the basis of ideological unity and solidarity, do away with opportunism and open up new perspectives for the popular and revolutionary movement, for the organization and struggle of the country's working class.

The fury of the Lorio group and the disclosure of Party secrets to which its members had access made it necessary to expel the most active members from the Party. This must be approved by the 10th Congress. The following are the ringleaders and most dangerous elements among those expelled: Juan Lorio, Augusto Lorio, Manuel Perez Estrada, Miguel Flores, Rubert Brenes, Eli Altamirano, Tomas Pravia and Julio Varela. They have all earned the contempt of the Party and the working class for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and are rabid enemies of the people's revolutionary activities and ideology, in spite of their attempts to disguise their provocations and opportunism with the help of demagoguery and pseudo-Marxist declarations.

In the atmosphere of reprisals, the Party was forced to start work in strict secrecy, with all the ensuing limitations.

The reprisals reached their apex in August and November 1967 when the Sandinista National Liberation Front* launched guerrilla operations against the Somoza government and also after the assassinations that took place in the capital. The fight against the Sandinista guerrilla center was a pretext used by the dictatorship to launch a bloody wave of repression and terror, mainly in the provinces of Matagalpa and Jinotego. Tens of rural organizations were destroyed, many peasants killed and hundreds were forced to leave their lands and homes. In the cities reprisals were directed against the democratic and people's movement and our Party's organizations. Patriots were thrown into jail.

*Formed in 1961 and named after Augusto Sandino, national hero of Nicaragua's liberation struggle.—Ed.

It was during the Somosista reign of terror that the most brutal and brazen pressure was brought against the most prominent figures in the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement, including Comrade Juvenal Marcalo, then General Secretary of the Party. Faced with the alternative of giving up political activity or exile, he publicly announced his departure from political activity and, consequently, the top Party post.

This step evoked a profound negative response among the SPN membership fighting strenuously to overcome the crisis following the betrayal of the Lorio group and the wave of reprisals. Nevertheless, the Central Committee was able to avoid the additional difficulties this entailed and instil new energy among Party activists.

After Marcalo's resignation, the Central Committee elected Comrade Nunez General Secretary, a post he occupied in November 1967.

1968 was a year of slow and persistent work on the organizational restructuring of the Party, healing the wounds inflicted by the reprisals and desertions, and of intensive efforts to strengthen mass organizations, which had suffered greatly at the hands of the military dictatorship.

The Party leadership set the task of creating an organization ready to face any contingency, repulsing the continued aggressive attacks of reactionary forces against mass organizations and our Party organizations, particularly in the rural areas, replacing one form of struggle by another depending on the situation and in accordance with the basic principle of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of always being prepared to resort to any forms of struggle and, if necessary, to be capable of combining them or replacing one form by another.

A special commission was established to coordinate and guide this work. This problem was never dealt with seriously before, although the Lorio-Perez Estrada group had always opposed the aforementioned elementary Marxist-Leninist concepts. This left us defenseless in the face of reactionary repressive action and incapable of reacting swiftly to major changes in the country's socio-political situation.

But when it began to tackle these important political problems, the Party felt its lack of experience and clear theoretical understanding of the problem. This led to serious mistakes and dangerous consequences with regard to Party stability.

Thus, the Nicaraguan Front of Revolutionary Action (NFRA) was created as a means of preparing people for joint action. We did not orientate ourselves correctly concerning its goals. It turned into an adventuristic tool, as exemplified by the kidnapping of

Aquileo Venerio Plazaho*, which had very negative consequences for the Party.

The lack of experience in the Party and shortage of theoreticians to cope with these problems led to a situation where under the influence of adventurism and bonapartism, certain elements at the head of the Special Commission attempted to place themselves above the Party, changed the name of the NFRA into Revolutionary Armed Forces and planned a series of guerrilla-type operations which were to be started with the kidnapping mentioned above.

It should be pointed out that the departure from the correct line was also influenced by the instability of the Party leadership, particularly the then General Secretary Nunez, the adventuristic tendencies among some of the CC members, and likewise the Party's lack of finances which prevented it from carrying out many tasks and caused despair among some of the comrades.

The result of these adventuristic actions committed without the Party's knowledge was a wave of brutal reprisals against our organization, which led to a further crisis within the Party.

Many experienced Party members were jailed. They included Central Committee members and the General Secretary, who gave in to the pressure and threats of the political police and publicly undertook to refrain from activity and deserted the Party.

The Central Committee took sharp measures in this situation, drafted special instructions and purged the Special apparatus, which had departed from the correct course and begun to serve aims alien to the Party. Special Commission executive and CC member Norman was removed from his post, and Nunez, who had deserted the Party, was expelled. The CC's firmness enabled it to cope with the difficult problems. In August 1969, Comrade Joaquin, who had been acting General Secretary since the removal of Nunez in June of that year, was elected General Secretary.

After overcoming the crisis the Party was able to launch a new stage in strengthening its internal situation, expand its ties with the working people and outline a policy of broad alliances in which it soon was to play a leading role.

During the celebrations of the 100th birth anniversary of V. I. Lenin the Party launched a membership drive, many Party and public activities were launched, which helped raise the Party's prestige among the more advanced sections of the population.

Since April 1970 the Party has been developing harmoniously, with a noticeable increase in membership and quality. This was facilitated in great measure by the Party's participation in political activities aimed at consolidating broad democratic opposition for the joint struggle against the Somosista dictatorship, to expose

*A Minister in the Somosa government.—Ed.

the reactionary and anti-popular essence of the pact being hatched between the oligarchy, the liberals and the conservatives.

The extended CC Plenum held in February 1971 thoroughly analyzed the political situation and stressed the correctness of realizing the political line through an alliance of democratic forces with the Party's participation. The Plenum also enriched our organization's revolutionary conceptions by setting more definite guidelines for the practical activities of the leading bodies and all other SPN organizations.

We began 1972 with preparations for the 10th national congress. The February CC Plenum concluded that the main goals of Party building had been attained and that conditions were ready for the Party congress.

A stimulating factor was the noticeable improvement of the situation within the Party during the latter part of 1972. Most of our plans for comprehensive preparations for the congress have been fulfilled, the number of active Party members and youth organizations has increased greatly and the political and ideological level of the membership is steadily improving. We can state confidently that the congress will not only consolidate the process of Party building but will also draft an improved platform for attaining the new goals along the road of implementing the Party's historical role of revolutionary vanguard of the working class and other sections of the population.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

There are new prospects at present allowing the Party to bring to the forefront its policy regarding alliances.

General Somosa, through various machinations, is attempting to become President for another term; a political differentiation is evident, democratic rights are violated; the country's economy is in the grip of a growing crisis which is adversely affecting the material conditions of the working people as well as other sections of society; national sovereignty is being handed over to the imperialist plunderers ever more shamelessly.

Realization of the need for joint popular action under the leadership of a united front of political, trade union and public organizations has become a material force. This means that new opportunities have appeared for unity on a democratic basis. The February 1972 CC political resolution says:

"The political activity of recent years was a touchstone with regard to the idea of the need for national-democratic and popular unity and the policy of alliances followed by our Party. The negative experience gained in carrying out this policy . . . shows that there exist many intermediate problems, numerous mistakes not yet corrected, and a great deal of difficulties to overcome."

"The ultra-reactionary essence of the regime," the resolution continues, "the political-economic domination of a small oligarchical group for its own interests, and subordination to imperialism have made for polarization between the ruling camarilla and the Nicaraguan people. Social classes ranging from the proletariat to the middle bourgeoisie are longing for change they ardently want the establishment of a democratic regime. Therefore, there exist broad opportunities for joint action, and these opportunities are real . . ."

The Party is working tirelessly to contribute to the elaboration of a common strategy of struggle on the basis of a progressive program resembling the 1967 opposition coalition program. As mentioned before, there are still many difficulties to be overcome, such as the inconsistency and tendency to compromise characteristic of certain groups; the political and organizational instability of others; plans for the restoration of caudillism as an inevitable element of the democratic struggle; a desire to reduce the role of parties to a minimum, with groups of individuals or so-called "representative figures" in their place.

We are fully aware that the road to the overthrow of the dictatorship and establishment of a liberation-democratic regime is neither easy nor short. Our Party is advancing along this road confidently, in high spirits, and with the conviction characteristic of the proletariat. We do not try to avoid difficulties and responsibility; we do our best to be in the thick of the struggle for democracy and national liberation even though it is not yet the decisive struggle. We are absolutely certain that the time is noticeably approaching when our political line will bear fruit. The attainment of these immediate goals will depend in great measure on the degree of the Party's consolidation, its ideological and organizational staunchness, the depth of its ties with the masses, particularly the rural and urban proletariat and the poor peasants, on the success of forging a strong Party constantly in the van of the struggle and with strong ties with the people.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Comrades delegates, we have done our duty and informed you and the entire Party of the activities of the Central Committee and standing executive bodies in the period between the 9th and 10th Congresses. Some of the problems raised here have become a distinctive part of the history of the Party and the Nicaraguan worker's movement, they have determined the new direction of our revolutionary activities and invigorated the Party's internal life. Others are the ordinary, daily affairs of a workers' Marxist-Leninist Party.

In the period under discussion the Party successfully dealt with

extremely difficult situations, it withstood the most brutal reprisals working in difficult and dangerous conditions. Many of the important tasks were carried out on the basis of the efforts of the entire Party without any compromises or concessions made to the class enemy. Many problems are being dealt with today, others have been included in our plans or slated for the future. In some cases the reason for this is that we are still unable to correctly approach their solution, or are short of material and human resources, or lack properly trained political and theoretical cadres.

We must judge our work in an atmosphere of creative criticism, strict objectivity, without becoming subjective and with due consideration for the conditions under which we were forced to work.

Let us sum up the general situation within the Party and the activities dealt with in the report. Apparently the most significant aspect of party affairs and activity is the end of the organizational and political crisis caused by the anti-Leninist elements who had penetrated its leadership for quite some time. The rapid spread of Marxism-Leninism in the theory and practical activities of the Party inevitably led to the situation where we now have a reliable, organized, advanced detachment of the working class armed with rich experience of party building and class struggle. This makes it possible to focus attention upon gaining strength and multiplying its ranks for victory in revolutionary battles.

The Party is fortified with the Leninist spirit of constructive criticism and self-criticism. This is an effective way of dealing with problems that emerge and inevitably become obvious.

Broad opportunities are opening up before our Party for increasing its membership and strengthening its political role among the people in order to be in the front ranks of other political and public detachments of the working class and the people, of the fighters for democracy and social progress in our country.

The influence of socialist ideas is rapidly growing and this is evident in thousands of ways in Nicaragua. The successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in building a new world can no longer be kept secret by the enemies of progress, the agents of reaction and the exploiting classes. The influence of these successes comes through to us in the most unexpected ways and wins over the minds of more and more people. Our Party's persistent efforts to disseminate these ideas during years of obscurantism and McCarthyism, in a hostile, anti-communist atmosphere, are now bearing tangible fruit. The principles of socialism and the Party's Program are now being proclaimed more openly and its prestige is growing among the more progressive sections of the working class and peasantry.

The Party is establishing contacts with student circles among whom an acute ideological struggle is unfolding with ultra-Leftist

groups. There is not a single trend in political activities in which the Party does not participate. Our organization is active on a nationwide scale.

Obviously, a great deal remains to be done, the successes are not numerous enough, and we are still far from able to decisively influence events. We must invigorate the work of party sectors that are still in a state of passive meditation. We must inspire the people with an absolute faith in socialism and the ultimate triumph of our ideas, with courage and daring to overcome barriers, difficulties and temporary setbacks. We are confident that the Congress decisions and the growing Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit in the Party will be a powerful stimulus in dealing with still existing shortcomings.

The Party has already overcome the difficulties of formation. It is gaining in strength, becoming an organization marching in the front ranks, and winning national and international recognition. Our efforts during recent years have allowed us to prepare a sufficient number of cadres capable of working on a national scale and in the intermediate echelons. The Party now has a well-knit nucleus that is united on questions of principle and Marxist-Leninist activity. We must continue in this direction, we must arouse those sectors that are still in a state of lethargy, we must raise the fighting qualities of Communists and reach out to the masses still misled by bourgeois propaganda.

This is possible only if we are tireless in our work to strengthen our ties with the people, to improve our interaction with the masses and the most advanced sections of the proletariat, the working class in industry and capitalist agricultural production.

There are at the present three basic trends which the Party should follow with unabating courage, without improvising or loss of time:

1. The strengthening of Party ranks, building up of membership, and raising the political and ideological consciousness of Communists.

2. The development of direct ties with the masses through persistent, well-planned propaganda, through untiring practical work, sending Communists into the midst of mass unrest and struggle in order to exercise correct forms of leadership of those engaged in the struggle and arouse those who are still apathetic.

3. The continued improvement of our political line; always be in the center of the political and democratic movement, injecting our ideas into it and taking advantage of every opportunity to instill democratic and revolutionary content into demonstrations and political movements against the dictatorship, for the democratization of society.

In conclusion, comrades, we should like to pay homage to those comrades who should have been but are not with us here at this

solemn occasion, at our Congress of Consolidation. They died with proudly lifted heads, emphasizing the great honor of being a Communist, and we bow to them in revolutionary homage.

May the memory of our dead comrades, the revolutionary spirit and self-sacrifice of such men as Bernardino Diaz Ochoa, Rommel Lopez, Efrain Gonzalez, Manual Perez Aburto and others serve as an inspiration in the work of our Congress and bring us to achievement of tangible results that will serve our Party, the interests of our unbending, fiery struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

STATEMENT OF SOCIALIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA

On December 23, 1972, an earthquake devastated a large part of the capital Managua. More than 10,000 people were killed and tens of thousands were left homeless. In these difficult days for the people of the country the Socialist Party of Nicaragua released the following statement.

People of Nicaragua,

The Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the political vanguard of the proletariat and people of Nicaragua, is deeply shaken by the tragedy that has befallen our homeland and the consequences of which worsen still further the already desperate economic situation; the main burden of these consequences will fall on the shoulders of our brave working people.

We received generous and effective aid from the fraternal peoples of Latin America and the whole world, and we cannot complain. However, the people of Nicaragua are well aware that all this aid—drugs, food, clothing, etc.—has fallen completely into the hands of the exploiting class through the National Guard leadership and the highly-placed official government circles of the Somoza oligarchy.*

Ten days after the earthquake the great majority of children, women, old people and other victims of the disaster, are still without clothing and footwear, suffer from hunger and thirst and are experiencing indescribable hardships. They resort to all means at their disposal to appeal for help in order to survive. This help,

*General A. Somoza, henchman of the U.S. monopolies, the country's dictator up till May 1972, when he transferred power to a three-man junta. Immediately after the earthquake he took over control of the National Guard and appointed himself head of the National Emergency Council which assumed full civilian and military power. Somoza also took over the new National Reconstruction Ministry which distributes the international aid to Managua. All these measures strengthening Somoza's dictatorship caused nationwide unrest.—Ed.

however, is not forthcoming because the speculators perpetrating their crimes are deaf to the frantic voice of the people.

Everything delivered in the form of aid belongs to the people. No privileged part of the population has the right to appropriate this property. That is why all the toiling people should demand the immediate and fair distribution of everything received as aid on a national and international scale.

Before the people of Nicaragua and before the entire world, the Socialist Party of Nicaragua condemns the inhuman behavior of those who have profited and are continuing to profit from the hardships of these tragic days.

We earnestly appeal to our people to view as an object lesson the criminal actions of the oligarchy in power which, ignoring the conditions, prefers, together with its accomplices, to profit from the situation caused by the earthquake; we call for immediate steps towards final liberation through organized unity and joint action in the struggle for a better world and a better life for the working people of Nicaragua.

Political Commission CC SPN

Managua, December 1972.

20th CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The French Communist Party held its 20th Congress in St.-Ouen (a Paris suburb) on December 13-17.

The Congress was attended by 1,236 delegates, of whom 46 per cent were workers. There were many young delegates: 35.5 per cent of the delegates were below 25 years of age, another 30 per cent were at the age of 25-30 years. More than one-quarter of the delegates were women.

The participants heard, discussed and approved the following reports: report of the Central Committee by Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the Party; report on "The Role of *L'Humanité* in the Fight of the French Working Class and the Masses" by Etienne Fajon, member of the FCP Political Bureau, Secretary of the Party and political director of the Party newspaper *L'Humanité* report on "Changes in the FCP Rules" presented by Andre Vieuguet, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Party.

The delegates unanimously adopted the main political resolution and resolutions on the role of *L'Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche* and on changes in the FCP Rules. In their address to the people of

France they urged all working people, democrats and patriots to unite in a broad popular alliance on the basis of the joint government program of the Communist and Socialist parties and Left Radical Socialists. The Congress also adopted a special statement on Vietnam, demanding an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and other countries of Indochina.

There were 58 delegations of Communist and Workers' parties attending the Congress, among them a delegation of the CPSU led by M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam led by member of the WPPV Political Bureau Le Thang Nghi and a delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam headed by Vo Dong Ziang, member of the NLF Central Committee. Besides, there were representatives of 18 democratic organizations and national-liberation movements of the world. The Congress received numerous messages of greetings from abroad.

The work of the Congress, the participation and speeches of representatives of many fraternal parties and the cordial and fraternal reception given to foreign guests by the Communists of the Paris area convincingly demonstrated the force of the principles of proletarian solidarity, growing consolidation of the world Communist and working-class movement and the increasing prestige of the FCP in the world.

At the closing session the delegates elected the Party's leading bodies—the 118-man Central Committee and the Central Financial Control Commission. The newly elected CC met in session during an intermission.

The Central Committee meeting elected Georges Marchais General Secretary of the FCP.

To the Political Bureau were elected Gustave Ansart, Guy Besse, Jacques Duclos, Etienne Fajon, Benoit Frachon, George Marchais, Rene Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier, Claude Paperen, Georges Seguy, Andre Vieuguet, Madeleine Vincent. Mireille Bertrand, Jean Colpin and Guy Hermier were elected candidate members of the Political Bureau.

Etienne Fajon, Roland Leroy, Rene Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier and Andre Vieuguet were elected Secretaries of the FCP Central Committee.

Member of the Political Bureau Gaston Plissonnier reported to the Congress that in token of gratitude of the entire Party the Central Committee decided to elect Waldeck Rochet, who is ill at present, Honorary Chairman of the Party. He also announced that Political Bureau members Raymond Guyot and Francois Billoux requested the Central Committee that they should not be re-elected to the Political Bureau so that younger comrades could be elected instead.

In his closing speech, Georges Marchais expressed warm thanks on behalf of the delegates to the foreign delegations attending the Congress. The French Communist Party, he said, will always discharge with honor its internationalist duty.

Georges Marchais underscored the importance of the 20th FCP Congress as a congress of Communist struggle for the triumph of the joint government program of the Left forces. "We shall spare no efforts," he said, "in creating a broad and powerful alliance, which will ensure the democratic changes needed in France."

"Their whole experience," he said in conclusion, "teaches the working men and our people that a strong, influential and active Communist Party is the main guarantee of success in the struggle for social progress, democracy, peace, the independence of France and socialism."

UNITY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, FOR A BETTER LIFE IN FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE

Excerpts from the report of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party to the 20th Congress delivered December 13, 1972, by Deputy General Secretary GEORGES MARCHAIS. The full text was published by *L'Humanité*, December 14, 1972.

Comrades, true to our basic line of many years, the 19th Congress placed at the center of all Party activity the idea that the means for achieving radical changes in our country is a "union of political and social forces which, in pursuance of a new policy, would jointly draw up a program of deep democratic reforms in the political and economic spheres, and which are fully determined to struggle together for the victory of the democratic program and then, jointly, to apply it in guiding the country's affairs."

Today, the workers and democratic forces have such a program and their struggle is afforded a clear, mobilizing and inspiring perspective.

Our Party has launched a great struggle under the slogan: everything for the victory of the joint program of the government of left forces.

1. LIVING STANDARDS

Georges Marchais noted that the record rise in prices signifies a real drop in the living standards of workers' families.

At the same time, the industrialists and financiers live in unheard-of luxury. A big businessman may spend 100 million old francs in one evening or a minister's wife insures her jewelry for 2,000 million old francs.

The mounting exploitation of the working people, said the speaker, is also seen in worsening employment and labor conditions.

Unemployment is growing: officially there are 400,000 unfulfilled job applications, an unprecedented figure since 1945. But according to the National Institute of Statistics, which works on the international principle of calculating unemployment, there are approximately 800,000 people, including many women and young people, who want to work but are unable to find employment.

This figure does not take into account tens of thousands of people living in border areas who must cross the border every week in order to work and provide for their families.

Most of the 2.5 million foreign laborers in France work and live in appalling conditions. More often than not they do the most harmful work; they are victims of intolerable discrimination in wages, employment and professional and technical training. They are prey to all manner of shysters and dealers in dreams. Hundreds of thousands are forced to live in shanty-towns, hovels and decrepit houses. Whole families are sometimes wiped out by sickness or fire.

And now, with the consent of the National Employment Agency, want-ads appear stating "Colored people not acceptable." You would think this was in Alabama.

Work at factories is becoming a heavy burden, production schedules are shortened and the speed-up is killing.

The deteriorating labor conditions are affecting not only the most exploited sections, but in various ways also the other categories of working people, including technicians, engineers, administrative personnel and all workers by brain.

The situation in the rural areas is not too good. The present is difficult, the future is uncertain and often bleak. Living and working conditions of hired farm laborers are going from bad to worse and certainly not changing with the rate of technological progress and production.

Craftsmen and small traders, small and medium enterprises are experiencing more pressing demands.

The existing difficulties, thus, are making it worse not only for the working class, which is exploited in the most direct manner and to the greatest degree, but also for all working strata, for the overwhelming majority of French men and women.

The negative consequences of the system of exploitation and oppression in our country have never been so pronounced.

2. THE CRISIS OF FRENCH SOCIETY

Why is it that in such a wealthy country millions of people live so poorly?

It is true that the country is in a profound crisis, a crisis of the economic and social system.

Thirty-five years ago people spoke of the 200 families dominating France's economy and politics. Today only a dozen industrial and financial groups with interlacing interests command the country's economy and enforce their hegemony. Industrial concentration is stepping up: whereas in 1959 there were 930 mergers, the official figure for 1968 was 2,240.

Monopolization goes beyond the national framework, infringing on the country's independence, because the convergence of French and foreign capital, the formation of multinational companies all too often means that the decision-making and research centers are located abroad, in particular in the United States. The government not only tolerates, it encourages such operations.

Thus, the financial oligarchy is in control of the greater share of the country's wealth, and the fate of the economy is in its hands.

It has also extended its control over the state. Faced with the demands of scientific and technological progress and growing international competition, big monopoly capital seeks to constantly step up exploitation of hired labor, on the one hand, and to rake in the greatest possible profits from all branches of the national economy, on the other.

However, it is characteristic of recent developments that these measures, even in large doses, do not allow the monopoly system to resolve its contradictions. On the contrary, they intensify and multiply them.

The contradictions between labor and capital are the first to become aggravated, the gap increases between monopoly profit accumulation and the working class' living conditions. These contradictions are mounting, because the invasion of capital into new sectors where small-scale production had predominated entails a rapid increase in hired labor, which today accounts for 80 per cent of the active population.

All this is accompanied by the exacerbation of new contradictions. Thus, the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution come up against the anarchy of capitalist production and the drive for quick, maximum profit. Also, planning based solely on monopoly interests leads to a worsening of economic and other conditions. All areas are affected by instability, and economic growth rates slow down.

Prices and currency inflation, that constant companion of capitalism, is becoming unprecedented in scale and intensity.

The currency crisis is now a permanent fixture.

Generally speaking, we have reached a stage where excessive exploitation of the working people, plundering of other social strata, runaway inflation, and systematic involvement of the state in the interests of the monopolies has led to the gigantic growth and super-accumulation of private capital. Although the mass of profit increases capital no longer provides the owners with what they would regard as an adequate rate of profit.

In 1968-1969 our Party characterized these difficulties of the French capitalist system and on a world scale as a serious turn, as the start of a special crisis of the system.

This is not only an economic crisis. Since big capital has usurped control over the entire national life, the present situation is characterized by a general crisis that is evident in all spheres: political, ideological, moral.

The collapse of bourgeois moral values is accompanied by a deep crisis of its ideology, an ideology with only one goal—to maintain the unjust system of exploitation. But, this is a goal that cannot be admitted, which is why the guardians of the old world are forced to disguise themselves: they speak of a new society, of an economic system of "participation," of a third way, of a "gross happiness" which is to take the place of the "gross product." But these deceptions are destroyed by hard reality.

That is why the bourgeoisie is increasingly bringing into action its heavy artillery of anti-communism. The crudest lies and brazen slander are invoked in lieu of argumentation. However, the absurdities of anti-communism have led many Frenchmen to say that the reactionaries must truly be taking them for fools.

The ideological crisis reflects the inability of the bourgeoisie to come up with any new helpful solutions in response to the new ideas.

This collapse of ideas is inseparable from the development of the class struggle.

This was evident during the broad May-June movement in 1968. As stressed in the important report of the Economic Department of our Party's Central Committee, it was the "first general expression of a gathering crisis of state-monopoly capitalism." Drawing conclusions from these events, our 19th Congress pointed out that they were signs of a sharpening of the class struggle, its growing significance and expanding scale. Events since then prove the correctness of this appraisal.

The struggle of the working class and all toiling people is developing in many ways. In 1969 there were 2,223,000 days lost in strikes, in 1971 there were 4,400,000.

There was also a nationwide movement embracing all the working people.

The success of this movement is made easier by the progress of joint trade union action reflected, in particular, in the agreement between the CGT and the CDFT, an important development in the struggle's evolution.

All this shows that we are experiencing a period of a more acute and broadening class struggle, an upsurge of the popular movement.

3. PROFOUND CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Important events have taken place recently in the world.

The treaties which the USSR and Poland signed with the FRG, the initialed Basic Treaty between the GDR and FRG, the four-power agreement on West Berlin, preparations for the European conference on security and cooperation, Nixon's trip to Moscow and the agreements signed there, China's membership in the UN, the negotiations between North and South Korea on peaceful reunification, the failure of American aggression in Indochina and the prospects of a political settlement in Vietnam — taken together, these events are of such significance that one can speak without exaggeration of a turning point in the international situation, a turn towards détente, peaceful coexistence and security. A new atmosphere can be established in international relations today. This is a fact of great meaning for the peoples of the world. It naturally is a good influence on the political situation in our country.

The Soviet-American agreements reached during Nixon's visit to Moscow are also unprecedented in the history of Soviet-American relations. As a result of the talks between the spokesman for the world's main imperialist power and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — history's first socialist country — both sides agreed to base their relations on peaceful coexistence. They also took the first step towards the limitation of strategic arms.

The preparations for a conference on European security and cooperation, which the socialist countries have been advocating since 1966, is confirmation of the new turn of events. It affords new opportunities for the peoples of Europe to work for security and cooperation and progress towards a stage when military-political blocs will be unnecessary and eventually dissolved.

The heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, supported by the socialist countries and all the world's progressive forces, have already foiled the plans of the North American imperialist aggressor who sought to deal the national-liberation movement a crushing blow, establish a springboard for the struggle against socialism in that part of the world and enforce its hegemony in South-east Africa.

All this is confirmation of the idea, advocated by Communists for many years, that it is possible to force imperialism to retreat, that it is possible to make imperialism respect the independence and right of peoples to freely dispose of their future, that it is possible to remove the spectre of a new world war and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. That is why the peoples want measures to be taken towards disarmament which would be directed against the very means of warfare and would also ease the heavy burden of arms spending.

Such is the spirit of the times.

The events of the past three years thus support the view voiced by our 19th Congress that in spite of temporary, at times serious, failures, the general tendency is for mankind to move towards peace, freedom, progress, socialism.

The decisive factor of this evolution is the existence and activities of the rapidly developing socialist world system. The elimination of exploitation of man by man and the law of profit for one-third of mankind, from Havana to Moscow and Pyongyang, and the development of the socialist world system in all spheres—economic, social, cultural, political and military—are shaking the very foundations of the entire capitalist system and accelerating its general crisis.

Where socialism has been built, poverty, hunger, ignorance, unemployment and oppression have been done away with. In spite of the difficulties caused by imperialism's ever-present hostility, despite miscalculations and mistakes, the achievements of the socialist countries represent a stupendous accomplishment unequalled in the history of man's progress. The recent congresses of Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, in particular the 24th CPSU Congress, have afforded their peoples the prospect of a fresh upsurge.

The strengthening cooperation of the countries in the socialist world system, their advance towards economic integration, precluding encroachments on national sovereignty, is in the interests of their respective peoples and the community as a whole. They represent an ever growing force in the peaceful competition with the capitalist system.

And, finally, the socialist countries are pursuing a steady and flexible foreign policy of peace and international cooperation which fully corresponds to modern opportunities and requirements. Today we see the fulfilment, point by point, of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress. More and more people identify peace with socialism.

Another factor prompting imperialism to "review" certain aspects of its policy is the unprecedented broadening of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces in most capitalist

countries. Its intensity and effect is increasing in France, Italy, Great Britain and Spain, as well as in Sweden and Japan, which are held up by some as havens of "social concord." In Japan, the Communists and Socialists have just scored a major success in the elections. Other elections, in Australia, for instance, where the conservatives have been removed from power after 23 years, indicate a shift to the left in the developed capitalist countries.

At the same time imperialism's sphere of influence is being reduced by the national-liberation movement, which has entered a new phase—the phase of struggle against neo-colonialism, for economic independence and genuine sovereignty. In this struggle the role of the working class is gradually increasing. In the most varied conditions, such emerging nations as Guinea, Congo, Tanzania and others, are mounting the struggle for development of the national economy, the basic prerequisite for which is the right to freely dispose of the national wealth. The non-aligned countries unequivocally denounce imperialism as the source of all their troubles and the foe of their development.

Another characteristic trait of the period under discussion is growing international solidarity. Together with Communists, democrats and working people the world over, our Party has participated actively in this process—whether it concerned political and material support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, protests against the terror in Sudan, the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis, or our constant solidarity with Spanish and Portuguese democrats, with all victims of imperialist reprisals.

This period also saw the aggravation of the capitalist system's internal contradictions.

That is why the answer to the question, "Will the world continue along the path of detente, security and peace?" depends wholly on the peoples. The answer will be a positive one only if they persevere in their vigilance, their pressure, their struggle.

Everything should be done—the forces of peace, the masses of the people must step in and bring maximum pressure to bear on imperialist governments for the world, and Europe particularly, to advance in giant steps along this new road.

In Vietnam, as in all of Indochina where American imperialism has been instituting virtual genocide, it continues to wage a brutal war. It is making use of the full destructive power of its air force. In the struggle against the peoples fighting for their right to self-determination, it is attempting to preserve neo-colonialism. There must be a never-ending chorus of demands for the American administration to immediately sign the agreement drafted almost two months ago which would effect a cease-fire in 24 hours. And when the truce is signed vigilance must be maintained and everything done to force imperialism to carry out all the points of the accord.

In the Middle East, American imperialism is giving its political and military support to the Israeli expansionist leaders who continue their provocations aimed at aggravating and expanding the conflict. Imperialism's purpose is to strike at the Arab people's liberation movement, the progressive states and revolutionary forces in this part of the world.

The restoration of peace and security in the Middle East hinges on respect for the right to exist and the sovereignty of all the states in that region, including the state of Israel, and recognition of the national rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine. Therefore, Israel and the United States should be required to abide by the UN resolutions.

Imperialism supports the racist regimes in South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonialist wars, the dictatorships in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Brazil and Indonesia. It continues its policy of oppression in Ireland. It plots to overthrow the popular government in Chile. Imperialism must be forced to respect the people's right to sovereignty and freedom, to adopt the economic and political regime of their choice.

Peaceful coexistence of states does not mean that imperialism will be allowed a free rein in a sort of preserve of its own called a "sphere of influence." It does not, furthermore, imply any manner of conciliation between socialism and imperialism. It establishes a new relationship between states: respect for the sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of every state, big and small, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, a political resolution of controversial international issues. It does not affect the nature of economic and social systems and, therefore, certainly does not abolish the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism. In no way does it interfere with the struggle of oppressed peoples against domination and exploitation by imperialism, neither is it an impediment to the development of the class struggle on a national level.

On the contrary, progress in the spirit of peaceful coexistence helps to limit imperialism's possibilities of interference, isolate the most reactionary bourgeois groups, overcome anti-communism and prejudiced notions about socialism, and broaden the front of democratic and social struggle. At the same time, upholding the working people's interests in the face of capitalist exploitation, defending freedom, working for radical economic and political changes opening the road to socialism means weakening imperialist positions and, consequently, strengthening the foundations of peaceful coexistence.

The page of the cold war has been turned. And this is an important achievement for socialism and the efforts of the people.

4. RELIABLE ALLIANCE FOR VICTORY OF THE JOINT PROGRAM

Everything that we have said concerning the situation in our country and in the world, George Marchais said, shows that in France today it is necessary and possible to establish a new economic and political democracy in place of the monopoly regime. This is the objective of the joint program adopted on June 27 by our Party and the Socialist Party, which was later joined by the Left Radical Socialist movement.

Social progress, democracy and détente are the basic slogans of the joint program. Is it possible to carry out such a program which so clearly reflects the concerns of the overwhelming majority of French people? Has the country the means to follow such a policy? Yes.

There is no shortage of resources in France. The point is that they have been taken over and monopolized, they are misused, frozen or squandered by certain financial and industrial groups.

The joint program would put an end to such unrestricted squandering.

The foreign policy of a democratic France would also be inspired by the spirit of the times and would certainly opt for unconditional détente and cooperation without discrimination.

Is there anything in the program about the establishment of communism or even socialism? Obviously, no.

The foundation of a socialist society is collective ownership of the totality of the basic means of production and exchange and political power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the toiling population. A look at the joint program is sufficient to see that its implementation will not mean the establishment of such a regime in France.

We desire socialism for France and that is the main aim of all our activities. However, we are well aware that socialism cannot be ordered from above. The working class and all toiling people must be won over to the ideas and practice of socialist transformation of society.

We can see the joint program is by no means a mere tactical agreement for the election period. It is a political agreement outlining the work which the Left parties propose to undertake jointly at the head of the country. In other words, this is a real agreement for running the country. It is a long-term agreement not only because it concerns joint government activity for a term of Parliament, but also because its implementation would help lay the foundations for cooperation which could be extended, as we would wish it to be, over the future stage—the period of building socialism.

The joint program adopted by our Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radical-Socialists is, therefore, a highly significant political event, even an historical event, as some commentators have called it. For the first time in the history of relations between our Communist Party and the Socialist Party we have reached agreement on such a concrete progressive and important program.

The struggle for unity can be traced through the entire history of our Party, Georges Marchais said, speaking in detail on the main stages of this struggle.

Essentially, everyone understands that the unity required for the success of the joint program cannot be limited to organization of the Left political forces alone. The broadest masses must now gain a working knowledge of the joint program, they must join forces and work together to cement their unity, the unity of all our people, in other words—popular unity.

Popular unity means, first of all, unity of the class which is directly and most vitally interested in liberating the country from domination by big capital. This is the working class. We appeal to the working men and women who receive low wages and work long hours and are treated as machines by their employers; we appeal to employees whose fate is becoming almost the same, if not identical. We say: all of you stand to gain from the victory of a government of Left forces which would implement the joint program.

5. RESPONSIBILITY AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades, our Party is solemnly committed before the people, the popular masses, to persevere in assuring the success of the joint government program, to persevere in assuring popular unity based on the joint program of the Left forces.

We have launched far-flung propaganda of the joint program among millions of Frenchmen, among the vast majority, in order to win their support. It stands to reason that this also implies dissemination of the program itself. We had sold 800,000 copies of it by the opening day of the Congress. This is a very good achievement, showing that the population views the joint program with favor.

However, speaking of our propaganda means, I should like to stress the decisive part played by *L'Humanité*. The Congress will hear a report on this score, and adopt an appropriate resolution.

All the same, I should like to emphasize that fighting for *L'Humanité* is an integral part of the fight for the success of the joint program.

The new terms of the political struggle, the speaker went on, require ideological work of a higher order.

Communists have to face up to many new questions arising from

the joint program. They have begun a discussion with people who only yesterday were far removed from the struggle for democracy, who are edging closer today, but still have reservations. If we begin implementing the joint program tomorrow, they will, each in his own field, have to tackle difficult but exciting problems arising in an economy and society pressed into the people's service.

For a Party like ours, which is in the van of our times, it is important to constantly develop theory and practice, taking account of everything yielded by life, scientific progress, art and culture, and the experience of the international revolutionary movement.

Last but not least, we must also concern ourselves with consolidating the Party organizationally.

This should not be taken as a casual reminder. It is true that we have a strong Party. We have 19,520 cells, and this year the Central Committee turned over to the federations 454,600 Party cards. That is a potential that no one can equal. But in the prevailing situation we must be more active than ever before. We are in great need of ever more numerous and ever more active forces. And we can have them: 47,000 new members joined the Party this year, which shows that many working people, and young people filled with hope, are eager to participate in the battle that will turn into reality the political perspective offered at last by the alliance of Left forces. We have no inhibitions in turning to them, devoting ourselves specifically and continuously to fortifying the Party branches at enterprises in line with the decisions of last year's Party conference on the matter.

It is essential that we should maintain the collective principle in the work of our guiding bodies at all levels. Anything that impedes or conflicts with collective work must be fought tooth and nail, and this not only for reasons of principle, but also because no one man, no matter how competent and devoted to the Party, is able to pick the most suitable solutions and assure their best implementation.

Lastly, we must emphasize the importance that should attach to the Communist Youth Movement, the main instrument of Communist activity among the young people of our country. Its organizational independence and four national organizations make it a school of struggle and initiative, a source of cadres for the Party.

However, these big national tasks should not obscure the Party's international responsibilities, for those, too, are part of its struggle.

By this token, special significance attaches to the meetings in July 1971 between representatives of our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It will be recalled that we adopted an important joint statement. Noting our identical viewpoint on the crisis of the capitalist world and the new opportunities this offers

for the struggle against imperialism, and acclaiming socialism and its successes on one-third of the earth's surface, the statement recalled among other things that "the invaluable experience of the socialist countries shows convincingly that in conformance with the Marxist-Leninist teaching socialist construction is based on common principles, and that, at the same time, it assumes different forms consonant with the national peculiarities and historical conditions of each country. Along the way to socialism, every nation contributes and will contribute to the distinctive features of the power of the working class and other working people, to the forms of democracy, to the methods of economic and social reconstruction."

Our various opponents are trying to counterpose the proletarian internationalism uniting the Communist parties and their independence. "For this purpose," the joint statement says, "they have invented the so-called theory of limited sovereignty and the demagogic tale of two 'superpowers' which are alleged to decide the destiny of the world behind the backs of the peoples. The Soviet and French Communists are combating these slanderous inventions, and will continue to do so.

"While they do not in the least deny or belittle the independence, sovereignty, equality and principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of either nations or Communist parties, the Communists regard it as obligatory to respect and consistently observe these principles precisely because, like solidarity and mutual assistance, they constitute the substance of proletarian internationalism."

These are principles spelled out by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969.

And on this basis, to which our Party attaches very great importance, it is striving to help fortify the unity of the world Communist movement, so that it should rise to a level consistent with the present opportunities and requirements of the struggle against imperialism, and to assure joint action by our parties.

Naturally, Marchais said, differences of opinion may arise over some concrete point. While safeguarding our critical spirit, we shall follow the line that we have followed before in firmly opposing polemics and the appearance of obstacles to joint action, for this tends to loosen the bonds of friendship that naturally unite all the Communist parties.

For this reason, it is highly deplorable, and harmful for the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, that the Communist Party of China, which along with the Albanian Party of Labor turned down our invitation to participate in this 20th Congress, is standing apart from the world Communist movement, making continuous attacks on it, and aiming all its blows against the Soviet Union. Despite our deep differences, we should like the Chinese Com-

munists to renew cooperation with the other socialist countries, the other Communist and workers' parties, for the good of their own people and the struggle of all peoples.

In international terms, the speaker stressed, our slogan is the same as in all countries: alliance, alliance of all who intend to be active in the struggle for peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

6. THE STRUGGLE BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

Comrades, in a few weeks the men and women of France will go to the polls to elect their deputies to the National Assembly. These parliamentary elections, as I have said earlier, are an extremely important phase in the battle for the triumph of the joint program.

The agreement on this program, the focal point of the election campaign, has created a new situation. Our candidates will mount a dynamic campaign against the various Right parties, but mainly a constructive campaign based on the joint program. They will set forth the aims of the program, will explain them, and tie them in with their specific proposals for improving life in their own constituencies. They will recall their previous work in the interest of the workers, the people and the country, and simultaneously will demonstrate their ability and determination to stand in the van of the battle for the effectuation of the joint program.

The men and women of France have more grounds than ever to participate *en masse* in the coming elections and to cast their ballots for FCP candidates in the name of popular unity and the victory of the joint program.

They will vote for Communists, because they know our deputies to be honest, competent and selfless.

They will vote for Communists, because they know that our Party's candidates will in all circumstances uphold their demands effectively and perseveringly.

They will vote for Communists because the strength and initiative of our Party is the essential guarantee that the struggle for social and political changes projected in the joint program will be fought successfully, with determination.

They will vote for Communists in order to support our Party's continuous efforts for unity, which has to be expanded and fortified before it becomes invincible.

We must prepare ourselves, Marchais went on, to deploy all our forces in the election struggle, which may unfold as early as January. This means that we cannot afford to lose any time and must everywhere take all the necessary steps to achieve this aim.

Comrades, the party of the working class, the class whose basic

interests do not conflict with those of any other laboring class, will work tirelessly to unite all the people of the nation.

Our ideal, our special features, our strength, go back to the distant past. Nothing of what the people feel, and nothing of what makes up their daily life, is foreign to us, and cannot and must not separate us from them. It was his deep belief in this that inspired Maurice Thorez when he said: "We are not a party of the raised fist; we are a party of the hand proffered to the people of France."

It was this belief that moved Waldeck Rochet to say: "The Marseillaise is the national anthem of the French people and the tri-color is the patrimony of the entire French people."

And precisely this belief is at the basis of all our policy, and our activity, now and in the future.

SPEECH* BY M. A. SUSLOV

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the Soviet Communists, the Central Committee of our Party and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, allow me to convey fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 20th Congress of the French Communist Party and to all French Communists.

A Congress is a big event in the life of every Communist Party. And this Congress is outstanding in that it is being held in conditions of a new political climate resulting from a noticeable easing of world tensions, and the changes that have taken place in the French workers' and democratic movement, particularly the initial successes in uniting the country's left forces.

We listened attentively to the informative report of the CC FCP delivered by Comrade Marchais and are happy to note that in recent years the role and prestige of the Communist Party has increased and the ideas of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism have been spreading among the people of your country.

The experience of the world revolutionary movement, summarized by the fraternal parties in the documents of the 1969 Meeting, shows that the struggle for profound democratic economic and social change is an important part of the general struggle for socialism. At the same time, the relaxation in international tensions, retreat of the policy of war and aggression, and failure of the cold war afford additional opportunities for the world's progressive forces to broaden the working people's struggle against capitalist

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monopoly oppression, for their rights and interests, and to consolidate democratic freedoms.

While fighting for democracy and the working people's economic and social demands, Communists never lose sight of their ultimate goal: the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of a new, just social system. Communists have always rejected reformist ideas and policies and theories of class cooperation with the exploiters. We were interested to see how your Party combines the struggle for united action with principled class positions, with defense of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

On behalf of Soviet Communists, permit me to wish you, dear friends, the greatest success in this struggle.

Comrades, we are going through an important and serious period in the development of international relations. Because of the energetic foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the persistent struggle of Communists, democrats and all people of good will, the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence is being asserted in growing measure in international affairs and there is a greater tendency towards mutually advantageous relations between countries with different social systems.

International imperialism, faced with the determined resistance of the joint forces of world socialism, the worker and national-liberation movements and all champions of peace, has been forced to retreat and come to the negotiating table. An example of this is the events in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against the American aggressor has doomed the most powerful imperialist country's attempts to achieve its colonialist aims by military means. Of tremendous help, as our Vietnamese comrades point out, was the strong, telling support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the broad, effective solidarity movement in all countries of the world, including the USA. The internationalist position of the French Communist Party, which performs its proletarian duty consistently and with determination, has played a big part in the development of the international campaign of solidarity with Vietnam.

Lately the American government has been dragging its feet in an effort to block the agreement for a peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem reached by the interested sides and continues its aggression. But this is a hopeless move. The sooner a Vietnam agreement is signed the better it will be for the American people, the Vietnamese people, and for world peace.

Consistently carrying out the foreign policy decisions of its 24th Congress, our Party believes it to be particularly important to eliminate the hotbeds of war in the world. That is why, while con-

tinuing the struggle to end the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, it is equally important to defuse the explosive situation in the Middle East. Stubborn efforts and effective measures are required to achieve the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands and unconditional fulfilment of the Security Council resolutions guaranteeing the rights of all peoples in that part of the world.

Positive changes are taking place in the continent of Europe. The agreements between the FRG and the USSR and the Polish People's Republic and the basic Treaty on relations between the GDR and FRG were important contributions to European peace and security, affording good prospects for developing good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

The favorable influence of the development and deepening of relations between the Soviet Union and France on the European situation should also be stressed. As pointed out with great foresight by Maurice Thorez, the tried and tested leader of the French Communist Party, "friendship between the French and Soviet peoples plays an outstanding role in the noble struggle for international détente." In this rapidly changing world, Soviet-French relations are an important factor of peace, security and mutually advantageous cooperation. Their development is warmly endorsed by the peoples of both our countries.

On the whole, ideas of strengthening the peace in Europe are taking deeper root among the people of Europe and among government circles. Proof of this is the response to the Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security and Cooperation.

The multilateral consultations in Helsinki in preparation for an all-European conference are of consequence to Communists who for many years have been working for European peace and security.

The successes of world socialism, the Communist and workers' movement, and the people's anti-imperialist struggle would undoubtedly have been much greater were it not for the actions of the Chinese leadership on the international arena which are at cross purposes with the interests of peace and socialism and are grist to the mill of imperialism.

Our principled course in relation to China is clearly defined in the materials of the 24th Party Congress. The Soviet Union stands for normal relations with the People's Republic of China. However, we have in the past and shall continue to strongly rebuff Peking's anti-communist and anti-Soviet actions and consistently uphold Marxism-Leninism. The differences on crucial problems with the Maoist leadership of the PRC concern the entire international Communist movement and we see that the fraternal parties are rallying ever

more closely around the banner of Marxism-Leninism and opposing its distortion by Chinese propaganda.

Comrades, while noting some reduction of world tensions, we Communists, however, realistically evaluate the international situation and are fully aware that a stable peace on earth still requires a long and persistent struggle. Aggression by the American imperialists and their satellites continues in certain areas of the world. In Europe there are influential forces attempting to retard the process of relaxation and revert to the cold war. Revenge-seekers in West Germany have not abandoned their delirious plans for reshaping European boundaries. NATO generals continue to call for an arms build-up. In some countries there are fascist and anti-democratic forces poisoning the atmosphere with their malicious anti-communist campaigns. That is why it is our duty to prevent these evil forces from turning back the processes of détente and to work more energetically for a lasting peace and international cooperation.

We Communists have no illusions concerning the anti-popular nature and policy of imperialism or its anti-communist ideology. The establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations does not at all mean a weakening of the class struggle on a world scale or "conciliation" between socialism and capitalism. They are irreconcilable. And it remains a fact that the international class struggle is still very acute. Now, when the imperialists are coming to realize more and more that it is impossible to defeat socialism by force, the struggle is increasingly shifting to the economic, political and ideological domains. Bourgeois ideologues are searching for new forms and methods of political and ideological struggle against socialism and the worker and national-liberation movements. You, yourselves know the extent of the slander against the Communist parties, their policy and ideology. However, no intrigues of imperialist reaction can change the historical process of further shifting the world balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Anti-Sovietism is particularly cultivated by bourgeois propaganda. The imperialists fully understand the role and significance of the Soviet Union in the historical confrontation between the two systems. It is not petty forces that bourgeois propaganda employs in its anti-Soviet campaign; the scribblings of renegades and revisionists of all colors are extolled. Revolutionaries and honest people the world over give a deserving rebuff to these campaigns. Our Party highly values the diverse activities of French Communists aimed at spreading the truth about the achievements of the Soviet people in building communism and the struggle of the CPSU and Soviet government for peace and the independence of nations.

Comrades, these days the working people of the Soviet Union have been broadly marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In its economic, political and ideological consequences the formation of the USSR was an outstanding event in the history of our people and the social progress of mankind. The joining of peoples and nations into a single Soviet state played a tremendous role in consolidating the gains of the October Revolution, in the country's all-round development and in enhancing its international prestige.

The Soviet people are observing the half-century jubilee of their multinational socialist state at a time when our country has made new qualitative advances in its development. In all spheres of social development we see not only quantitative advances, but also qualitative progress. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress note that our country has built a developed socialist society. This is the real achievement of the great struggle and the victories scored by our people in the decades that have elapsed.

A short speech is obviously inadequate to fully embrace all aspects of the Soviet people's life and work, all sides of our new reality. Recently we in the Soviet Union were host to a group of Communist journalists headed by Comrade Fajon. Upon returning to France they wrote in detail in the Communist press about what they had seen. It is gratifying that our friends and French Communist journalists noted the characteristic and important traits in Soviet society which are the key to understanding it.

The scale of all that has been achieved is better seen if one takes a large historical period to judge the life of formerly backward regions in the country where, prior to the October Revolution, an essentially pre-capitalist system was predominant. Such a comparison affords an excellent opportunity to sum up the first half-century of history's first union of Soviet states in which more than 100 peoples and nationalities form a union based on full equality, inviolable friendship and truly fraternal cooperation. Furthermore, the development of national relations in the USSR follows a pattern of mutual enrichment of peoples and nationalities by all the values accumulated in the course of their historical development.

In tsarist Russia the economy of most of the outlying regions was extremely backward, still in the feudal stage, and in some places in the patriarchal-tribal stage. Today, every Soviet republic has a highly developed socialist economy, diversified industry and mechanized agriculture.

Before the October revolution there were peoples inhabiting our country who were not only totally illiterate but had no alphabet of their own. They suffered from exploitation and unmitigated poverty. Now, new, socialist type nations have emerged, free from

internal antagonisms, exploitation or poverty. They enjoy full rights as members of the multi-national family of Soviet peoples with a culture as highly developed as all others.

In tsarist Russia, that prison of peoples, there were nations doomed to extinction. Poverty and absence of rights was the lot of tsarism's colonial outskirts. Today in the Central Asian republics, for every ten thousand of the population there are more doctors than in many developed capitalist countries. In Tajikistan the number of students per ten thousand people is triple the number in Italy. In Uzbekistan alone there are more people with a higher or secondary special education than there were in all of Russia prior to the Revolution.

The 50 years the Soviet Union has been in existence have cemented our multinational society. A historically new community has emerged and grown strong in these years—the community of Soviet peoples. Ask anyone in the Soviet Union who he is and he will first say that he is a Soviet citizen and only then add that he is Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Latvian, Georgian or a member of some other nationality. The successful resolution of the nationalities question in our country, the historically unprecedented friendship of the peoples joined together in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have a powerful revolutionary influence upon world development.

The solution of the national problem in a multinational country like ours has become the common possession of revolutionary theory and practice. And this experience is of especial importance in today's rapid process of national liberation, emergence and development of young national states, at a time when Communist Parties are faced with mounting tasks of a nationwide character, and at a time, also, when Communists-internationalists must exert great efforts to resist nationalistic tendencies.

Comrades, when speaking of our internal affairs we cannot avoid mentioning still another important trait of our development. Our country's economy and the people's living standards are constantly progressing values. And this constant progress is proof of the tremendous advantages of a socialist society, of the socialist system.

Take the recent period. Less than two years have passed since the 24th CPSU Congress. But even in this short period the country has made no small advances, primarily, of course, in industry. The first two years of the five-year plan have been completed successfully. Many enterprises have surpassed their targets. This is, first and foremost, the result of the working people's initiative, the result of widespread socialist emulation.

Meteorologically, this was a difficult year for agriculture. Fifty

years ago a similar natural calamity but on a smaller scale ravaged the Volga area, causing hunger among millions of people. Today, thanks to the strong collective-farm system, the Party's correct agricultural policy, a high level of organization of work and labor enthusiasm among Communists and all working people, the unfavorable consequences of the drought have been reduced to a minimum. Grain production this year was on a level with the average annual harvest of the preceding five-year plan. There has been no disruption of food supplies to the population, the required reserves have been accumulated and all our considerable and varied international obligations have been met. This is also convincing proof of the great possibilities of our system and our economy.

You probably know, the main task of this five-year plan as defined by our Party's Congress is a significant rise of our people's material and cultural standards.

Soviet people work well and for their labor society provides them with more and more material and spiritual wealth. The last year and a half has seen a significant rise in wages for many categories of working people (farm mechanizers, railway workers, teachers, doctors and people employed in pre-school establishments); student stipends have been increased, minimum wages are being raised and payments and privileges from social consumption funds enjoyed by Soviet citizens are increasing.

Or, take for example, household appliances, which play no small part in making life more comfortable. Six years ago, at the start of the preceding five-year plan, we manufactured 3.5 million television sets while today we produce six million. We manufactured 1.7 million refrigerators while today the figure is over five million. The production of various yard goods was approximately 8,000 million meters while today the figure is 10,500 million. The Soviet people, therefore, are able to purchase more and better goods, while prices of all staple consumer items, public transport, services and cultural facilities remain stable.

Housing construction continues on a gigantic scale. Every year 11 million people either move into new flats or improve their existing conditions. The socialist state has taken upon itself the greater part of expenditures for housing maintenance, and rent in the Soviet Union (including gas, electricity, water and heating) averages approximately four per cent of a family budget.

We can thus say in all justification that the social program outlined by the Party is being successfully carried out.

An integral part of the program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress is further improvement of our political system and development of socialist democracy. A new Soviet way of life, radically differing from the bourgeois, has emerged during the years of Soviet

rule. Our social system has afforded the working people broad opportunities for their creative activities, for their talents and abilities. Not in words but in deeds socialist democracy guarantees every working citizen the right and the possibility to actively take part in political life and the management of all affairs of our society and state.

We Soviet Communists take a broad approach to the satisfaction of human requirements. It obviously includes the good things of life, sufficient food and clothing, a good apartment. But we are no less concerned with man's spiritual make-up, his mental and physical development and ideological growth. And we appraise our achievements from the viewpoint of creating conditions for the harmonious, all-round development of the individual.

We have certainly not solved all our problems. You are familiar with the great tasks outlined in the materials of the 24th Party Congress. Our Party Program looks far into the future. But no matter how far ahead into the future we may look, we must not underestimate what has already been accomplished by our people and achieved by our Party.

Soviet people know that what they do not have today they will have tomorrow. They believe in our Party because they know that the CPSU does not throw words to the winds. The Party has a membership of over 14.7 million, it has close ties with the people and is confidently leading them forward.

Comrades, for more than half a century now our parties have been marching together in revolutionary formation, each in its own country and in its own ways struggling to rid mankind of capitalist oppression and injustice, for a radiant future, for socialism and communism. The Communists of the Soviet Union and France have forged a militant friendship and fraternal solidarity. The unity of views between the CPSU and FCP on all basic issues of the times was asserted once again in the joint statement of July 1971. For all Soviet Communists and for all our people the work you are doing, friends, has always been and remains close to us and understood by us.

Allow me to voice the certainty that the friendship between our parties, based upon the immutable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will continue to grow stronger and develop.

With your permission I would like to read out the message of greetings to your Congress from the CC CPSU.

There was loud and prolonged applause following the reading of the CC CPSU message of greetings.

STATEMENT* ON VIETNAM

In spite of the fact that peace should have been concluded six weeks ago, the war in Vietnam continues, and it is the American government which is responsible for this.

On the basis of the agreement reached in October, 1972, between representatives of the governments of the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and approved by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, a cease-fire should have come into effect on November 1. President Nixon's consent was confirmed in a message to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRV.

Now, Nixon has gone back on his pledge by stating that the government of the United States is not yet prepared to sign the agreement. The full responsibility for this step rests on Nixon. Obviously the demands advanced by the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu are nothing but a pretext. He is no more than a tool of Washington. Thieu is a pawn in the diplomatic trickery of the United States.

Meanwhile, fresh crimes are being perpetrated in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The American aggression is an extension of genocide.

American bombers continue to sow death in Indochina.

Terror is mounting in Saigon. Thousands of people are arrested; hundreds of thousands from all sections of the population, holding various political views, have been thrown into jail where they are kept in atrocious conditions. On Thieu's orders a great many prisoners are to be liquidated, while the U.S. administration accelerates and builds up deliveries of arms and military equipment to the Saigon administration.

Peace must triumph in Indochina. The FCP earnestly appeals to the working class, democrats, patriots, all who support peace and national independence, for fresh and effective efforts to demonstrate political and material solidarity with the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The peoples of Indochina must be allowed to freely dispose of their future in conditions of independence and peace.

Nixon must stop his bombings. He must stop supporting Thieu and supplying him with weaponry and military equipment.

The Saigon administration must release its prisoners.

Nixon must stop his aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

*L'Humanité, December 17, 1972.

The agreement reached in October should immediately be signed and carried out by Nixon.

20th Congress, French Communist Party
Saint-Ouen, December 17, 1972.

APPEAL* TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE

Men and Women of France,

Life must change.

The crisis of the regime is aggravating your difficulties.

Prices, taxes and social deductions are mounting as the purchasing power of your wages declines.

The intensity of labor, long working hours, industrial accidents and commuting time are making labor harder and harder for the working class.

The living standard and working conditions of office employees are deteriorating.

With increasing job insecurity and unemployment, anxiety and uncertainty are spreading to all wage workers.

In a wealthy and prosperous country, families are finding themselves in financial straits.

The peasants can no longer live off the land which they till and which they love.

Engineers, technicians, executives, intellectuals in whatever field can no longer make proper use of their creative abilities.

Handicraftsmen and small traders are ruined while the big companies amass wealth.

Taxes spare big business while hitting medium-income families.

Money is corroding society.

Women are discriminated against.

Youth are the regime's main victim.

The aged are destitute.

The French people are denied the right to choose, to decide, to participate. A dominant party entrenched in the state exercises undivided rule. Authoritarian power multiplies its attacks on the nation's democratic freedoms.

Bound by the imperatives of U.S. strategy, our country cannot fully play its role in the community of great nations.

Low morals, corruption and scandals are common, and the outgoing majority is completing its rule in an atmosphere of end of regime.

Men and women of France.

L'Humanité, December 18, 1972.

The alliance of the Left on the basis of a common government Program holds immense promise.

From now on, it is possible to live better, to change one's life, to live in freedom. The common Program is an answer to your anxieties, needs and aspirations.

The everyday life and the future of each will be radically transformed.

Priority to social measures means improving the lot of those who live by their labor.

An end to the domination of the big industrial and financial groups means unprecedented progress in the national economy, in science, technology, education and culture.

Genuine participation by the citizens in political, economic and social activity means promoting the country's democratic life.

With ample rights and freedoms for all, everyone will be able to fully develop his abilities.

If implemented, the common Program will really improve the condition of women, open new and rousing prospects for the youth and guarantee the aged a satisfactory and dignified retirement.

Lastly, it will give France a place—the place it is entitled to—in building world peace, and the country will extend cooperation and strengthen friendly relations.

The Choice is Clear!

It is not from this crisis-ridden regime that a solution will come. It can only come from the loyal agreement reached by the French Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals on a common government Program.

Henceforward, it is for the democrats and patriots, for those who believe in heaven and those who do not, to assure, rallied together in a popular alliance, the future of France.

Men and women of France, you know the French Communist Party. It has overcome all obstacles to agreement on the common Program. Its paramount concern is unity.

Its strength and influence are an essential guarantee for the working people and all democrats. Join its ranks, strengthen its fight.

Men and women of France, you want change—it depends primarily on you.

The rule of money and its power, of reaction in diverse disguises, must come to an end. The maneuvers designed to prolong it with the aid of would-be reformers cannot rescue it.

A new future is taking shape.

Back the French Communist Party's policy of popular unity to rally all democratic forces and enable the people to ensure for themselves a future of progress and prosperity.

The more votes the French Communist Party polls in the coming general election, the more Communist candidates will be elected and the stronger will be the unity needed to put the common Program into effect.

Vote for its candidates, who are devoted to the people's cause! Bring about the dawn of a peaceful, free and happy France, a France of democratic spring, a France advancing to socialism!

*Twentieth Congress
of the French Communist Party.*

Saint-Ouen, December 17, 1972.

RESOLUTION* OF THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

I. THE GROWING CRISIS

All aspects of national life are experiencing a constant crisis. This is the crisis of capitalist society which has reached such depths that it now endangers this very system. The new world, born of the achievements of socialism, the upsurge of the workers' movement, the growing democratic and national struggle and the beginning of the science-technical revolution, is knocking at the door of the old world.

The 19th Congress had already revealed and characterized the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. It placed responsibility for it on the power structure, defined the traits of the new policy stage, shaped by the interests of cosmopolitan companies in national and international conditions marked by the development of the class struggle and aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions. It is three years now that the basic tendencies of the crisis have been confirmed and intensified. This entails mounting disorganization of society. Development is slowed down in all fields disclosing the antagonism between the development potential and the social structure.

The country has entered the period of crisis at a time when there are symptoms of a situation which can neither develop nor remain as it is. This is a period in which the problems of the social system require new solutions.

The roots of the crisis lie in capitalist exploitation, accumulation and profitableness. All the means of state power have been put at the service of the private monopolies to increase their profits. The capital accumulated through the years and controlled by a few

*L'Humanité, December 28, 1972.

large monopoly groups is not channeled into needed production investments. The race for profits causes:

- super-exploitation of the working people in material production and in other areas;

- a multiform tendency towards mass unemployment;

- curtailing expenditures for welfare facilities;

- accelerated inflation;

- currency and other forms of speculation.

The race for profits is at the root of the squandering of the nation's natural, material and manpower resources.

Production capacities are duplicated though industry is operating below capacity. Research is neglected. Technical progress is slowed down and instead of helping to emancipate the working people, it is used as a pretext for their super-exploitation and alienation.

Speculation, growing militarization of the economy, particularly now that France has a nuclear force, and expenditure on direct or indirect repressive measures take up tens of billions of francs.

Inflation cuts into the purchasing power of the working people and pensioners, undermines the monetary system and increases the country's already great difficulties.

National production is losing its stability, vital sectors of the economy are disorganized, national and state enterprises are diverted from their original purpose and put at the service of the monopolies.

Uneven development has become more pronounced, with some areas in a state of decline.

The movement of speculative capital shows that national interests recede before the interests of multinational companies.

National independence is endangered. Big capital is attempting to create supra-national institutions in order to integrate the country in "Little Europe" and Atlantic policy, step up exploitation of the working people and maintain its political and ideological domination.

Big capital is squandering the country's basic wealth, its manpower.

A wage freeze, soaring prices, unemployment, growing taxes, lack of job security, with workers forced to accept lower-paid work, declining purchasing power of social benefits — all this is a growing burden on the working people.

And working conditions, speedup, industrial accidents, physical and nervous exhaustion combine with inadequate public services, environmental pollution, noise, etc., to undermine the health and living standards of the people. There is a scarcity of low-rent housing, urban problems — transport, health, rest and recreation — are aggravated.

Public education — its finances, structure and content — is in the throes of a democratic crisis. In a system characterized by

social segregation and unfit social facilities, the working people's abilities are suppressed or arrested by unsatisfactory initial training. The training of needed personnel by the nation is jeopardized.

In this country of large resources millions of hired laborers earn under 1000 francs a month; many aged people are forced to live on 12 francs a day, and often less; there are over half a million unemployed while hundreds of thousands of others would be only too happy to work but can find none. Women and the youth are affected by unemployment. The situation of the immigrant labor force, the most exploited, is intolerable. The number of people living in squalor and the number of dispossessed is increasing; their's is a dramatic plight.

As for political institutions, there is an authoritarian concentration of decision-making power; the regime of personal power is increasing.

The state is robbed by the financial oligarchy, the Republic Democratic Union party (UDR) and its allies. The subordination of national interests to big private transactions and squandering of state funds breeds scandals.

More and more the communes and departments are subordinate to the political and financial demands of the authorities; trade union rights are jeopardized at many enterprises; official pressure on the French Radio and Television Authority is becoming unbearable; freedom of the press is limited by such barriers that it is becoming illusory; democratic freedoms are curtailed at a time when life in this age requires a growing involvement of all, at all levels of national activity.

In its attempts to mislead the people, the state strives in various ways to integrate them into its system, confuse and split them. And, as always when the big bourgeoisie finds the going difficult because of the progress of unity and the ideas of socialism, it steps up its anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign. At one and the same time it juggles with demagoguery and reprisals, with blackmail and corruption.

A moral crisis bred by the regime and its sore is afflicting the country. The spiritual values of the ruling class have been shaken by the new aspirations of the masses, and so the system tries to block these aspirations.

Protecting the interests of French imperialism, in foreign policy the authorities attempt to integrate our country closer into the system of economic, political and military ties which the imperialist powers are striving to cement.

This is evident in the government's shift towards Atlantism: Pompidou's acceptance of American demands during his meeting with Nixon in the Azores, the development of military cooperation with NATO, increased military spending in line with the demands

of American strategy, refusal to respect the rights of the people of Vietnam and all Indochina to freely dispose of their future.

At the same time, in spite of the fact that national interests require the broadest possible cooperation with all countries without discrimination, the authorities are far from taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by cooperation with the socialist countries not only in the economic sphere but also in making Europe a continent of peace and security. France has not yet recognized the GDR.

French imperialism denies the Overseas Territories and Departments the right to self-determination. It continues a neo-colonialist policy in Africa, which causes growing resistance by the people as seen in the just demands put forward by certain governments to re-examine cooperation treaties. It supports various fascist and racist regimes.

The popular struggle has lately grown in depth and breadth. Economic demands by workers and employees have increased in scope and have on many occasions been expressed in a broad front. Simultaneously, engineers, technicians and administrative personnel are becoming more involved in the struggle. Teachers and students, the toiling peasantry, merchants and artisans have been actively fighting for their specific goals and in their specific manner.

The basic problem is therefore placed before the authorities and big monopoly bourgeoisie of the growing struggle of the working people and the progress of the alliance of workers and democratic forces.

Demands for satisfaction of the most urgent demands are growing: guaranteed and increased buying power of wages, introduction of a sliding wage scale, a minimum wage of 1000 francs a month in 1973; repeal of zonal lowering of wages; reduction of working hours; guaranteed employment; increasing working people's incomes by reducing taxes on low wages; abolishment of discrimination by age, sex, and nationality; a 25 per cent increase of grants to large families; raising age and disability pensions and lowering the retirement age; improved and broader social security; freezing of certain prices, particularly rents, and abolishing the "value-added" tax on prime necessities; free books, school materials and transport for school children; broader trade union and collective freedoms; greater democracy in the Department of French Radio and TV; lowering the voting age to 18.

The toiling peasantry has been hit hard; concentration is a threat to merchants, artisans and fishermen; the moral and material interests of intellectuals have been curtailed. All these categories are simultaneously articulating their demands and fighting for their fulfilment.

It is only through a struggle that we can and should achieve the

resolution of important national problems in employment, increasing the number of public service establishments and housing, in health services, education, professional training and culture — problems that will find a solution when the joint government program is instituted.

The situation is becoming intolerable for an increasing number of working people, who are aware that a solution is possible.

II. THE JOINT PROGRAM WILL SOLVE THE CRISIS

The situation in France can no longer remain as it is.

Socialism, which is based upon social ownership of the sum total of the basic means of production and political power in the hands of the working class and its allies, means democratic management of the economy and society and is the answer to the people's needs and the problems facing France today.

From the day authoritarian power of the monopolies was established in 1958, the FCP has been working to unite the majority of people in order to institute progressive democracy, a transitory stage to socialism.

The last three congresses and the Champigny Manifesto reiterated that this unity "can be achieved with certainty if the masses are afforded a clear view of the future by an innovating political program which calls for decisive action and which would be strongly supported by the workers and democratic forces."

By drafting and publishing its Program of a Popular Unity Democratic Government the FCP has clearly outlined a prospect of change, has given the masses a means for mobilization which allowed them to play a leading role in reaching an agreement on a joint program.

Important changes have taken place in the country under the impact of monopoly policy, the development of the struggle, party activity and progress in the relaxation of international tensions. The Socialist Party was forced to reject any alliance with the Right, and agree to transforming society and working for an alliance of Left forces. It became possible to conclude a joint government program.

The signing of the joint program by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radical Socialists became a big political event unprecedented in the history of our country.

The class content of the joint program corresponds to the aspirations of the working people and the nation's interests. Its goal is to satisfy the people's needs in all spheres; its principle is involvement of the working people in all areas of public activity and at all levels: state, enterprise, commune, department, region. Its realism and consistency rest on the fact that social progress is the key to economic progress and that a radical change of political and

economic institutions is a condition for social progress.

Major democratic transformations are proposed which, by inflicting a decisive blow at monopoly power, would stop the country's development in favor of monopoly profits and would channel that development into meeting the needs of the working people:

—establish power of the working people in place of the existing regime;

—democratize state institutions;

—nationalize and introduce democratic management of key sectors and leading industrial groups, the bank and financial systems; change the trends and renew the main levers of economic policy and establish democratic planning;

—guarantee and expand individual and collective freedoms — one of the conditions for correctly reflecting social needs;

—follow a foreign policy of peace, national independence and cooperation with all countries.

The very existence of the joint government program and, on its basis, an alliance of the major Left political forces provides opportunities the absence of which retarded the struggle, particularly in May-June, 1968.

The joint government program has already had, and will continue to expand, a mobilizing influence in favor of popular unity.

Popular unity means unity of all social non-monopoly sections, mainly the working class together with employees, technicians, engineers and administrative personnel, the broad peasant masses, teachers, art workers, writers, non-manual workers in all fields, merchants, artisans and small businessmen.

Popular unity also means the majority of women and the youth.

"Popular unity means unity of all patriots concerned with national independence; democrats opposed to the authoritarian nature of the regime; believers who, in the name of their faith, refuse to accept injustice and oppression by a doomed regime.

"Everyone, whatever his former voting preferences or previous convictions, is interested in popular unity, which will unite all in the fight for the victory and implementation of the joint program against the monopolies and their power."

Big capital is attempting to hide the consequences of the crisis and restrain the desire of the workers, democratic and national forces for unity brought closer by the signing of the joint program and establishment of a permanent liaison committee of Left parties and development of joint action.

It has vainly attempted to disguise the continuation of its policy by resorting to partial changes in its political apparatus; it is enhancing the authoritarian character of the regime and increasing its control over the information media.

Finding themselves in a difficult position and unable to offer

a meaningful alternative to the program, the forces of reaction are doing their best to discredit it. They have raised the threat of political and economic chaos and stepped up their crude anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaigns while trying to reinforce their class ties with international imperialism. They are attempting to hammer together a bloc and bring even the most discredited, fascist elements to their ranks. The struggle unfolding within the reactionary forces, particularly between the UDR and "reformists" of every hue controlled by different forces, is the result of a search for an adequate response to the new situation created by the joint program.

The political forces of the big bourgeoisie who label themselves as "independents" or "centrists" of the Parliamentary majority, share responsibility with the UDR for the damage done by the regime. Political forces camouflaged as "reformists" are also doing their best to prolong the life of the regime of big business.

Effective mass resistance is a new development of the struggle aimed at forcing the employers and authorities to immediately satisfy their most urgent demands and, also, at achieving close cooperation among the workers and democratic forces and their organizations. This resistance requires a broad campaign to spread information about the joint program, extensive open discussion of its contents, and the rallying of all popular forces around it.

Already today, the struggle by Left parties for the joint program and its goals can be seen in various forms throughout the country and the success of this struggle show growing recognition of the program. It helps to win over new forces in its support.

The successes of the struggle increase the trust of the people whose support will help strengthen the alliance of Left parties in order to guide the joint action of the people and wage a coordinated fight for the triumph of the joint program, and then, to share common responsibility for its implementation when the people are ready to entrust them with this.

The Communists' answer to all attempts to patch up the regime, to all quests, whatever form they may take, for pseudo-political solutions, is the only correct one: popular unity around the joint program of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals.

III. THE PEOPLES' FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND SOCIALISM

The deep-going changes that have occurred in the world since the 19th Congress show that the alignment of international forces is evolving in favor of socialism, national liberation and peace.

The world socialist system is making steady progress. The 24th Congress of the CPSU opened the prospect of further gains for the

Soviet Union, which plays a decisive role in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. Several other socialist countries are moving on to the stage of developed socialism. This is making the superiority of socialism all the more evident to the masses, and its influence on world development more decisive.

In most capitalist countries, the struggle of the working class and democratic forces has assumed an unprecedented scale and risen to a higher plane. The Communists' long struggle for an alliance of the working-class, democratic and national forces is bearing fruit. On the American continent, Cuba is continuing to build socialism. In Chile the people, who resist imperialist attacks, have embarked on decisive democratic changes — a stage on the road to socialism.

Despite certain difficulties, the role of the national liberation movement in the worldwide revolutionary anti-imperialist process is growing.

Imperialism has had to retreat on certain decisive points. This is due to the increased strength of the socialist system and its unrelenting effort for peace, to the activity of the masses, which has been gaining in scope and vigor, and to the struggles of the national-liberation forces.

Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union and its results were a noteworthy event in the history of relations between the two systems. They testify to the possibility of imposing peaceful coexistence on imperialism and engaging in disarmament measures.

A new situation is shaping in Europe thanks to the initiatives of the socialist countries and to the European peoples' struggle for security and cooperation, for a reduction of armaments and the abolition of military blocs. These changes express themselves in important gains: the failure of the aggressive plans of West German imperialism, which for a quarter of a century has disputed the results of Hitler Germany's defeat; the confirmed renunciation of the use of force by the Federal Republic of Germany, and its recognition of the inviolability of the frontiers existing in Europe, under the treaties concluded with the Soviet Union and with Poland; the conclusion of the basic treaty between the two sovereign and equal German states; the opening of the multilateral phase of preparations for a European conference. The French Communist Party will continue to work for the signing of a European security treaty and for the immediate establishment of normal diplomatic relations between France and the German Democratic Republic.

The admission of People's China into the UN was likewise a setback for imperialism.

This great country could, by abandoning the nationalist line followed by its leaders and by reverting to unity of action with

the other socialist countries, fully play its role in the peoples' fight for peace, progress and socialism.

More than ever before, it is right to say that the spectre of a new war can be removed and a reign of peace established on earth.

The peaceful coexistence of capitalist and socialist countries does not imply conciliation between socialism and imperialism. It does not remove the fundamental contradiction between them. Imperialism has not changed its nature. It has not given up the idea of combating the world socialist system nor of opposing the growth of the revolutionary movement in the part of the world it still dominates.

In Vietnam and the rest of Indochina, U.S. imperialism is waging a brutal war against peoples who want nothing but to shape their own destinies. Foiled by the heroic struggle of these peoples, who are backed by the socialist countries and the forces of progress around the world, Nixon has stepped up U.S. imperialist aggression to an unprecedented extent, resorting to virtual genocide. Going back on his most formal commitments, he is holding up the signing of the peace agreement. The FCP will steadfastly extend its solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, so that their just cause may prevail.

In the Middle East, U.S. imperialism gives economic, political and military support to Israel's expansionist leaders, who try through more provocations, to aggravate and extend the conflict. The FCP will persevere in its effort for a political settlement according to the UN resolutions calling for complete withdrawal from the occupied Arab areas, respect for the right of all the states of the region to existence and sovereignty, and recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The FCP will continue to support the victims of imperialist repression.

The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems creates more favorable conditions for the peoples' fight for independence, and for the struggle of the working class and its allies for democracy and socialism. It upholds the inalienable right of all peoples to free themselves from imperialist tyranny. By weakening imperialism and reaction, the peoples' struggle promotes peaceful coexistence.

As recourse to armed conflict has become more difficult for it, imperialism is compelled to shift the pursuit of its class aims to other fields — political, economic, ideological. Communists take vigorous action to frustrate its plans, foil its maneuvers and bring every large social strata into the fight against imperialism, for socialism.

If the peoples show vigilance and act, it will henceforward be a historical certainty that imperialism will never succeed in turning

mankind back and that the international situation will continue to develop in favor of peace and socialism.

The international Communist movement, champion of the interests of the working people of the world and of mankind's most advanced ideas, plays an essential role in the worldwide class struggle.

The permanent line of action of the FCP is to help in increasing the fighting efficiency of the world Communist movement and in raising its unity to a higher plane corresponding to the present possibilities of the fight against imperialism, as the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties recommended.

Our Party fosters, and will continue to foster in this spirit, relations of active cooperation with all Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual assistance, respect for the independence, sovereignty and equality of the parties, and non-interference in their internal affairs. Special importance attaches in this respect to the FCP-CPSU meeting in July 1971 and the Joint Declaration adopted on that occasion.*

The FCP backs, and will continue to back, initiatives towards strengthening unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The results achieved to date show the Party's efforts along these lines to be correct. These lines are particularly suitable for attaining closer unity of the world Communist movement, taking into account the diverse conditions of struggle, ensuring that differences over particular issues do not lead to a loosening of the indispensable bonds of socialist solidarity between brother parties, and increasing — through the experience of each, joint action, and sincere exchanges of views — the common treasury of scientific socialism, that is, Marxism-Leninism.

The FCP will continue to work for good relations with the democratic and revolutionary movements in various parts of the globe, with all anti-imperialist forces. It will back initiatives towards unifying all forces fighting against exploitation, oppression, colonialism and imperialism.

Its work for popular unity and the success of the joint program is a contribution to the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces.

IV. THE PARTY'S ROLE IN ACHIEVING POPULAR UNITY

For more than 50 years, the FCP, revolutionary party of the working class and, as such, champion of the interests of all working people and the entire nation, has held a prominent and increasingly important place in the country's life.

*See "Information Bulletin" No. 16-17, 1971.—Ed.

Its national and international responsibilities are increasing in the present situation. Having initiated the effort for popular unity, it devotes all its energies to the struggle for the success of the joint program. It is conducting an unprecedented campaign to promote its diffusion and the discussion of its content, and to bring about conscious action by the masses, a decisive factor for the victory and implementation of the joint government program. Thereby it reveals the perspective of the struggle.

By encouraging large-scale actions for unity by organizations which subscribe to the joint program, the Party strengthens the people's confidence in its realistic character and significance and in the possibility of victory.

The working people, the democratic forces and the masses see in the strength, influence and activity of the Communist Party an essential guarantee that the struggle for a democratic system meeting their needs and aspirations will be carried on with determination and success. They see in them an earnest of rapid and far-reaching progress in unifying the working-class and democratic forces.

The 19th Congress called on the whole Party to raise its ideological standard and improve its capacity for propaganda and work among the masses. Great progress has been made. We can and must make further headway to cope with the complex and rapid revolution of the situation and develop live, up-to-date and dynamic methods of Party work.

The ideological struggle is gaining in sharpness and importance in every field. The crisis shakes the faith of millions in the future of capitalism. Many people can be made aware of the nature of requisite changes and the ways and means of effecting them.

The bourgeoisie tries to mislead them and to involve them in various versions of Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism. The Party, which keeps pace with the times and the people and leans for guidance on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its own experiences and those of the international working-class movement, will score new gains in its ideological fight and its work among the masses.

The Party tries to meet the exigencies of the struggle, taking into account the changes occurring in society and in conditions of struggle. It is mainly by carrying forward its theory and through constant and dynamic propaganda that the Party combats bourgeois ideology. It therefore carries on a campaign giving a truthful picture of the socialist countries, of their experiences and successes.

The Party gains political efficiency and profound unity of thought in action, by regularly and fully informing its membership and by educating them ideologically, and through collective solution of the numerous and complicated problems that arise.

The effort for organization and propaganda at the enterprises, where political and ideological struggles are becoming more active, is a priority for the Party. In the enterprises, educational institutions and research centers, in town and countryside, every Party cell and every Communist has immense responsibility. This is a time when all Party organizations and members must show daring and initiative.

The Communist Youth Movement of France carries on important political and ideological activity among the younger generation. Party organizations should constantly help it to build up its organizations and train its cadre.

By using every form of propaganda and by submitting its policies and objectives to the masses for discussion, the Party will extend its influence and strengthen its positions in the service of democracy and socialism.

At this stage, the working class and all wage and salary earners need, more than ever, a strong Communist Party with deep and strong roots among the masses. The Party will foster its organizing capacity.

Demonstrating in this way that it is the great revolutionary party of our times, the FCP will call on tens of thousands of working people, democrats and patriots to join its ranks—their joining the Party often depends on a mere invitation to do so.

France is at a cross-roads. Either the reactionary policies of today will become aggravated and bring on enormous confusion, suffering and disruption, or the country, delivered from capitalist oppression, will march towards a future of prosperity, freedom and independence.

The 20th Congress of the French Communist Party is aware of the historic responsibility of the Communists, working people and democrats. It urges them to fight with greater energy than ever for the success of popular unity, the victory of the joint program and the establishment of a regime of advanced democracy paving the way for socialism.

RESOLUTION* ON "L'HUMANITE"

L'Humanité plays a unique role in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, as well as in the everyday defense of the working people's interests.

We are living in an epoch when the battle of ideas has acquired unprecedented significance. While the class struggle gains in intensity and scope, the development of the mass media and the growing dissemination of knowledge extend the ideological battle-

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field. Faced with the growth of political thought among the broadest social strata, the regime realizes that it is directly threatened. The struggle is becoming sharper and more brutal. The regime, now on the defensive, is becoming more aggressive as it tries hard to prevent the growth of the social consciousness of all who are victims of the system.

The regime, a product of big capital, commands vast material means of carrying on its propaganda. Through a docile press and radio, through the French Radio and Television Department, which it controls entirely, it daily gives every family a distorted picture of the facts, one that it would like to impose on all French people. Its methods are manifold and adjusted to the different segments of society. Added to all this is the employers' press at the enterprises. But whether sought by means of gross slander or subtle innuendoes, through simple omission or crude lies, the objective is, invariably, to assure the survival of capitalism and mislead public opinion by misrepresenting the evidence on the crisis, leaving the real culprits in the shadow, and ignoring or deriding democratic solutions.

In the face of this gigantic enterprise of falsification and misinformation, *L'Humanité* is the only medium through which we can daily and publicly present our ideas and our policy to all France. Hence its existence and influence are intimately linked with those of the Party.

It is not enough to be right—one must also convince others. To reveal to the masses the need to break the omnipotence of monopoly and the possibility of doing it through a broad and effective unification of the workers' democratic and national forces around the joint program, we must carry on a continuous and dynamic campaign of explanation. We must draw into struggle on a class basis those of the working people who are influenced by reformist ideology. We must also win over the men and women whom the regime still succeeds in deceiving and turning away from action.

At any stage, large segments of the nation can launch a resolute political struggle only if they have a clear idea of the goal to be attained, of the adversary to be fought and the alliances to be concluded. The working people know by experience the bitter realities of the capitalist world. But past experience is not enough to understand the root causes of the crisis nor to work out solutions for it. To count on experiences alone in the search for clarity and the effort to defeat bourgeois demagoguery and falsehoods would amount, in effect, to denying the Party's *raison d'être*.

L'Humanité daily carries the Party's voice to all its readers. It enables them to see clearly in the tangle of events, prevents them from forming a fragmentary or incomplete idea of them and helps

them to grasp all their implications and their full significance. It acquaints them with the truth about the socialist countries or re-establishes it. It fits the facts into their national and international context and reveals the perspective they point to.

For Communists, *L'Humanité* is also an incomparable working implement. They are there to inform, explain, enlighten and organize. It is their responsibility and an honorable duty as Party members.

In this everyday task there is nothing better for them than *L'Humanité*. It continuously extends their knowledge, prompts them to think, helps them to find their bearings in the most intricate situations, enables them to benefit from the Party's collective experience and thought.

The content of *L'Humanité* is a reflection of French and world realities, the working people's problems, the Party's life and activity. It owes its strength to the working people and the Party. It is with and through them that the paper will steadily improve its quality and gain in dynamism.

Without *L'Humanité*, no Communist can meet the legitimate expectations of the masses or fight effectively and successfully enough.

L'Humanité has been in the thick of all the Party's battles ever since it came into being. It played a role of the first importance in bringing about the joint program. The acuteness of the political situation and the vital national importance of the struggles going on make it more indispensable from day to day. It is the opposition's only national daily, the only one to be working for the unity and victory of democratic forces. *Humanité Dimanche*, a family magazine distributed by Party members and sympathizers, presents our policies in a form within easy grasp of the masses.

However, *L'Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche* encounter difficulties and problems that are so serious that we can solve them only if every Communist now becomes keenly aware of them.

Indeed, the regime spares no effort nor leaves any maneuver untried to destroy or weaken the press which is independent of the moneybags. Its attack has a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it tries by means of skilfully presented audio-visual information to suggest to the public that in today's world it is no longer necessary to read a daily. On the other hand, it resorts to what may be called a policy of an expensive press, characterized by the growing price of newsprint, steadily increasing charges and mounting distribution expenses. By these devices it has succeeded in eliminating a number of newspapers of different trends and, notably, eight of the Party's provincial dailies, which stopped publication in 1956. It goes without saying that our press is a special target of various discriminatory measures, in particular in advertising.

In the case of *L'Humanité*, a steady decline in sales over the years has aggravated an already dangerous situation, all the more since *Humanité Dimanche*, whose sales have likewise been falling off, risks being unable to make up for the deficit of the daily any longer. Financial difficulties constrained our daily to give up part of its premises and personnel, and unless this trend is reversed, the paper will have to reduce the number of its pages, which would tell on its efficacy and its sales more than ever.

The problem facing the Party is not only to stop the decline but to increase sales. This must be done for financial reasons, of course, but above all for political ones. Distribution of *L'Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche* is a dynamic and effective element of the vast battle for popular unity, for the triumph of the joint government program and the deliverance of France from monopoly oppression. Those who are waging an all-out war against our press know this only too well. The whole Party and its every member must take up the challenge. Some positive early results show that this can be done. Accomplishing all our tasks will largely depend on it.

Congress resolved that the distribution and preservation of *L'Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche* shall be a responsibility of the Central Committee, the federation and sectional committees of the Party and its cells.

It calls on Party organizations at all levels to adopt radical and precise decisions and to exercise rigid control over their execution, so that all Communists without exception may be convinced of the need to read *L'Humanité* every day, and that they may realize they need it if they are to live up to their responsibilities and show proper initiative;

—so that Party members may do their utmost to induce as many working people as possible to read our daily, and to win new readers by organizing distribution everywhere, first of all in the enterprises;

—so that the too numerous cells which do not distribute *Humanité Dimanche* may immediately set about fulfilling this elementary task, and that for all the cells which do distribute it (they make up the majority) this may become a primary concern;

—so that this problem may no longer be a matter for some Party members and may become a concern of every cell and all its members, and that the best individual and collective initiatives may be held up as a model;

—so that young Party members in particular may regard the reading of our press as an essential means of furthering their political education and may devote an important part of their energy and élan to its distribution.

The enemy is in a state of permanent mobilization against our daily. This makes it incumbent on us to mobilize to promote and

defend the paper. The Party, realizing the unique role of *L'Humanité* and the seriousness of the problems facing it, must rally all its energies to use the paper more effectively and ensure its distribution on a scale corresponding to the popular unity which has to be achieved.

Just as the struggle of the working people and democrats would be doomed to failure but for the existence and activity of the Party in their service, so the Party cannot fulfil its task as the people's vanguard unless *L'Humanité* has a large circulation.

To read, distribute and defend *L'Humanité* and *Humanité Dimanche* is one of the requisites of putting the decisions of the 20th Congress into practice.

IN BRIEF

DENMARK

The 24th CP Congress was held in Copenhagen on January 12-14. It was attended by 325 delegates representing Communist Party branches and 25 delegates from the YCL, as well as by delegations from 20 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, including one from the CPSU headed by CC Secretary I. V. Kapitonov. Many fraternal parties sent greetings to the Congress.

The CC report was delivered by Party Chairman Knud Jespersen. The Congress discussed the political situation in the country following Denmark's entry into the EEC; Party tasks in the struggle against neo-reformist and Left-opportunist tendencies; an action program to improve the people's living standards and strengthen European peace.

The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution on "The struggle against monopoly capital, for working class interests, for socialism," and the "Action program of the CP Denmark for the immediate future."

The Congress voiced its solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. In a message of greetings to the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the Danish Communists demand that the United States immediately sign the agreement on a cease-fire and the restoration of peace in the country and withdraw all U.S. troops from Indochina. The delegates appealed to the Danish government to disassociate itself from the criminal policy of the United States in Vietnam by withdrawing from NATO, and to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The Congress adopted changes in the CPD Rules, elected a new Central Committee of 41 members and 11 candidate members. Knud Jespersen was re-elected Party Chairman.

Materials of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark will be printed in subsequent issues of the Bulletin.

MARTINIQUE

The Communist Party of Martinique held its Fifth Congress December 20-31, 1972. It was attended by 200 delegates, and also representatives of the Communist Parties of Guadeloupe, France, Chile and the People's Progressive Party of Guyana. Thirty-four fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, including the CC CPSU, sent greetings to the Congress.

The Congress heard a report of the CC delivered by General Secretary Armand Nicolas.

The delegates adopted a political resolution outlining immediate party tasks, and a resolution of solidarity with Vietnam. The Congress also demanded the immediate release of political prisoners in Paraguay.

Certain amendments to the CP Rules were approved, a Central Committee of 35 members and Control Commission of three members were elected. A. Nicolas was re-elected General Secretary.

NORWAY

On January 23, the Communist Party CC decided to hold the 17th Party Congress November 1-4, 1973, and to dedicate it to preparation for the 50th anniversary of the Party's foundation. In early April the CP will hold a conference to discuss a new Party Program which will be submitted to the forthcoming 17th Congress.

ITALY

A National Conference of young Italian women members of the Communist Party ended in Florence January 15. The delegates were addressed by E. Berlinguer, General Secretary ICP, who spoke highly of the conference's work and said that the problems concerning the situation and role of women in Italian society are a key issue in the political activity of the ICP.

The General Secretary criticized the present government for its inability to carry out urgent social reforms, better the working people's standards, do away with the serious shortcomings in the health and education systems and put an end to unemployment.

URUGUAY

On January 12-13 the CP held a conference in Montevideo to discuss organizational questions. The delegates spoke on measures

to improve party work in 1973, discussed plans for its organizational development, and ways of increasing Party membership.

A report was delivered by Alberto Suarez, CC Organizational Secretary, who analyzed the political situation in the country and the role of the CP as leader of the Uruguayan revolution. On the Party's organizational development, he said that membership had increased greatly in 1972, noting that 55 per cent of the new membership were from the working class.

The conference approved the report and the Party development plan. It addressed all Party members in connection with the start of a campaign in the country against the threat of fascism and for a truly democratic path of development.

PLENARY MEETINGS

GUS HALL ON STRUGGLES IN NEXT FOUR NIXON YEARS

Below are extracts of the report by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, to a meeting of the Central Committee held December 8-10, 1972, published in **Daily World**, January 20, 1973. Comrade Hall was leading spokesman of the Party in the 1972 national elections as its Presidential candidate, together with Vice-Presidential candidate Comrade Jarvis Tyner, Chairman of the Young Workers' Liberation League.

The complete report appears as a pamphlet entitled: "A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters—the next four years of Nixon."

Now that the elections are past, the issues, the movements, the struggles move back into other forms . . . We are now going to have four more years of Richard Milhous Nixon, and they will be four years of a racist, anti-labor, anti-democratic, reactionary lame-duck Nixon. And this fact presents serious new problems. It presents new dangers.

We will have a President who has become the spokesman, the magnet for all the ultra-Right, racist, anti-labor forces in the country. The 1972 elections further consolidated this front of reaction.

We will have four more years of a President who openly and vigorously uses the state-monopoly capitalist structure in the drive for more productivity, for an intensified exploitation of workers, for an escalating rate of corporate profits.

We are going to have four more years of a President who leads

in the policies of racism, a President who leads the drive against the poor. We will have an administration with an ultra-Right bent.

We will have four more years of extreme corruption, thievery and skulduggery.

More than ever the new Nixon Cabinet is a corporate "god-fathers'" cabinet. It is made up of men who have no political background. The signs are clear. Even Republicans who had ambitions to run for public office have all left, or have refused to serve in the Cabinet. For those with election ambitions the lame-duck Nixon is a sinking ship from which rats scurry.

In view of the enormous powers of the Presidency, four more years of a reactionary, racist, anti-labor, anti-democratic lame-duck President are a grave threat, a serious challenge to all forces of progress. This threat should not in any way be underestimated.

But the lame duck is not going to be swimming in calm or placid waters. The forecast is for stormy seas, high winds, strong counter-currents. This is to be expected, because there is always the development of the dialectical opposite. It will be four years of reaction, but it will also be four years of struggle. It will be four years during which the movements of the people will coalesce, four years of victories against reaction. Therefore our words of concern are not expressions of pessimism. The flags of warning are not calls for retreat.

As life unfolds Nixon will find out that he does not have a mandate for his reactionary policies . . .

George Meany will learn that he can not get away with his betrayal of the workers by supporting Nixon. Brennan will quickly find out that the working class is not going to follow the path of wage freezes and an escalating cost of living. His "hard hat" will not cover up his betrayal of the working class . . .

The mood of the masses is not that of passivity. There is, of course, a momentary sense of wait-and-see. But there is also a sense of militancy, of readiness to do battle. The reactionary policies of the Nixon Administration will set off new waves of struggle.

Let us examine the pertinent facts and figures of this election . . .

There are about 140 million eligible voters . . .

Nixon's vote represents approximately 30 per cent of the total of 18-90-year spectrum. It is important, of course, that he was the choice of 60 per cent of those who voted.

But when we speak of struggle it is not limited to those who voted. Therefore it is also important to keep in mind that some 50 per cent of the adult population did not register or did not vote. As a rule these are the poorest section, the alienated, the exploited and the discriminated-against . . .

Also, while we do not agree that abstaining is a meaningful action, in the overall political assessment it's necessary to take into account the 46 per cent who were registered but did not vote. These are not a passive element either.

In the 1972 elections a greater number of those registered than in previous elections used their abstention as an act of protest against both parties of capitalism. Had there been a more meaningful mass alternative, it is clear that many in this group would have voted. We must take note of this.

But we must also say it is not a meaningful action. There was no movement to boycott the elections, and the abstention helped Nixon get the 60 per cent vote that he received. And if those who abstained wanted a meaningful protest they could have voted for the Communist candidates.

In general, the voting patterns did not move in any one direction. Instead they reflected the fact that there were many contradictory pressures.

Though Nixon received 60 per cent of the vote, all the congressmen and senators with the best positions on ending the war and other questions were re-elected, while some who have supported the war and taken a generally more reactionary position were defeated.

Racism emerged in a new and extremely dangerous way in the elections. But it is also important to take note of the victories of Black candidates—one in the Senate and 15 in the House of Representatives, including three Black Congresswomen. And these victories were won in some districts where the majority of the voters are white.

Within this total picture it is of great significance that 87 per cent of the Black voters voted against Nixon. There are also estimates that something like 75 to 80 per cent of the Puerto Rican vote went against Nixon.

Meany and Abel went for Nixon but there was a revolt against them in the ranks of labor. The open rebellion by the three state federations and 13 international unions, the emergence of the Labor Peace Council, the work of TUAD and the rise of hundreds, if not thousands, of rank-and-file groups, are all of very great significance.

The independent registration is now at an all-time high. Some say that it is now larger than either the Democratic or Republican registration.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

AGAINST THE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY OF MAOISM

INDIA

CURRENT POLICIES OF MAOISM

Under this title an article by N. K. Krishnan, National Secretary of the Communist Party of India, appeared in the weekly **New Age**, December 24 and 31, 1972. We publish excerpts from it below.

With the rapprochement with USA and its entry into the United Nations, Maoism has entered a new phase in which the same old strategic goals of disruption and great-power chauvinism are pursued, but this time by means of tactics which are more flexible and more variegated and designed to veil, and in some instances even to eliminate, some of its earlier crude and extremist features. This change in tactics has been forced by both internal and external factors signifying the total failure of its "cultural revolution" policies.

In the current phase of Maoism, the Chinese leaders, while making certain adjustments in tactics, are at the same time further intensifying the struggle against the socialist community and the international Communist and revolutionary movement, as well as seeking more than ever before to disrupt the alliance between these forces and the national-liberation movements.

In the course of the last one year, in fact, ever since the Nixon-Mao rapprochement, the outlines of Maoist policy in Asia have become clearer day by day. The main orientation of this policy is to isolate India and the Soviet Union; the Maoist leaders look upon India and the Soviet Union as the main hurdles to their aim of great-power hegemony in Asia. To achieve their ends, the CPC leaders have indicated their willingness to accommodate American imperialism as well as the resurgent might of Japanese militarism and its economic potential.

In the Indian subcontinent, following their shameful role towards the Bangladesh liberation struggle and their veto on recognition of Bangladesh in the United Nations, all the efforts of the Chinese leaders are concentrated on hampering and obstructing the course of normalization of relations among India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The line of the CPC leaders towards the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has been particularly double-faced and hypocritical. Since 1965, from the moment of the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the CPC leadership has rejected proposals repeatedly put forward by the Soviet government and governments of other socialist countries for joint action in support of the Vietnamese people.

The Chinese policy in the Middle East, pursuing its own narrow-nationalist ends, is aimed at preventing a political settlement of the conflict and liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression. At the same time, this policy secretly encourages those who seek to aggravate the military confrontation in the Middle East.

The Chinese stand was openly revealed recently when the Middle East question came up on the agenda of the 27th session of the UN General Assembly. This time delegates strongly insisted that sanctions be applied to Israel as an aggressor state. The General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, passed a resolution demanding strictly that Israel return the Arab lands and regarding all the changes made in the occupied territories as illegal. But on this resolution, China abstained—in the glorious company of the United States and the racist regime of South Africa!

The Chinese leaders oppose every step taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for détente in Europe and for turning Europe into a continent of durable peace. They have not concealed their opposition to the treaties the USSR and Poland signed with the FRG and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. Peking's attitude towards Brandt's "eastern policy" is openly negative.

The Chinese leaders orient themselves mainly upon the extreme right and revanchist forces in West Germany represented by the CDU-CSU opposition.

The Chinese leaders maintain secret contacts with Strauss, the arch-reactionary leader of West German revanchism and militarism.

In its fight against détente in Europe and the proposed all-European security conference, Peking places its orientation not only on the forces of West German revanchism, but also on the reactionary Tory government of Britain led by Edward Heath. British Foreign Minister Douglas-Home's talks in Peking confirm the fact that the Chinese leaders intend to use the European Common Market as a force to resist the peace policy of the socialist countries.

This explains the open and emphatic support given by China to Britain's entry into the ECM, at a time when Heath's government is acting as the spearhead of anti-Sovietism and opposition to the early convening of the all-European security conference. The Chinese leaders also hope that Britain, under the Heath government, will play a leading role in rallying the "western union" against the socialist community in Europe.

In fact, a whole year which has passed after the restoration of China's lawful rights in the UN has repeatedly shown that the Chinese leaders would like to use this international organization primarily for their struggle against India and against the policies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and for torpedoing all the international efforts of peaceloving states.

Many of the third world countries are now seeing, through their own experience in the UN, that in essence Maoist policy is oriented upon the striving for great-power hegemony and the crudest bourgeois power-politics. To achieve these ends, Chinese diplomats at the UN have resorted to the same blackmailing and arm-twisting tactics as the Americans — sometimes even worse — in relation to Afro-Asian countries.

Such are the facts of life about Maoist policy during the current phase. They show that the logic of narrow nationalism and great-power chauvinism has led the Chinese leaders to a point where they have practically abandoned the struggle against imperialism and are orientating their international activity more and more on a confrontation with the socialist countries and on an alliance with imperialism and with the more reactionary groupings within the capitalist world.

It is significant that the Peking leaders, while making considerable concessions to capitalist states and seeking compromises with them which even infringe upon the national interests of China, at the same time reject all the proposals of the Soviet Union regarding an improvement of Sino-Soviet relations. The same policy is pursued towards India, too.

Equally significant is the fact that while establishing wide contacts with bourgeois parties, including the most rightist ones, the Chinese leaders overwhelmingly ignore the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries and, first of all, the Communist parties.

While pursuing a line of so-called normalization of relations on a very wide front with the capitalist countries in the name of "peaceful coexistence" (a slogan which for the past several years had come in for bitter attack and denunciation from them as "revisionism," "class collaboration" and so on), the Peking leaders regard as unthinkable even the possibility of serious reconsideration of their relations with the Soviet Union.

On the contrary, they are continuing the policy of creating ever new obstacles on the way to normalizing Sino-Soviet relations, of intensifying the hostile anti-Soviet campaign.

The Soviet Union has approached the People's Republic of China with proposals to conclude a bilateral treaty of renunciation of the use of force, including both conventional as well as nuclear missile weapons and submitted to the Chinese side a draft of this

treaty. But the Chinese leaders have rejected these constructive Soviet proposals.

The Chinese leaders continue to pursue the line of aggravation of tension on the borders with the Soviet Union. Troops have been moved away from the coast opposite Taiwan and from the Chinese-Vietnamese border and concentrated along the borders with the Soviet Union. The number of Chinese troops stationed along the Soviet borders now totals more than two million. Construction of numerous military installations is going on along these borders.

Despite all this, the Soviet leadership has kept the door open for the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations. It entirely depends on the Chinese leaders to bring this about.

Side by side with the struggle against the Soviet Union, the Maoist leadership continues to pursue the course of understanding and weakening the unity of the socialist system.

Backing up the enlargement and strengthening of the Common Market and other groupings of capitalist states, the Peking leaders are simultaneously attacking the cooperation of socialist countries within the framework of the Comecon and the defensive Warsaw Treaty system.

For this purpose, they pursue a differentiated approach to the socialist countries. They seek to establish a *détente* with some of them and at the same time do their best to provoke the emergence of nationalist, separatist trends in these countries, to turn them against the CPSU and the Soviet Union and to lure them with proposals for broad trade and economic relations with China in return for loosening of links with the socialist community.

It is a carefully worked out tactic of seeking to put the socialist countries in opposition to each other, primarily in opposition to the Soviet Union, to loosen the ties binding the socialist community and thereby to weaken its international positions in the world struggle between the two systems.

As before, Peking continues its hostile and splitting policy towards the international Communist movement. But here too, having suffered big setbacks in its frontal ideological attack against our movement and having miserably failed to impose Maoism on it, Peking has been forced to change its tactics.

Maoism has now shifted the center of gravity of its splitting activities to political struggle on all fronts, against the practical program of unity of action of the world anti-imperialist forces elaborated at the Moscow meeting of 1969.

It is no accident that imperialist propaganda is now taking a direct hand, in a big way, in the embellishment of Maoism. Bourgeois media of mass information in the western capitalist countries have recently whipped up what may in essence be called "the

cult of China"—popularizing widely its "achievements," even while distorting and denigrating Soviet achievements in every possible way.

Facts are piling up, showing that in their struggle against world socialism and the Communist movement, the Maoists are looking for allies among the right and "left" opportunists, the social-reformists, the bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyites and even open anti-Communists including the ruling circles of the imperialist powers.

The most glaring instances of this have occurred in West Asia, in Africa and in the Indian sub-continent.

One can thus see that, beneath all tactical changes and the use of wider and more subtle means and methods, the main strategic goal of Maoism has remained the same: to weaken and split the international Communist and anti-imperialist movement, to set detachments of this movement in opposition to each other, to wreck their coordinated joint actions on the international arena—all in pursuance of the same great-power chauvinist aims.

Having betrayed Marxism-Leninism, Maoism has now passed from separate political actions harmful to the common revolutionary cause, from slanderous attacks against the commonly agreed policies of the fraternal socialist countries and Communist parties, to the struggle against socialism and the international working class and revolutionary movement all along the front. The ideology and practice of Maoism is getting increasingly linked up with the ideology and practice of anti-communism, of enemies of peace, socialism and social progress of mankind.

The struggle against the theories and practice of Maoism, in its current phase, is, therefore, an indispensable condition for the achievement of really united action by the international Communist movement, by all the anti-imperialist forces.
