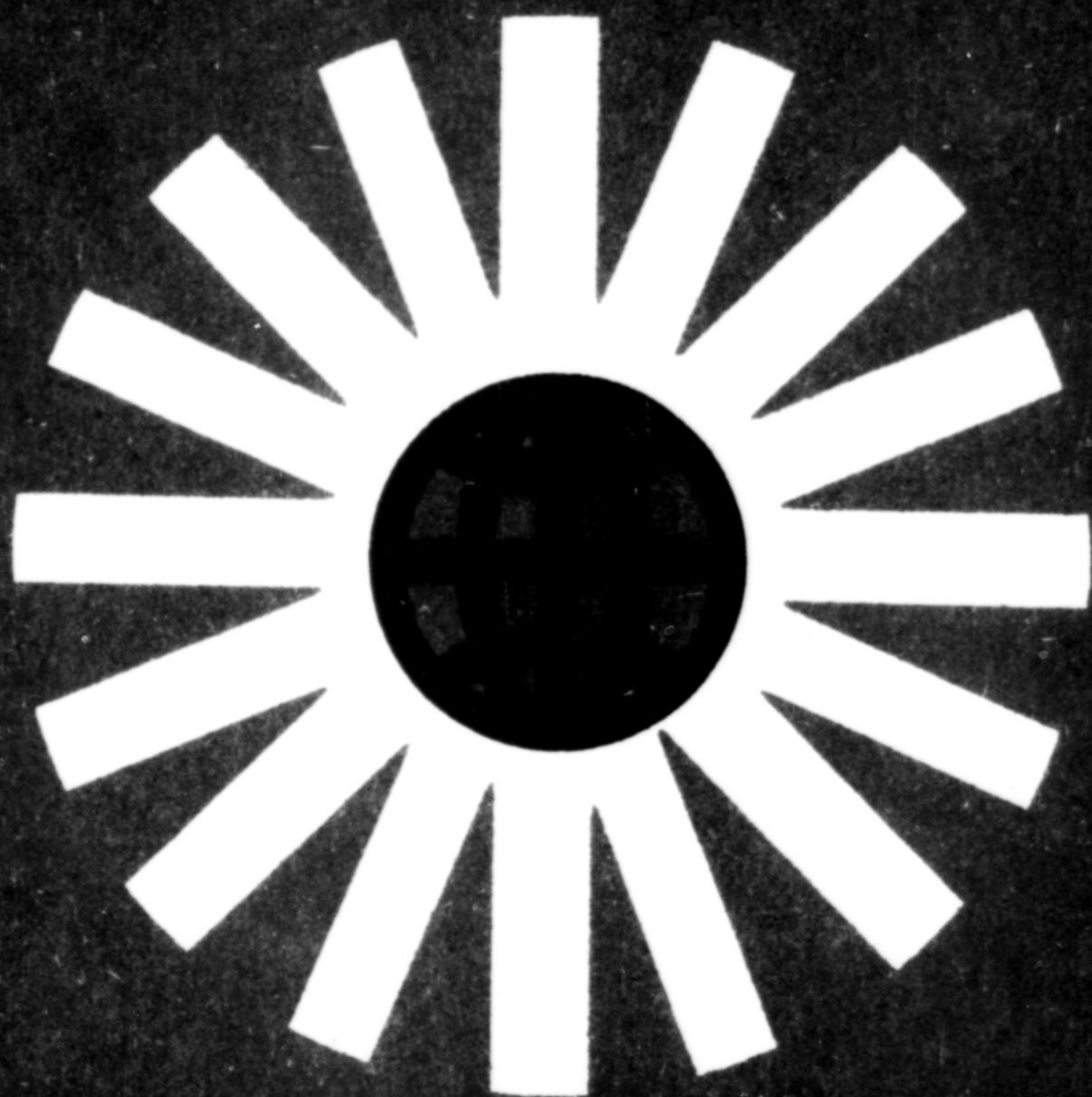


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ALONG THE ROAD OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION — TOWARD NEW VICTORIES OF THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM AND PEACE

The Soviet people and progressives the world over observed the 57th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On this occasion a meeting of the City Soviet and the Party Committee was held in Moscow on November 6.

Those gathered in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses warmly greeted the appearance on the dais of L.I. Brezhnev, Y.V. Andropov, A.A. Grechko, V.V. Grishin, A.A. Gromyko, A.P. Kirilenko, A.N. Kosygin, K.T. Mazurov, A.Y. Pelshe, N.V. Podgorny, D.S. Polyansky, M.A. Suslov, A.N. Shelepin, P.N. Demichev, B.N. Ponomarev, M.S. Solomentsev, D.F. Ustinov, V.I. Dolgikh, I.V. Kapitonov and K.F. Katushev.

The meeting was also attended by many foreign guests and diplomats.

A report on the anniversary was delivered by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Politbureau member of the CC CPSU.

SPEECH BY ANDREI GROMYKO

Dear comrades,

Our foreign guests,

The Soviet people and all the working people in the world are now marking the glorious anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Fifty-seven years ago, the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Party of Lenin, took the power into their own hands and established the world's first state of working people.

No other event in history has exercised such a powerful impact on the entire course of world development as the Great October Socialist Revolution. Having radically changed the destiny of nations, it heralded the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and pointed the way to peace and progress.

At present, together with the Soviet people, the peoples of the

fraternal socialist countries are marching under the banner of the October Revolution. Many of them recently observed notable anniversaries in their new life.

Closely connected with the October Revolution are the successes of the fighters against imperialism and colonial slavery, for freedom and national independence.

The cause of the October Revolution is a living cause near and dear to millions of working people on all continents. The experience of the October Revolution is a priceless treasure of the international working class. The holiday of the October Revolution is a festival of all progressive mankind.

Our country is celebrating the 57th anniversary of the Revolution in the prime of its strength and might. It has attained advanced targets in socio-economic and cultural progress. The society of developed socialism has been created and communism is being successfully built in our country. This is the main outcome of post-October history and the result of the dedicated labor of all generations of Soviet people.

The plans and efforts of our people are now imbued with one desire — to put into practice the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and reach the targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, thus taking another major step in further fortifying the might of the socialist Motherland.

Our labor achievements and successes in the building of communism form the basis of the steadily growing international prestige of the USSR. For the sake of the happiness of the people, for the future of all mankind the CPSU is persistently and purposefully working for peace. This noble work has been bequeathed to us by the great Lenin, by the Decree on Peace — the first decree of Soviet government.

In close and steadfast unity, under the leadership of their tried and tested militant vanguard — the Communist Party — the Soviet people are firmly advancing along the road of the October Revolution.

1. FOLLOWING THE LENINIST COURSE OF BUILDING COMMUNISM UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU

Comrades,

Fifty-seven years of the history of our state have been years of the Soviet people's hard work and struggle for the realization of the ideals of the October Revolution. As the Soviet people mark the anniversary of the Revolution, they take legitimate pride in summing up their splendid accomplishments in all sectors of communist construction.

Outstanding results have been achieved in the national economy, the most important sphere of society's life. Modern Soviet economy means a tremendous scale of production, high and stable rates of growth, and continuous technical improvement of all its branches. An indication of its dynamic development is the fact that the national income of the country has doubled over the past 10 years. A greater production potential than in the entire previous history of the Soviet state has been created during this period.

Every fresh step forward reveals more and more fully the advantages and possibilities of the socialist economy.

Our country is tackling problems of an unprecedented magnitude. Hundreds of new enterprises go into operation every year. We are building such industrial and power giants as, for example, the Kama motor works and the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro-electric power station, are laying the Baikal-Amur railway line and developing ever new resources of Siberia and the Far East for the benefit of the Motherland. A start has been made on the Party's program to develop the non-black soil zone of Russia, which, when realized, will transform a vast part of the country's territory.

At the same time, the Party is going ahead with large-scale measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of socialist production and achieving its all-round qualitative improvement. Fresh successes are being attained by the Soviet people in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

Our socialist industry is progressing confidently toward the targets set in the Directives of the 24th Congress. As preliminary estimates show, its volume of production will grow by more than one-third in the four years. This means that the four-year period will see more industrial goods produced than the entire previous five-year plan period.

The current year of 1974 has been marked by a further upsurge in the work and activity of the masses and a rise in the efficiency of the national economy. We are yet to arrive at the final results of the year, but nevertheless it is already clear that in it the country will show the highest increase in industrial production in the entire five-year plan period. Suffice it to say that in the past 10 months it amounted to 8.2 per cent, with labor productivity registering a 6.6 per cent growth. These indices are way above the planned targets and exceed rates of growth in the largest capitalist countries.

The successes of 1974 are of special significance. This year became a determining one in the efforts of the Soviet people to fulfil the

assignments of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Its achievements will lay a firm foundation for successful work in the final, concluding year of the current five-year plan period.

Good results are reported by the Soviet farmers. In spite of unfavorable weather conditions in a number of regions, the gross grain harvest in the country as a whole is not a bad one. It is below the level of the last, bumper crop year, but above the harvest reaped in all the years before that.

Shock work was demonstrated by farmers in the Volga area, the Urals, North Caucasus, and central black-soil and non-black soil regions of the Russian Federation. For two years running a thousand million poods of grain has been the Ukraine's annual contribution to the state granaries. Rich harvests have been grown and gathered in Byelorussia and in the Baltic Republics.

The cotton-growers have consolidated and multiplied last year's successes. They have fulfilled with honor their socialist pledges. The collective and state farms of Uzbekistan alone have gathered more than five million tons of cotton. All told, the country has already taken in over eight million tons of raw cotton — an all-time high in the history of Soviet cotton-growing.

Judging by the performance of the last 10 months, the livestock breeders of the country, too, have a good chance of topping the annual national economic plan.

What has been done in the way of developing agriculture is due to a high degree of organization, selfless efforts by the working people on the state and collective farms, and nationwide concern for the Soviet countryside. It is the result of the scientifically grounded agrarian policy of the Party and the constant attention it pays to agriculture.

If we look back, from today's positions, at the state of our agriculture, let us say, 10 years ago, we can see the vast changes which have taken place over that period. Since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of its Central Committee, which outlined the main lines of development for the country's farming, the CPSU has been steadily, step by step, tackling the main questions relating to the advancement of agricultural production, consistently pursuing the course for its intensification and for strengthening the material and technical basis of the countryside. Large-scale comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization is being carried out. Extensive land-improvement work is in train. All this has raised the productivity of arable farming and livestock breeding, strengthened substantially the economy of the state and collective farms and ultimately ensured a radical turning point in the development of agriculture.

The CPSU regards the further growth of agricultural production and enhancement of its efficiency as one of the most important tasks. It is mobilizing the efforts of all its organizations, of all the working people to accomplish this task.

The successful achievement of the objectives set by the Party has always been determined by the conscious and creative endeavors of millions. Their socio-political and labor activity are decisive in fulfilling economic plans for the growth of the country's might and the improvement of all our life.

Today, as we celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution, we speak with particular warmth and appreciation of the working man, of the Soviet toilers in town and country, who multiply the industrial might of the country, develop agricultural production and devote all their strength and talents to ensure the florescence of the socialist Motherland.

The current year has provided fresh evidence that the initiative and shock work of the working people, the widespread emulation drive are reliable catalysts of our forward movement.

It is in socialist emulation that the creative abilities of the people are revealed ever more fully and that many splendid initiatives originate.

Counter plans, the "contract of thousands" movement, exchange of messages between shock workers — these and other forms of competition have become an expression of the countrywide efforts to fulfil the quotas of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. They are exercising an ever more marked influence on the growth of labor productivity, the efficient use of machines and equipment, the disclosure of production reserves. In 1974, six thousand million roubles' worth of industrial output will be additionally produced by the national economy owing to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of counter plans and socialist pledges. This is what the inspired labor of Soviet people means.

In our society where man's services are measured by his work for the good of the people, no honor is greater than that of being called an advanced production worker. There are millions of such people in our country. They are genuine standard-bearers of the five-year plan. They rightfully enjoy nationwide fame and respect, and their services receive due recognition from the Party and the Motherland.

Comrades,

Our Party is consistently and steadily following the line of improving the qualitative performance of the economy, intensifying production and raising the whole of economic activity to a higher level. It is persistently working for the further perfection of the organization of production planning and management and the introduction of the

genuine Party style of work everywhere. In this the Party sees the paramount condition for the implementation of its economic policy.

That such a line is correct is convincingly confirmed by the course of fulfilment of the targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The structure of the economy is improving, production costs are being reduced, and the productivity of social labor is steadily growing. These factors will ensure more than four-fifths of the national income increase this year.

Of late, a series of measures has been carried through to speed up the pace of scientific and technical progress. The national economy is being extensively supplied with high-production equipment and means of comprehensive mechanization and automation.

Research and design organizations and industrial enterprises are working persistently in close cooperation to raise the technical level of production and output quality. Annually in the current five-year-plan period the production of over 3,500 new items is mastered, i.e., twice that of the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

On the whole we have all grounds for saying that in the span of time since the 24th Congress of the CPSU our country has markedly advanced in accomplishing a historic task, that of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism.

On the other hand, we all understand full well that the problems of a qualitative improvement of the economy call for constant attention and great effort. The main thing today, as Leonid Brezhnev has correctly pointed out, is to learn how to win both by numbers and by expertise, to make thrifty use of the country's riches and to fully draw upon our main reserve, that of raising the efficacy of the economy.

This means that we should utilize better the productive force of modern knowledge, that we should ensure the prompt introduction of scientific and technological achievements in production. It means enhanced responsibility and improved efficiency, strict observance of state and labor discipline, and decisive efforts to overcome the existing shortcomings, all that hinders our progress. This, as the December, 1973 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, is a Party concern, a matter of policy.

We are on the eve of the last year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Fulfilment and overfulfilment of the national economic plans, shock work in the concluding stage — this is the most important and responsible task facing us. Its successful accomplishment is a guarantee for the further development of the socialist economy and culture, for improving the people's well-being.

Concern for the men of labor, for the people's welfare constitutes the profound meaning and purpose of the activity of the Communist Party.

Taking into consideration the increased possibilities of the socialist economy, the 24th Congress of the CPSU, as is known, put forward as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan a considerable rise in the living and cultural standards of the working people by rapidly expanding socialist production.

This task is being consistently carried out. Every Soviet family, every citizen knows from experience how much has been done during the last few years to raise the people's welfare.

In pursuance of the Congress Directives, large-scale measures have been effected to raise wages and salaries. They have been increased for a large contingent of working people — doctors, teachers, railway workers and farm machine operators.

A new, higher minimum pay is being consistently introduced, and wage rates and salaries for the middle-bracket workers in production branches are being raised. These socio-economic measures are of great significance for the equalization of the living standards of the various categories of the population.

All in all, 47 million people or in fact every other worker and employee received wage increases between 1971 and 1974.

Social consumption funds play an important role in raising the people's well-being. As many as 30 million people now enjoy higher incomes thanks to the rises in pensions, scholarships and allowance grants and other benefits in the four years of the five-year plan alone.

To create better conditions for the upbringing of the growing generation and to increase financial assistance to families with children, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently approved measures for the introduction of allowances for children in low-income families. The state allocates 1,800 million roubles for such allowances annually. This is new convincing testimony to the concern of the Communist Party for the people's welfare.

While raising the real incomes of the population, the Party is doing much to expand the production of consumer goods. The service industries are being developed at a rapid pace. The Soviet people buying more clothes, furniture, refrigerators, TV sets every year. Over the past period of the five-year plan far more of these goods has been sold than in the whole of the previous five-year-plan period.

At the same time, the demands of the working people, among other

things, with regard to the quality of the goods, are also constantly growing. And this is only natural. To build up the output of consumer goods, to raise their quality and improve their assortment, in other words, to satisfy the consumer demand ever more fully — these are the tasks toward which the Party directs the efforts of the workers of all branches of the national economy and, in the first place, of light and food industries.

One of the main indices of the working people's standard of living is their housing conditions. The scale of housing construction in our country has no equal in the world. It is illustrated by the fact that in the four years of the five-year plan alone the living space to be made available equals the housing of four cities the size of Moscow. In these four years over 45 million Soviet people will move into new flats or have their housing conditions otherwise improved. The Party is working to ensure a constant increase of available housing for the people, so that each Soviet family receives a separate flat.

Socialist society is the first society in history which is concerned to improve the material and spiritual conditions of life for every working man. Even at the time when our resources were very limited, not only was the growth of the production of essential goods ensured in the country, but there was established the most advanced system of education, public health and social security.

The life of the Soviet people has become immeasurably more meaningful and diverse today. This is the direct result of the consistent efforts of the Party aimed at promoting culture, science and the spiritual enrichment of society. The years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan are especially remarkable in this respect.

The transition to universal secondary education is being completed, and the teaching process in secondary and higher education and the vocational training of young people are being perfected. A great deal has also been done to fortify the physical health of people, to improve their conditions of work and life and to preserve the natural environment.

Aimed at an ever fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people, the course of the 24th Congress of the CPSU will continue to be pursued firmly and consistently.

The Party has time and again stressed that man is the main asset, our greatest wealth, and his harmonious development is a programmatic goal of the Party. Society places at his service all production, all science and culture, and all of its social and political institutions.

The very nature of the socialist social system, of the Soviet way of life, in which we by rights see the most important gain of the October Revolution, is expressed in this. The Soviet way of life embodies the unity of interests and aims of the Soviet people, their dedication to the cause of communism. Its tremendous achievement is the brotherhood of all the nations and nationalities of the country, the indissoluble friendship among them, of which the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the USSR and our common holidays — the golden jubilees of Soviet republics — have been striking expressions.

The Soviet way of life is a new system of relations based on collectivism and mutual assistance, and respect for man. Profoundly humanistic in its character, it instils firm confidence in the present and the future.

As we forge ahead, the remarkable features of the Soviet way of life are further developed. The "new and superior forms of human society," to use Lenin's words, are being successfully promoted in our country. A new historical community — the Soviet people — has taken shape. The ideological and political unity of society is being strengthened, and the further drawing together of all its social groups is taking place.

The leading role in communist construction, in the entire life of our society, by rights belongs to the working class, the most organized, steeled and class-conscious contingent of the working people. Utterly devoted to the communist ideals, it is carrying forward the cause of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia in a fitting manner. The working people of the whole world regard with admiration the working class of our country and its exploits both in the years of the Great Patriotic War and in the years of peaceful labor.

In alliance with the heroic working class there marches the collective-farm peasantry. Equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, and now at an immeasurably higher level in its cultural standards, it makes a great contribution to the country's development.

The role of the Soviet intelligentsia naturally increases with the growth of our economic might, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, and the enrichment of the spiritual life of the people.

The inviolable alliance of the working class, the collective farmers and intellectuals, the unity of all the classes and social groups of our society, all the nations and nationalities of the country — that is the force that enables us to tackle successfully the great tasks of building

communism. The Party's policy is directed toward promoting the further rapprochement of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals and toward the gradual overcoming of the existing differences between town and countryside, and between mental and physical labor. As the 24th Party Congress stressed, that is one of the principal areas of the building of a classless communist society.

The Party is constantly fostering the further development of socialist democracy. It is doing its utmost to step up the activity of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Leninist Young Communist League and all the country's public organizations.

Broad democratism is a characteristic feature of socialist reality. A principled advantage of our democracy is that it not only proclaims the rights of man but guarantees their actual realization. The Soviet citizen is spared such social evils as unemployment, exploitation and political and national discrimination. He has every opportunity to participate in administering state, economic and public affairs.

The dignity of the Soviet man and his rights as a citizen are protected by the full force of our law. At the same time, genuine democratism, genuine sovereignty of the people and the great cause of the building of communism, call for high consciousness and a sense of responsibility.

That is why the Party is consolidating society's organization and enhancing everyone's sense of responsibility. This is why it is instilling in the Soviet people the intolerance of shortcomings, all kinds of survivals of the past and anti-social phenomena, and is decisively combating the penetration of bourgeois ideology. It is striving to inculcate in all the working people a communist conviction, foster labor and political activity, conscious discipline and efficiency.

By shaping high moral and political qualities in every citizen of the country the Party will continue, as Lenin said, "to work to inculcate in people's minds, turn into habit, and bring into the day-by-day life of the masses . . . communist discipline and communist labor."

All our successes in industry and agriculture, in raising the well-being of the working people, in cultural progress, in the further strengthening of the political and ideological unity of Soviet society, and the consolidation of the friendship of the peoples, have been attained under the guidance of the Communist Party. The latter is invariably guided by its reliable compass, the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its wealth of revolutionary experience. Its Leninist Central Committee, the Politbureau headed by Leonid Brezhnev, the

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are doing truly tremendous work in all spheres of public life, organizing and directing the creative efforts of the Soviet people. Every Communist and every Soviet citizen well knows Leonid Brezhnev's outstanding role in guiding the multi-faceted life and activity of the Party and government. This has won him the Leninist respect and love of the Soviet people.

The activity of our Party and its Central Committee is characterized by an unflagging observance of norms of Party life, a scientific analysis, an objective assessment of reality — of past experience and future tasks — and a profound substantiation of the decisions adopted. These features received further comprehensive realization after the October (1964) Central Committee Plenum, which influenced the entire development of the country. The Plenum played an outstanding role in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet state, in working out a political line that accorded with the conditions of advanced socialism.

The past decade has manifested the great strength of the Party's policy. The decisions of the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses and the Central Committee Plenums and their realization show that what the people and the Party decide in internal and foreign affairs, they translate into reality consistently and steadily. They suit the action to the word.

We also have a graphic demonstration of the inviolable unity of the Party, which expressed itself in a new upsurge of the creative activity of the Party and the people, the remarkable results of which we all see today.

In the past few years, the ranks of the CPSU have grown stronger and matured on the basis of the steady realization of Lenin's principles of Party building. The Communists of the Soviet Union are rallied closely round the unconquerable banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Leninist Party, which unites more than 15 million Communists, is the political leader of the people, the people's honor, conscience and intelligence.

The Party's strength lies in its ideological cohesion, and its indissoluble links with the masses. The interests of the working people are its interests.

The Party enjoys the boundless trust of the people. It highly appreciates this trust and prides itself on justifying it by leading the Soviet people steadily toward the victory of communism.

II. STRUGGLE OF CPSU FOR PEACE AND SECURITY OF NATIONS — REALIZATION OF BEHESTS OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Comrades,

The victory of the October Revolution meant not only a change of the social system in one country. It heralded the decline of the entire world system based on exploitation, imperialist oppression, violence and wars. The era of the revolutionary transformations, which have radically changed the aspect of the modern world, dates from this victory.

At present, the world system of socialism, the international working class, all the anti-imperialist forces have become the determining factor of world development. It is profoundly natural that the present positive changes in the world have become possible, first of all, thanks to the change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

Karl Marx prophesied: "In contrast to the old society with its economic poverty and political lunacy, a new society is being born, a society whose international principle will be *peace* ..." A just and democratic peace was the call addressed by the October Revolution, by the great Lenin to all the nations and governments.

The Party of Communists carried the banner of the Leninist foreign policy through all the difficulties and trials of those years when our country was alone in a capitalist encirclement. We marched with this banner through the fires of the Great Patriotic War, in the course of which the Soviet people, their glorious Armed Forces routed the Hitler military machine and brought the peoples of Europe freedom from fascist tyranny. Loyal to this banner, the Soviet state has been firmly upholding the peace and security of the nations throughout the postwar period.

Today, just as half a century ago, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which sprang from the proletarian revolution, is a class, internationalist policy by its very nature. It protects the interests not only of the Soviet people and the peoples of the socialist countries but also expresses the interest in peace on the part of the most advanced force on earth — the international working class, all the working people.

Pondering the serious positive changes taking place in the international situation, one may say without fear of exaggeration that in one way or another they are all connected with the implementation of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress.

This program, put forward by Leonid Brezhnev in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress and unanimously approved by the Congress, a program we are carrying out jointly with the fraternal socialist countries, is a concentrated expression of the objective needs of social development, the objective needs of international life, the basic aims of the peace policy of the socialist states in the present period. The great positive changes which have become possible as a result of the implementation of the Peace Program are recognized now by all. And we can claim without reservation that this program has exerted a profound influence on the entire international situation, inasmuch as it has armed all peace champions with definite ideas and set them definite tasks in the struggle for relaxing international tension and averting the menace of war.

Yet, it was only two or three years ago that some personalities abroad predicted the failure of the Peace Program. But the prophecies of these sceptics have been blown sky-high.

Of course, an acute political struggle is proceeding in the world arena around the problems and tasks raised in this historic resolution of the 24th Congress. One could have hardly expected anything else. But the main thing is evident: the Peace Program is being implemented successfully. The external conditions for the Soviet people's peaceful creative work are more favorable now than ever before.

Behind all this are the peace policy of the Soviet state, the economic and defense might of our Motherland, brought about by the Soviet people's selfless effort. Behind this is the intensive work of the Party, a multimillion-strong contingent of Communists. Behind this, just as in domestic construction, is the day-to-day indefatigable activity of the Central Committee of the Party, its Politbureau and L.I. Brezhnev personally.

The working people of the Soviet Union, millions upon millions of people abroad see the diversified, tireless activity Leonid Brezhnev is conducting in the international arena with great talent and tremendous power of conviction in the rightness of our cause, the rightness of the Leninist foreign policy, in the name of peace, in the name of the lofty ideals of socialism. At various international forums, at meetings with political and public leaders whose views are often remote from our philosophy, one can see clearly how weighty is the word of Leonid Brezhnev and how high his prestige. And behind his words, behind his efforts aimed at solving the key problems of world politics, is the prestige of the great socialist state, the great Party.

In the struggle for peace and socialism, unprecedented in its scope, we are marching together with the fraternal socialist states, acting from common, concerted positions. The socialist community is an alliance, in which the community of advanced ideology, the unity of aims and the working people's internationalist solidarity have merged. History has no other example of such unity!

Helping and supporting one another, the countries of socialism are enhancing the rates of their economic development. It is a well-known fact that the countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are the most dynamically developing group of states in the world. Close ties between the countries of the socialist community cover practically all the spheres of their Party and state activities. The Warsaw Treaty is a reliable shield of their security. The fraternal countries' political and military cooperation is being improved within its framework in the name of peace. Organically combining national interest with the interest of the entire community, the socialist states have accumulated valuable experience in the coordination of their foreign-policy activities.

The community countries have scored no little success by their joint efforts. One of the greatest achievements is the firm establishment of the German Democratic Republic as an independent, sovereign state. The attempts of imperialist circles to hamper the formation of a new society on German soil have failed: for a quarter of a century now the GDR has been a reliable outpost of socialism on its Western frontiers.

This is a great victory of the people of the German Democratic Republic, a common victory of the countries of socialism!

Together with its friends and allies, the German Democratic Republic marked its 25th anniversary. Present at this great celebration, common for all the socialist community, was our Party and government delegation headed by Leonid Brezhnev. Together with the GDR leaders we watched with emotion a grand march through the streets of socialist Berlin of thousands of young people, of working men and women of the Republic, who demonstrated their loyalty to the ideals of socialism and peace.

We are sure that just as the imperialist policy on non-recognition of the GDR has failed, so the blockade of another socialist country, fraternal Cuba, will also crumble finally.

The achievements of the countries of the socialist community, their constant and stable economic growth, are a striking contrast to the present situation in the capitalist world.

Most capitalist states are gripped by severe inflation which increases as production is curtailed and unemployment grows in a number of countries. Currency upheavals are not subsiding and chaos in the energy field, which is frequently called (not without reason) an energy crisis, is growing in depth. All this is a great burden shouldered by the working sections of the population. Not since World War II has capitalism met with such economic difficulties.

In the West, attempts are being made to discover the cause of the increasing crisis phenomena, and to invent a remedy. But not surprisingly, these attempts are unsuccessful. The bourgeois politicians cannot or, to be more precise, do not want to tell the whole truth about the causes of these phenomena. Nothing is said about the irrefutable fact that the present difficulties are to a great extent a result of the militarization of the economy in a number of large capitalist countries, a result of the swelling of their military budgets. Hence, things hinge to a great extent on a policy of certain circles, a policy of building up armaments.

Comrades, during the past few years the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, acting in common and cooperating with all progressive and peace-loving forces, have succeeded in steering the course of events in the direction of strengthening peace and asserting the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. These are all grounds to say that the process of restructuring inter-state relations, which is traceable to the October Revolution, is gaining ever greater momentum in our day.

For understandable reasons, better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America have special significance. In the course of the three Soviet-U.S. summit meetings much has been done so that peaceful cooperation, and not confrontation and conflict, determine the nature of these relations. The Party is consistently working to make the development and improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA stable, despite the opposite social systems and ideologies of the two countries.

The safeguarding and strengthening of peace is the main area where the interests of the Soviet, American and all other peoples coincide. It is on this basis that our agreements and treaties with the United States rest. This is true, above all, of the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war and the basic principles of mutual relations between the USSR and the USA.

The same holds for the coordinated steps of the two states toward

the limitation of strategic offensive and defensive arms. Soviet-U.S. talks on this important question are continuing. The Soviet Union seeks to bring about agreement between the two sides to exercise maximum restraint in deploying their strategic weapons. We stand for an agreement which would prevent a further race in these armaments both in terms of number and quality. But, of course, any agreement should accord with the principles of reciprocity and not impair our security.

Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. President Gerald Ford are to meet near Vladivostok on November 23-24. We think this meeting will be of signal importance for the continued development of Soviet-U.S. relations. For our part, we shall work toward this goal.

The Party constantly focuses its attention on questions related to the situation in Europe. Together with the other members of the Warsaw Treaty, we have done a great deal to effect a number of major foreign policy moves which led to a signal improvement in the political climate on the European continent and to the assertion of political and territorial realities in Europe within the framework of international law which merged in the wake of the Second World War. Today conditions for cooperation between European states are much more favorable than they were in the past.

Relations between the Soviet Union and France have been on a good level for a considerable period of time. Rapprochement between them rests on a solid basis and is called upon to play an important part in European and world détente. Experience has proved on more than one occasion, especially at turning points in history, that the two countries and the two peoples stand in need of friendship and concord between each other. One may rest assured that the forthcoming visit of Leonid Brezhnev to France on December 5-7 will serve these goals.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to its new relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany. The line adopted by the two states toward overcoming the grievous past and developing cooperation is fully justified from the viewpoint of the interests of both the USSR and the FRG, and the strengthening of peace and security in Europe as a whole. Further evidence of this is provided by the results of the recent talks in Moscow with FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt, during which the major issues of the further development of political relations and economic cooperation between the two countries were considered.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to shape its relations with the

Federal Republic of Germany in earnest and for a long time.

Our well-established good relations with neighboring Finland are a fine example of cooperation, which has been successfully advancing for three decades now. This was brilliantly demonstrated by the recent celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the armistice agreement between the Soviet Union and Finland which were attended by a Soviet government delegation led by N.V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Our country proves by its deeds that it is working for broad cooperation with all European states. We are actively involved in the solving of pressing political problems, in carrying out large-scale economic projects, and in expanding cultural exchanges and contacts. But the consolidation of Europe on the principles of peace presupposes combining the development of bilateral relations with efforts to ensure security on a collective basis.

Above all, this includes the task of bringing the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation to a successful completion. The peoples of Europe expect the conference to adopt at summit level signal decisions which will make peace and security a law in relations between states. Those leaders in the West who have not yet realized this, and who hold petty considerations above lofty goals should give thought to the responsibility they take upon themselves by deliberately hampering the progress of the conference. Its positive outcome will ensure a more favorable atmosphere for the solution of other questions, too, including the problem of reducing the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

Speaking of the favorable changes in Europe in the current year, we note with satisfaction the establishment of normal, one may say friendly, relations with Portugal, following the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in that country.

Our relations with Greece have also changed for the better. The military fascist regime, which for years fettered the Greek people, has been toppled. This is a success of Greece's democratic and peace forces in whom the true friends of the Greek people never lost faith.

The shifts brought by détente have also substantially affected the Asian continent. The fraternal Vietnamese people firmly supported by the Soviet Union, have won an impressive victory in the struggle against imperialist aggression. Our Party and our country have proved in practice their loyalty to internationalist duty. It is important now to bring the political settlement in Vietnam and throughout Indochina to completion. It is necessary to make the Saigon regime give up its

attempts to frustrate the implementation of the Paris Agreements, which should be strictly observed.

That the most acute problems can be solved at a table of negotiations is convincingly shown by the continuing normalization on the Hindustan Peninsula. The Soviet Union has greatly contributed to this normalization. We express satisfaction with the fact that the efforts of our country are highly spoken of by the states immediately concerned — India, with which our cooperation in the international arena has proved highly important for the cause of universal peace, and Pakistan and Bangladesh, with which we have also established good relations.

Close friendly relations with India, a great Asian power, have become an important factor of peace in Asia and elsewhere. The range of Soviet-Indian cooperation is very wide. The Soviet state will continue to do everything in its power to make this cooperation grow stronger and expand.

Since Vladimir Lenin's day firm friendship has linked the Soviet Union and our neighbor, Afghanistan, a state which has been consistently pursuing a line toward good-neighborliness with our country and firmly adhering to the policy of non-alignment.

Our country seeks to develop good-neighbor relations with Japan, not only in the economic, but also in the political field. It is now up to Japan to show its readiness in this matter.

The need for dependable security in Asia through the joint effort of the countries of that continent is urgently knocking at the door. We are not inclined to play down the difficulties on this road, but life itself demands that the Asian states jointly work out a system of security which would deliver the peoples of Asia from war and aggression.

One of the most distinctive features of the present-day situation is that, through the efforts of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, the principles of peaceful coexistence are gaining ever wider ground in interstate relations. These principles are not only being applied in international practice, but established legally in a whole series of agreements between states with different social systems.

Since Lenin's day our country has waged and will continue to wage the struggle to relieve mankind of the burden of arms. We reject the subtle web of false arguments with which the opponents of disarmament are entangling the people's minds. Success or failure of disarmament depends on the policy of states, above all, the policy of the big powers, while, as is known, not all of them come out for an end to the arms race.

The Soviet Union has, on many occasions, submitted for consideration to the relevant international forums proposals for disarmament, including those for complete and general disarmament.

At the present time the UN General Assembly is considering the new initiative of the Soviet Union as regards to the prohibition of influencing the environment for military purposes. This important proposal has already met with extensive international support.

Topical as before is the problem of taking effective steps to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union will continue efforts in this direction.

In the conditions of the continued arms race and the incessant intrigues of the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression, our Party, its Central Committee and the Soviet Government will continue to devote unflagging attention to enhancing the defense might of the Soviet Union. Expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, the Party will continue doing everything to fully and reliably protect the security of our country, and that of our friends and allies.

The October Revolution was the source of the principled course of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in support of the peoples struggling for national liberation and political and economic independence. This policy underlies our cooperation with many developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Where colonialism still manages to retain its positions, the peoples fighting against it know that they have the effective support of the Soviet Union.

Cooperation between the socialist and developing states is also growing in the international arena. We act jointly on the majority of important problems. This expands the basis of the common anti-imperialist front in favor of détente and opens up better opportunities for the advance of both the cause of peace and the national-liberation struggle.

We have witnessed numerous examples of the active influence of the developing countries on the solution of international problems. With the support of the socialist states, they are upholding their legitimate rights and interests ever more successfully.

At present it can already be said that the last hour of the last colonial empire has struck. We hail the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola who, for many years, have been waging a struggle for the freedom and independence of their peoples and who have scored great successes in this struggle. As regards Guinea-Bissau, that country has already been admitted to the United Nations, and has met with wide international recognition.

In his recent speech Leonid Brezhnev noted: "The successes achieved in the struggle for détente are, undoubtedly, considerable, but we must not rest content with that. International life brings forward new problems, while many old ones are far from solved."

We should not shut our eyes to the fact that there still exist influential forces which would like to turn the world back to the times of the cold war. That is why all who treasure peace and the security of nations should show high vigilance and rally their ranks in the struggle for peace.

Through the fault of the NATO militaristic quarters, the destiny of Cyprus has become the object of the military and political machinations of this bloc. On the Cyprus question the Soviet Union and its friends keep to a consistent position which enjoys respect in the world. We are struggling for that state to remain independent and territorially integral, and we stand firmly for an end to foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory, and for the Cypriots being given an opportunity to solve their domestic affairs themselves.

The situation in the Middle East remains complicated and dangerous.

With the support of its protectors Israel is trying to retain the Arab lands seized as a result of aggression. Chauvinistic intoxication has apparently not yet passed in Tel Aviv which is clearly staking on the force of arms. But this is a great miscalculation fraught with grave danger, not in the last count for Israel itself.

The Soviet Union is invariably working for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This, however, cannot be achieved as long as Israel holds the occupied Arab territories and the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine are not ensured. Nobody can deny the Palestinian Arabs' legitimate right to self-determination, including national statehood. The Soviet Union will continue to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples, the people of Palestine included. The USSR is for the immediate resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference.

It was declared recently that Leonid Brezhnev is to visit Cairo in January 1975 at the invitation of Anwar Sadat, President of Egypt. Today the attention of the whole world is riveted to this event. This is understandable as the visit will be of great importance. All who stand for peace and the defense of the rights of peoples cannot but hail it.

All progressive mankind strongly protests against the atrocities of the Chilean military which conducts a policy of terror in respect to its

own people. One may rest assured, however, that the freedom-loving people of Chile have not yet had their last say. On their side is the fraternal solidarity and support of the Soviet people.

The Soviet people resolutely demand that an end be put to the bestialities of the junta and that the Chilean patriots languishing in prisons, including Comrade Luis Corvalan, a faithful son of the Chilean people, be freed.

The present-day leadership of China has joined the opponents of international détente. It has subjugated its policy to the struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and is trying to interfere with the development of peaceful international cooperation. Our Party has given and will continue to give a rebuff to such actions of Peking aimed at merging with the extreme Right-wing imperialist reaction. At the same time, we shall, as before, strive for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and do everything possible for the restoration of the relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. We proceed from the fact that this meets the vital interests of both the Soviet and the Chinese peoples.

Comrades, despite the stubborn resistance of reaction, the revolutionary transformation of the world, initiated by the October Revolution, is proceeding steadily, is developing and strengthening.

Every day lived through by mankind confirms the correctness of Lenin's words that the "basic reason for this tremendous acceleration of world development is that new hundreds of millions of people have been drawn into it."

There is a growing movement of the public forces, classes and parties which are stubbornly struggling for peace and social progress. A vivid proof of this are the class battles which are growing in scale in the capitalist countries.

In the vanguard of this struggle is its tested leader the world communist movement.

Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and unity in the struggle against imperialism constitute the invincible strength of the world communist movement.

All this makes us confident of future, even greater class victories of the working people of the entire world.

The CPSU, jointly with the other fraternal Parties, is exerting and will continue to exert every effort for the cohesion of the communist ranks to grow and strengthen on the principled basis of Marxism-

Leninism. This is a behest of Lenin and the Party undeviatingly follows and will continue to follow it.

Struggling for universal peace and the security of peoples, the Party fulfills its internationalist duty to the world communist and working-class movement and to all the peoples. Its profoundly principled and lofty foreign policy is unanimously approved by the Soviet people.

Comrades,

Our Motherland is carrying with honor the unfading banner of the revolution, communism and peace. The outstanding achievements attained by the country of the October Revolution in the struggle for implementing the ideals of Communism attract the attention of entire mankind.

We are entering the closing stage of the five-year period and coming to the start of 1975 in an atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm. It will be not only the concluding year of the current Five-Year Plan period, but will mark the threshold of a new, 10th Five-Year Plan period, a year of higher quality products, efficiency and the further growth of the people's well-being.

The Soviet people realize full well that the future of their country is inseparable from its present. This real connection between the present and the future reveals itself in the labor rhythm of the Five-Year Plan, in the vast scale of the emulation drive and in all our accomplishments.

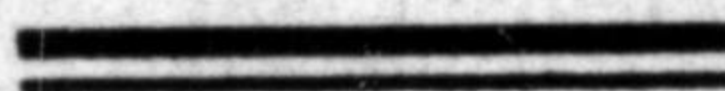
The heroic working class, the glorious collective farm peasantry and the working intelligentsia — the entire 2500-million-strong Soviet people — are united by the single will to achieve their grand aim.

Long live the Soviet people, the builder of Communism!

May the country of the October Revolution, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, grow stronger and prosper!

Long live the Communist Party, the tested leader and organizer of all our victories!

Pravda, November 7, 1974.



CONGRESSES

TWENTY-FIRST (SPECIAL) CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The congress, held October 24-27 in Vitry, was attended by 1,257 delegates from 97 Party federations.

The only item of the agenda was "The Alliance of the French People for Democratic Change." The report was delivered by General Secretary Georges Marchais.

Among those who spoke in the debate were Politbureau members Gustave Ansart, Paul Laurent, Roland Leroy, alternate members Mireille Bertrand, CC members Guy Poussy, Jean Canapa, Pierrette Joachim and many others.

The congress unanimously passed a resolution on the report by Politbureau member and CC secretary Roland Leroy.

Politbureau member Madeleine Vincent read a message of greetings to the congress from the CC CPSU.

The concluding statement was made by Georges Marchais.

Below follow abridged congress materials, as well as the full text of the resolution, published October 25 and 28 by the newspaper *L'Humanité*.

REPORT BY COMRADE GEORGES MARCHAIS

Our Party's 20th congress took place in December 1972. Under the Party charter the next congress was due to be held in December 1975.

Why did the Central Committee consider it necessary to bring that date forward and call a special congress?

This was done because a new political situation has formed in France, characterized above all by an upsurge in the popular movement for far-reaching political, economic and social change.

Less than two years ago, at our 20th congress, we stressed that we were entering a period of aggravation and expansion of the class struggle, a period of upsurge of the popular movement against the baneful consequences of the policies of big capital and its government, for far-reaching democratic change. This analysis was

confirmed by subsequent events, the most significant of which was the outcome of the presidential election: on May 19, 1974, 13 million French men and women, that is, more than 49 per cent of the electorate, voted for a complete change in political orientation, for a new policy based on the Common Left Program.

The Right were able to win only thanks to an unprecedented last-minute campaign of vilification and slander of the Program and our Party. They had to unite all their forces and call in all their "reserves," notably M. Lecanuet and the "centrist" politicians.

The fundamental contradiction of our society — between labor and capital — has sharpened and finds expression, on the one hand, in the expansion of the struggle of the working class, all salary and wage earners, which takes original forms and enjoys the support of broad sections of the population, and on the other, in the appearance of new kinds of demands. This struggle has forced the big employers and the authorities to make some concessions.

There can be no doubt that, in the face of continuously rising prices and expanding unemployment, the struggle for maintaining and increasing the purchasing power, ensuring employment and defending the French people's living and working conditions will not only continue but experience new developments.

More and more this struggle challenges the orientation of government policies and even the country's economic structures. The working people are fighting not only to ensure employment but also to preserve the national production potential; they oppose the idea that the law of maximum profit of big capital should dictate government economic decisions; they propose decisions capable of harnessing the monopolies.

The working people and their trade union organizations are increasingly accentuating the need to strengthen unity to achieve necessary fundamental changes.

Politically, the development of the class struggle and higher working-class consciousness has found expression in the strengthening of the alliance of left parties, forged on the basis of the Common Program for Government providing for fundamental reforms of the structures of French society. This program, the endorsement of its basic provisions by 13 million French people and its role in cementing the popular alliance, are events determining today's French political life.

The alliance has become a tremendous attractive force for the broadest masses. The ever clearer rejection of gauchist adventurism

characterizing the present stage does not eliminate the need for Communists and all democrats to continue the political struggle to extricate those workers and young people from its influence whom it has managed to fool by its rhetoric, lead into a blind alley or draw into provocations.

Anti-communism has retreated but it remains a means employed by the big bourgeoisie in its attempts to prevent the formation of a broad alliance against its policies.

One of the sources of development of the class struggle and the popular movement or, to use election-campaign terminology, of the "Leftward shift," should be sought in France's economic and social situation. The truth today is: our country is in a crisis. But even though representatives of the government and big capital are forced to recognize it, they are trying to camouflage its real reasons and its true character.

The crisis of our country finds expression in the fact that the mechanisms and means brought into motion by big capital are so much out of order, so "jammed," that they place in doubt their ability to achieve what they were designed for.

This is not only an economic crisis but a political, moral and ideological one, it has embraced the cultural sphere. In short, it is universal in character. The accumulation and super-accumulation of vast capital in the hands of a few big financial and industrial magnates is having catastrophic results for the life of the country. They are the cause of monstrous squandering of our resources and our national wealth.

The country's leaders have organized a drive against "waste," the responsibility for which they have laid at the door of the French people, who are accused of spending too much on life. This is unparalleled cynicism, for it is known only too well that, for the working people of town and country, for the majority of the French people, the affluent society is but a meaningless slogan.

In reality, for the majority of the working people it is a question not of abundance but of permanent austerity.

The French people are producing more and working more, but they do not enjoy the fruit of their work. Life gets harder because of the growing gap between their real needs and their means of existence.

There are 534,000 registered job applications, but the exact number of unemployed is doubtlessly higher. There are 125,000 unemployed young people between 16 and 25 years of age. More than half the school graduates find work more than six months later. To get work

people with university degrees become laborers. The work rhythm is so high that at 35 or 40 workers are already considered too old. In 1973, 1,125,000 industrial accidents resulted in a loss of 242 million working days, or the equivalent of more than 500,000 unemployed for one year.

Every year tens of billions of old francs are spent by the state on research for war manufacture. Expert opinion agrees that the state takes an especially lenient view of the big companies listed as government suppliers. Their superprofits are estimated at 10 to 15 per cent. As a consequence the state loses no less than 700 billion old francs, i.e., five times more than the economy the government wants to force on the French people by reducing domestic fuel supplies.

In 1972, the state in various forms paid out more than 5,000 billion old francs to big private companies that use them for purposes that in no way benefit the country. This sum is 1.5 times greater than the total income tax paid by the working people in one year.

In the final analysis, the deeper cause of the present crisis lies in the fact that the riches created by French labor are misused and appropriated by a bunch of rich men who spend and squander immense sums as quickly as they can in their pursuit for maximum profit.

Thus, the question is of a crisis of the present economic structures, of the functioning of this system, in which the power of private monopolies intertwines with the power of the state; that is, it is a crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.

The socialist countries know no such crisis. They have no unemployment, no slowing down of economic growth. More often than not they experience manpower shortages. Prices are stable. In all socialist countries rising incomes have boosted the real purchasing power of the working people. Thus, socialism offers vivid proof of its ability to resolve the problems of the modern world which capitalism is incapable of resolving.

Our country also possesses the means needed to ensure its prosperity and the growing well-being of the population.

Our 19th congress, held in January 1970, showed that big capital and its government, confronted with the developing crisis of its system, had embarked on a new stage in its policy.

The main purpose of that policy is to make it possible for a handful of big capitalist companies to hold their own in the fierce struggle unleashed by financial and industrial magnates on the scale of the whole capitalist world. The means for pursuing that policy were: greater exploitation of the working people, accelerated economic

concentration, redistribution of national resources in the interests of big companies, placing all government means at their disposal, a tendency toward closer cooperation with other capitalist states. A consequence of this policy has been the domination of whole branches of our economy by foreign capital.

To ensure the implementation of that policy the authorities have been trying to expand their narrow political and social base. They have launched an ideological campaign of rare intensity. They are striving to create a favorable climate for promoting new forms of class collaboration.

In these conditions our Party must explain the true causes of the crisis and call upon the working people and broad masses of the people to reject the policy of sacrifices which the government wants to impose on them.

In summing up world events at our 20th congress we declared that "a turn is developing in the world situation, ... a turn to détente, peaceful coexistence and the security of the peoples." Subsequent events confirmed that main trend of international development.

Peaceful coexistence is entering our life. Imperialism has been forced to accept the existence of socialism and develop relations with it. Meetings of statesmen have become more regular and frequent and cooperation is developing. A step forward has been made at the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

The decisive factor in this development of the international situation is the existence and activity of the socialist world system.

By finally resolving the great problems of humanity — the problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment, national and social oppression — socialism has proved its superiority in resolving the most pressing issues of our time. Socialism makes possible the harmonious development of the economy, social and cultural progress of the people, growing mass initiative, the development of democracy, international cooperation on the basis of respect of sovereignty and national interests. The socialist countries, in the first place the Soviet Union steadily continuing to implement the decisions of the 24th congress of the CPSU, are pursuing a consistent policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence by no means implies preserving the social status quo; it favors the peoples' struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism. The Portuguese people, in unity with the Armed Forces Movement, are developing their own original way to democracy and social progress. In Greece, the hated dictatorship of the colonels has

collapsed and new prospects may open up before the democratic forces.

The scope, intensity and joint action of the working class in the capitalist countries is increasing. Such actions challenge the domination of monopolies and multinationals and have the objective of democratically changing society. On the political plane there is a tendency for the practice and ideology of class collaboration to retreat. Broad opportunities for unity have appeared on both the national and international scale. This is a testimony to the correctness of the orientation of the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties of European capitalist countries held in Brussels last January and the importance of its conclusions and appeal for unity of the workers and democratic forces in the struggle for an independent and peaceful Europe, for a Europe of the working people. By its actions the workers' and democratic movement in capitalist countries contributes to the establishment and consolidation of peaceful coexistence, and at the same time uses it for its own progress.

There is a similar state of affairs in the national-liberation movement. The granting of independence to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and, soon, Angola, is bringing down the last colonial empire. At the same time, the national-liberation movement has entered a new stage of its history, the stage of struggle for economic independence, without which there can be no genuine or firm sovereignty. The legitimate measures taken by the raw-materials producing countries are a blow at the neo-colonialist policies of the big capitalist powers. Hence, they are aimed against the imperialist system of domination, against the domination of multinational companies, that is, against the enemy that confronts the workers and peoples of the developed capitalist countries.

The people building socialism, the people fighting for full independence and development, the working class and peoples of the industrial capitalist countries have the same enemy. That enemy is imperialism. They are all concerned with the struggle against it, for social progress and freedom, independence and peace, for socialism. That is the basis of their solidarity.

Our Party seeks in the first place to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, on the basis of proletarian internationalism and respect of the independence and equality of all parties. We maintain relations of active cooperation with almost all Communist and Workers' parties and strive to develop them even more in the

course of discussions and various meetings which help us get to know each other better and enrich our common heritage. If we do not have such relations with the Communist Party of China, the reason is that its current policy is characterized by open support of the most reactionary governments and the Atlantic bloc, as well as by anti-Sovietism. It runs completely contrary to the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our Party expresses satisfaction with the recent steady improvement of its relations with many socialist parties of Europe. We hold that, despite differences of opinion, contacts and exchanges of views can be usefully developed with them, as well as with other democratic forces, with the purpose of achieving joint action aimed at attaining objectives of common interest. We have friendly relations with many national parties and national-liberation movements, which we should like to enrich in the course of the struggle. We are sparing no effort to develop joint action and accord of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

The nature of imperialism has certainly not changed. It uses every means to weaken the socialist countries, restore some of its lost positions and maintain its domination over the part of the globe where it still rules. To this end it is stepping up action in the economic, social, political and ideological domains.

It does not hesitate to interfere overtly or covertly in the internal affairs of peoples, as in Chile, where American imperialism gave direct support to the fascist junta's military coup, in Vietnam, where it continues to refuse to carry out the Paris Agreement, in Cambodia, where it supports a rotten regime, in Africa, where it is weaving conspiracies, in the Middle East, where it supports the expansionist and aggressive policies of the Israeli leaders and their refusal to return the territories captured in 1967 and recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, and it even threatens military intervention against oil-producing Arab countries.

Imperialism is trying to slow down the process of détente, it is worried that the international trend toward détente is accompanied by successes in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The progressive forces and the peoples themselves, on the contrary, have a vital stake in making the change begun in the last few years irreversible, supplementing political détente with military détente and establishing peace. This, in particular, is in the interests of our own people, of France, which could play a part worthy of its influence and prestige in the world.

Yet the policy of Giscard d'Estaing's government is oriented in exactly the opposite direction.

It does not take part in international disarmament talks, obstructs progress at the European Security and Cooperation Conference, and draws our country deeper and deeper into the Atlantic bloc. This attempt to tie France's future to a bloc of countries in the throes of a crisis pursues the only objective of ensuring a place in the imperialist alliance for several French-based multinational groups. Although the government is forced to tread cautiously with its disastrous policy, it already demonstrates its readiness to abandon vital national interests.

The country's deep crisis, the development of the popular movement, as well as the change in the international situation, call for a genuine, fundamental change in political orientation. The necessity for such change is dictated by life itself. It is on the agenda of our people's struggle.

In our country the dominant form of capitalism is monopoly capitalism. It is characterized by close links between the monopolies and the state, which is basically at their service. Consequently, the immediate task is to undermine the monopolies' power and rescue the state from their influence. This stage, during which advanced democratic reforms of economic and social structures would be carried out, would make it possible to strengthen the working class' positions in the society and weaken those of big capital. At the same time, favorable conditions would appear for most of our people to opt for the socialist transformation of society.

That is our conception, our strategy. It rests, in particular on the fact that the system of state-monopoly capitalism has plunged the society into a global crisis, meaning that the situation can no longer remain as it is and there is an objective necessity for a fundamental change of social structures.

It rests on the fact that the basis of unity of all social strata that are victims of the monopolies and their policies is constantly expanding and there are more and more possibilities for their uniting around the working class.

It rests on the change in the balance of forces on an international scale in a direction favoring the cause of peace, détente and socialism, and on the fact that, because of this, the opportunities for each people to freely control its destiny were never so great.

It is a realistic strategy. It represents the best way for forging, in the conditions of our country and our time, a powerful popular movement, broad enough and resolute enough to open the road to

socialism. Whatever its forms, such a movement is essential for the socialist transformation of society.

The exploiter class has never voluntarily given up its privileges or its power, nor will it ever do so. It will always use every means at its disposal to preserve that power. Only a balance of political forces favorable to the working class, to the people, could defeat it. Our strategy is aimed at creating such conditions. The events in Chile, far from placing our strategy in doubt, reaffirm its correctness.

In December 1973 we stated at our Central Committee meeting: "The road to socialism is a democratic road. It is not a road of illusions, it is one of due consideration of national and international realities. It is not a road of negation but one of faith in the possibility of developing our people's struggle. It is not the road of narrow electoralism but that of struggle of the workers, of the broad popular masses to ensure respect of the will expressed through universal suffrage. It is not a road of marking time but one of systematic and resolute struggle for meeting the material and intellectual needs of all sections of society oppressed by big business."

It is impossible to predict in advance all aspects of what a socialist France will be like. This will certainly be determined by our country's history and democratic traditions, as well as by her level of development, the state of the economy at the initial stage of change, the alignment of social and political forces, the political consciousness of the masses.

In France, as in other countries, building socialism implies, in the first place, collective ownership of the basic means of production and exchange.

In this respect our enemies accuse us of wishing to install "integrated collectivism." They are thus suggesting that we would suppress or even destroy the individual and the family through the introduction of a barrack-room system.

But today we can see that it is their system, their policy that leads to such results. The power of the financial aristocracy is the worst kind of "collectivism" that ever existed. The working people work *collectively* in the name of profits for the magnates of upper banking spheres and big industry, which *collectively* organize such exploitation and *collectively* plunder the national wealth.

Planning is an imperative of our epoch. But what is called planning in France today is nothing but an attempt to direct economic development in the interests of big capitalist monopolies.

Capitalism is incapable of the genuine planning our epoch needs.

That is because, though labor is collective, ownership and management are private. To put an end to this state of affairs is the requirement of our time.

One of the characteristics of building socialism in our country will, doubtlessly, be that it will be supported by a large number of small private industrial, commercial and handicraft enterprises, since their collectivization is neither necessary nor desirable.

Nor do we intend to collectivize hundreds of thousands of private farms. Incidentally, today they are threatened not by "collectivism" but by big bourgeoisie policies.

The second characteristic feature of socialism and one of the prerequisites of developing democracy is the exercise of power by the working class, the people.

Consider the implications of "power by the workers, the working people" in France, a country where wage and salary earners constitute 80 per cent of the active population. It means that power will belong to the great majority of the French people.

Naturally, as soon as the working class occupies its due place in national life and shoulders its share of responsibility, as soon as management of key industries of the economy will be entrusted to the workers in the framework of a democratically evolved plan, the working class will be in a position to fully play its leading part.

The working people, the masses are justly proud of the democratic gains wrested from the exploiter classes thanks to the struggle of preceding generations. Socialism will preserve and expand those democratic gains of our country.

For example, we say that in socialist France several democratic parties can participate in the government. There will also be opposition parties.

Our Party's task consists in simultaneously continuing our efforts to support and popularize the Common Program, on the one hand, and our concept of socialism, on the other.

A review of the road travelled since 1968 shows that our strategy is being put into effect. And, of course, there can be no question of changing it! On the contrary, the question is of implementing it, i.e. of continuing our policy and our struggle on the basis of the results achieved and in the new situation.

The Common Program is limited in the sense that it does not speak of building socialism. When we say this we do not mean to "re-assure" anyone. We simply want to clear a misunderstanding: identifying the Common Program with socialism would be tantamount

with detracting from, and emasculating, the idea of socialism and its revolutionary content. But as the democracy envisaged by the Common Program goes farther than anything our country ever knew, we have called this political change "advanced democracy."

The Common Program envisages the nationalization of the banking and financial sectors, nine main capitalist monopolies, and state participation in four other big companies.

The nationalization we suggest would, be restricting the power of big capital, place a new economic policy at the service of the working people and national interests. Such nationalization is a prerequisite for implementing the comprehensive democratic reforms listed in the Common Program.

Nationalization will ensure timely and democratic planning, which will make possible the development of key sectors of national activity and create more stable and favorable conditions for the small producers of town and country, as well as in the trade.

Nationalization will be accompanied by genuine democratization measures. Management at enterprises of the state and nationalized sectors will be decentralized, autonomous and based on genuine participation of personnel in all decision-making concerning the life and development of the enterprise. Besides, trade union rights and the prerogatives of production councils must be expanded in all sectors.

Structural reforms will provide the means for pursuing a broad social and popular policy. Our purpose is to make it possible for the working people, the bulk of the French people, to live better, to live differently. This social policy is inseparable from a policy of national independence, cooperation and peace.

What French working people need is for their country to regain full freedom of initiative on the international scene for détente and peaceful coexistence, collective security and disarmament. Their need is for France to pursue, without discrimination, a broad policy of cooperation with the socialist countries, making use of the opportunities for this, and to establish new relations free of neo-colonialist practices with the newly independent nations.

All our Party's history has been marked by a stubborn struggle for working-class unity, for the unity of national democratic and worker forces. We see such an alliance not as a temporary tactic but as the guiding line of all our activity.

We put forward the idea of the Common Program and fought for many years to put it into effect. At the presidential elections 13 million men and women voted for deep democratic change. This is a substan-

tial success. But it is absolutely essential for us to expand it so as to win the support of a considerable majority of the French people.

The Common Program has been in existence for two years now. It has stood the test of two major political battles: the legislative elections and the presidential elections. We want to create an alliance of the French people on the principles set out in the Common Program. For this it is necessary to strengthen the Left alliance qualitatively.

We have been saying for a long time that the democratic renaissance of our country cannot be achieved by only one party, even ours. What is needed is a Left alliance, an alliance of democratic parties and organizations. Mainly thanks to our efforts, such an alliance was formed in 1972. Over the last two years our party has done much to strengthen it. And even though not all our proposals were accepted, successes were achieved. The agreement between our Party, the Socialist party and the Left Radical movement is the nucleus, the axis of the union of the French people.

Following the recent congress of the Socialist party we had reason to declare that there is ambiguity concerning whether the Socialist party continues to hold that the deep democratic changes outlined in the Common Program remain the common goal of the Left parties.

If we take, for example, the final declaration adopted by the Socialist party congress, we can see that it contains no reference at all to the Common Program, while at the same time presenting socialism as the only "alternative." If the Socialist party considers that the issue now is to start the decisive struggle for socialism in France at once, let it say so clearly.

The big bourgeoisie has not, and never will, give up its efforts aimed at casting doubt on the Left alliance. It does not reject the idea of finding a way out of the present impasse with the help of a Left government that would agree "loyally" to follow its interests.

The servants of big capital expect in future to create more favorable conditions for carrying out their plans, restricting and, if possible, weakening the influence of the Communist Party on the political arena. In these conditions the Party Politbureau was forced to declare publicly that "the endlessly repeated watchword concerning the need for a so-called regrouping of the Left is becoming more and more dangerous, as it implies restricting Communist influence."

We hold, and we have said so frequently and continue to stand by this position, that relations between our parties should be based on the equality of rights and obligations and honest fulfilment of jointly undertaken commitments.

The creation of a union of the people of France requires the strengthening of the Left alliance, as well as strengthening the alliance with trade union and other public organizations. We hold that these organizations, notably the trade unions, should be completely independent of the party. The trade unions and the parties have different tasks, and we have no intention of mixing them.

The tasks of the trade unions in defending the interests of the workers or their families, in ensuring social and democratic progress, brings them closer and closer to the Left parties in the social and political struggle. Such cooperation can grow into joint support of the program.

It is also necessary to draw new social strata into the alliance. The working class stands at the center of this broad alliance, acting as the motive force, the vanguard in the fight for change.

One of the consequences of economic and social development is a mass influx of the active population into the category of wage or salary earners. In 1954, only 62 out of every 100 gainfully employed people received a wage or salary. In 1974 that share exceeded 80 per cent. At present there are almost 18 million wage or salary earners, three million more than in 1970 and six million more than 20 years ago.

The working class is about 10 million strong. It has grown by roughly one million since 1968 and its share in the economically active population has gone up by two per cent, including almost 2.5 million immigrants. This growth is indicative of the country's continuing industrialization.

Being the main revolutionary force, the working class is the only one capable of bringing about a broad alliance against the policy of big capital, for democratic change. Polls have shown 70 per cent of the working class to be in favor of the Common Program. It makes up the solid basis of the alliance formed during the presidential elections.

Hence the imperative, primary task of strengthening the alliance of the main forces of the working class and of drawing into it the numerous wage workers still outside it. Growing influence and organization of the Communist Party, the party of the working class, among the workers, in the enterprises, is a decisive factor for accomplishing this task.

The draft resolution calls attention to the diversity of the social strata which are oppressed by big capital today and which can be united on the basis of common interests, of the struggle against the hegemony of monopolies, for democratic reforms. What I mean is,

first of all, the vast mass of wage workers — clerical employees, technicians, engineers, executives and intellectuals — who are not a component of the working class but are drawing nearer to it and many of whom share fully in its hardships. We must also list among them the small and middle peasants, the handicraftsmen, shopkeepers and small and middle employers affected by government policies.

Among the military, the idea is gaining ground that they can win much better material and spiritual conditions for their activity given a policy guaranteeing every serviceman the right to be a citizen, linking the armed forces with the nation and putting them in the service of only the national interest, in the service of a policy of independence and peace.

Our slogan, "Alliance of the French people," does not imply that we disregard or tone down the social, political and philosophical differences existing among our people.

Some "ultra-revolutionaries" say they are "shocked" by our seriously concerning ourselves with the problems of the peasants, handicraftsmen, shopkeepers and small or middle employers. They are at pains to create the impression that we simply want to "unite the discontented." But what they want is to reduce the opportunities for an alliance of the working class and hence for its success.

There are both Christians and materialists among the French and they are undoubtedly divided by philosophical differences. We declare in so many words that our Party does not seek an impossible ideological reconciliation with believers. We do not suggest that they should repudiate their faith, but neither do we propose to renounce our own convictions or the scientific principles of our activity. We simply say that the working people and democrats, Christians and atheists alike, have common interests, needs and aspirations. They are satisfying themselves that this cooperation is really based on respect for the convictions of each and is fair.

Some people backed politicians posing as "centrists" or "reformists" because they believed that these politicians upheld their aspirations for change. They are coming to realize that the so-called center is, in the final analysis, merely a facet of the policy of financial might, a sidetrack of big capital.

We have campaigned vigorously against economic and social policies pursued under the aegis of General de Gaulle, nor do we renounce this campaign. Ours was the only party which exposed the personal, undemocratic nature of the rule established in 1958. On the other hand, we supported the positive aspects of de Gaulle's foreign

policy, and his effort to ensure that France regained its independence, initiated once more measures in favor of both peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the socialist countries and prevented political, economic and military decisions on France from being made outside Paris.

At present those who are still loyal to Gaullism because they saw de Gaulle as a symbol for the independence and greatness of France see with deep concern that the government under Giscard d'Estaing gives in to U.S. and West German demands by secretly reintegrating itself into NATO, becoming an adherent of the "political alliance" of the Little Europe of big deals, allowing the fate of the French peasants to be shaped in Brussels, calling for "substantial concessions on sovereignty" and taking a road that leads to a new European defense community which this time will be a nuclear one.

Speaking to the working people, to democrats and patriotic Gaulists, we maintain that we can together form "a broad alliance designed to bring about the unity, prosperity, greatness and well-being of our national community." Hundreds of thousands of them have already responded to our call, as they did, specifically, in the second round of the presidential elections. We will persevere in our effort because we are certain that we can establish closer links with these working people, with these democrats and patriots, as well as with all working people, democrats and patriots in general. These closer links are indispensable if our country is to embark on democratic change.

In short, we want to provide conditions for a vast popular movement, for a widespread national movement involving diverse parties, men and women belonging to diverse social strata and ideological currents and retaining their social identity, that is, conditions for a powerful movement encompassing the overwhelming majority of the people and deriving inspiration and strength from this diversity, which serves a great common goal, the pursuit of a French policy of social progress, democracy, independence and peace.

The working people and all democrats need a militant, far-sighted, determined and active party. The Communist Party is such a party. It can and does play the role of vanguard of the working class and people because it is a party of the working class, a class interested more than any other class in transforming society; because it bases its activity on revolutionary theory, to which it continuously adds new conclusions drawn from life; and because it adheres to organizational rules and methods ensuring its unity in struggle on the basis of decisions worked out by thoroughly democratic methods.

Experience confirms our Party's ability to play the role of vanguard. This role is not nominal, for it is through struggle that our Party wins the right to play it.

The French Communist Party has always been as good as its commitments. The victims of repression on the part of the big employers and the state include tens of thousands of Communists. Furthermore, the various electoral systems aimed at restricting the French people's freedom of choice have always been intended to damage our Party.

The Communist Party demonstrated its ability as a member of government to follow a policy meeting the interests of the masses, of the people and nation. France has already had Communist ministers. Working with devotion, integrity and competence, they played a highly important role in carrying on the most courageous and most democratic social policy ever known in our country.

Today our Party, which had a decisive share in drafting fundamental democratic reforms capable of taking France out of the morass, has a tremendous number of devoted, competent, energetic and bona fide members active in mass organizations, the trade unions, municipalities and general councils and proving their ability to manage public affairs.

Lastly, our Party is distinguished for its ability not to fall into the trap of class collaboration.

We have never agreed to take power in order to manage the affairs of the big bourgeoisie or help it to administer bitter pills to its victims. The working people know that we will never do so. We have always done our utmost to dissuade from class collaboration left-wingers who had accepted it by mistake. The struggle against class collaboration is inseparable from our struggle for unity.

The Communist Party should under all circumstances have sufficient leverage to influence national politics and, moreover, its leverage should grow. An influential Communist Party is an earnest of the working people's future.

Our Party was joined by 80,000 people this year. As of September 20, it had 20,930 branch organizations, or 1,410 branches more than during the 20th Congress (December 1972). We can look forward to our Party having about 450,000 members by the end of this year.

While this is a welcome result, we can and must set ourselves even more ambitious targets.

During preparations for the Congress there was a discussion on

whether we should urge so many working people and democrats to join our ranks.

Yes, we think we should. It is inside the Party, within the framework of its democratic life and in struggle, that new members can assimilate our scientific theory and participate in framing and carrying out our policies.

Ours is a great Party unmatched in our country as to strength or organization. But we Communists know well that we must be more exacting toward ourselves if we want to serve our people and country more effectively and in greater measure.

We must rectify mistakes wherever they are made. Many new Party members are unable to join promptly in Party work because branch meetings are few, meetings are planned and held unimaginatively and often lack interest and because collective work is not organized well enough.

We must ensure that Party organizations in the enterprises carry on active political and ideological work among the working people, combat reactionary propaganda and spell out Communist policy. The enterprises have become the principal field of both economic and political battles.

In these circumstances, it is more necessary than ever to have a Communist branch at every enterprise. The branch must carry out tasks which no other organization can. It is in the enterprises that the outcome of the campaign to assure our Party a fitting place in the life of the nation will be decided. As many as 997 new branches have been formed in enterprises since our last congress. We must campaign boldly to form branches in the thousands of enterprises where they are still lacking.

I would also like to direct an appeal to the members and activists of trade unions. I call on them to take up their place in our Party because it is *their* party, the party of workers and other working people, the only party in which the working people hold all key positions, including the highest.

We must devote still closer attention to work among youth. Young people long for change, for the advent of a new society. Numerous young men and women support the Common Program and declare for socialism. All our organizations will constantly and unfailingly help the Communist youth movement.

We must also give much attention to activity in support of the demands of French women, who want far-reaching and genuine

changes in their condition and resist government demagoguery on this issue.

Our propaganda should meet the exigencies of our political and ideological struggle ever more effectively. We should organize vast campaigns to publicize the Party's political measures — discussion meetings, nationwide rallies, book distribution — as we did after signing the Common Program, the appearance of the book *The Democratic Challenge*, in the context of the campaign to build up the Party after the presidential elections.

We can improve the content of *L'Humanité* only by working continuously for wider circulation. The Party must make its daily one of its main weapons.

To disseminate knowledge of the theoretical principles of our policy and organization, we must step up the ideological education of the Party membership.

These measures fit into the framework of the effort to train active Communists, an effort which should become more active in the near future in view of the need to study the fundamental ideas that were in the focus of Congress deliberations.

Our extraordinary Congress is going on under the slogan of radical changes needed by the country. Ending the crisis, enabling all working men and women, all our people, to live better, in freedom and independence, assuring France a new international role in the service of peace and friendship among nations and paving the way to socialism for it are objectives that have invariably inspired our effort and that we want to promote by strengthening our Party.

Long live the French people's alliance for the triumph of the policy of national, democratic and social progress envisaged by the Common Program of the Left!

Long live the struggle for advanced democracy, for a socialist France!

Long live the unity of the international Communist movement, the unity of the forces of progress, democracy, independence and peace throughout the world!

Long live the French Communist Party!

WE ARE OPTIMISTS BECAUSE WE ARE FIGHTERS

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY GEORGES MARCHAIS

If we had to describe the work of this Congress very briefly we would say that it is a congress of optimism, the reasonable optimism of all who make an accurate appraisal of reality to transform it all the better.

In France and other capitalist countries, forecasts of an unhappy future are plentiful. From what they say, the world is headed for catastrophe. Our Congress is against this fatalist view on the evolution of the world.

In one-third of the globe, misfortunes which only a few decades ago were considered inevitable have disappeared thanks to socialism. Over a billion people no longer suffer from poverty, hunger, ignorance, unemployment, social or national oppression.

When we analyze and expose the crisis of French society we do not do so to infer that imminent disaster is the only prospect in store for our country. There are forces in France which can bring about new and effective measures checking inflation, reducing the balance of payments deficit and guaranteeing the French people employment and a proper standard of life. Unity of these forces and action by them are all the more necessary because the present regime has proved unable to solve the problems facing the French. The regime's policy is characterized by social insecurity, economic austerity and arbitrary practices. The French people are rightly concerned about all this.

There is a growing urge for socialism in our country. It is understandable, for socialism daily furnishes more proofs of its ability to solve big problems of the contemporary world in the people's interests.

In contrast to those who predict catastrophe to make their policy of privations acceptable and those who try to speed the revolution in an effort to conceal their opportunism, we offer our people a perspective corresponding to their requirements and present-day reality.

A task of primary importance is to extend the influence, organization and activity of our Party. The composition of the delegations and leading bodies shows that the Party speaks for the working people of France. We now have in the leadership and in key positions more workers and other working people holding industrial jobs, as well as more women. A considerable number of young people are active in our leading bodies along with experienced cadre members.

Our Party is the biggest party of the working class, people and youth of France. It is a big democratic party. Its unity is solid. After a widespread and fruitful exchange of views in branches, sections and federations and at the Congress itself, its policy, which everyone had the opportunity to participate in framing, won well-considered, intelligent and unanimous approval.

The French Communist Party does not shape policy for a week, nor does it go to one extreme one day only to go to the other the next. It pursues a responsible policy of immense importance. The working people know that they can count on our Party in upholding their interests and fighting for the new society.

RESOLUTION OF THE 21st (SPECIAL) CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

1. THE NEW SITUATION

On June 27, 1972, the Communist Party and Socialist Party reached agreement on a Common Government Program, which was supported and contributed to by the Left Radical Movement. It was a result of our Party's efforts for unity. In the course of intense social and political struggles the accord of the Left parties successfully stood the test of life, consolidated and expanded.

On May 19, 1974, 13 million French men and women, more than 49 per cent of the electorate, voted for a government of unity with Communist participation, for a new policy based on great objectives and reforms defined in the Common Program. This was an unprecedented event of great significance.

It brilliantly confirmed the correctness of the French Communist Party's analysis and political strategy outlined in the Champigny Manifesto: The system of big capital now ruling France is in crisis; the only positive way out consists in a complete change of political orientation through a program of democratic reform undermining the domination of big capital; this program constitutes the basis of the popular majority movement essential for success.

Thus a new political situation emerged. It is characterized by one important factor: the united Left constitutes the nucleus of a new majority whose cohesion, in the view of the mass of the French people, opens up great opportunities for the country's future.

This factor has had, and will continue to have, a great positive

impact on the struggle of the masses, for whom it is a powerful source of confidence and effectiveness, on the stand of the government and various public and political forces.

The situation requires an analysis of the new conditions of struggle, the setting of new initiatives and new tasks before Communists.

2. UNABLE TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS, THE GOVERNMENT AGGRAVATES IT

The crisis now involves all aspects of national life. As pointed out by the 19th and 20th congresses, it is not only an economic crisis. It is a global crisis affecting all spheres — the economic, social, political, cultural, ideological, moral. It is permanent, not passing. It is a crisis of the present stage of the capitalist system characterized by close interpenetration of monopolies and the state, a crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.

The workers by hand and by brain of the towns and villages are producing more and more, but their life is getting harder and harder. They are denied real participation in the management of affairs. Cultural and scientific malthusianism encroaches on the sphere of education and hinders the development of both the country as a whole and the individual.

Yet France possesses a powerful economic and technical potential and competent specialists in the most diverse fields. It has the means and forces capable of putting the vast opportunities presented by the scientific and technological revolution into motion, of making work easier and satisfying material and intellectual requirements, of enabling our country to play its rightful part for world peace and cooperation.

The crisis is, thus, by no means a fatal inevitability. It is due to the undivided domination of big business. The riches produced by the people are appropriated and squandered by the financial oligarchy. The fruits of the nation's labor are misappropriated to benefit the few.

For the same reasons, all capitalist countries suffer the same difficulties. It is a crisis of the system which is proving its inability to respond to the requirements of our time.

It is not a world crisis: the socialist countries know not the inflation, rocketing prices, unemployment and insecurity besetting the capitalist world. They demonstrate the new system's ability to ensure industrial expansion, social and cultural progress, ever greater mass participation and initiative.

Today throughout the capitalist world new aspects point to the

aggravation of the crisis. In the United States, for example, there is accelerating inflation, the serious threat to production and worsening of the employment situation. The people's position is becoming increasingly hopeless.

The domination of big multinational monopolies, for which inflation is one of the main means of amassing immense profits, causes serious economic dislocation with which big capital cannot cope: speculative machinations, imperialist rivalry, balance-of-payments deficits, disruption of finances and banking. These dislocations began before the rise in prices of raw materials and oil. Hence, they are due not to this but to the multinationals' efforts to keep and increase their huge profits to the detriment of the workers and the peoples.

The deepening crisis of French society is part of that situation. The Giscard government does nothing to correct it and, on the contrary, gives unprecedented support to a handful of multinational companies, thus drawing the country deeper and deeper into the crisis.

The government increases concentration in industry, trade and agriculture. It enhances the imbalance between different sectors of the economy and between regions. It accelerates the deterioration of the public and nationalized sector. Under the pretext of improving structures it accuses small and medium enterprises, as well as big enterprises that cannot achieve international dimensions.

It favors the disappearance of small and medium farms. As a consequence migration from rural communities continues, especially of young people. At the same time disorganization in farm production and markets is growing. Yesterday cultivation of millions of hectares of land had to be abandoned; today there are shortages in some sectors.

The government increasingly invites foreign investment in some vital sectors of the economy, it is increasing France's energy dependence, encouraging export of capital, leaving the franc at the mercy of international speculation, and increasingly subordinating foreign trade to conditions set by big American and West German firms. It increases the country's debts.

Thus national activity is wholly subordinated or sacrificed to the interests of giant financial groups of an increasingly cosmopolitan character.

This policy aggravates the hardships of the working people. It results in mounting exploitation of French and immigrant workers; growing unemployment and employment insecurity; pressures on popular consumption; declining purchasing power of the peasantry;

plundering of national savings; reduction of allocations for social and cultural needs; ever harder life for the workers, their families, the youth, the old, and especially the neediest categories of the population.

To achieve its aims the government is making unprecedented ideological efforts, using all the resources of the state machinery and increasing its control over the mass media. It encourages an ideology of irrationalism, pessimism and mystification.

Internationally, the Giscard government occupies positions based on an orientation that threatens French independence and is contrary to the spirit of the time.

The international situation is characterized by successes in détente and the peoples' movement toward freedom and independence. Imperialism is forced to accept peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries, whose influence is increasing. American imperialism had to sign the Paris Agreements, which represent a great victory for the Vietnamese people. In Western Europe the popular struggle and joint action of workers and democratic forces is expanding. Fascism has been overthrown in Portugal and Greece, its foundations have been undermined in Spain. In Africa the last colonial empire is collapsing. Increasingly Third-World countries affirm their right to control their wealth and want to put an end to the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism.

The process is not without difficulties. Imperialism fears the consequences of an evolution confirming the extent to which peaceful coexistence favors the struggles of the workers and the peoples. Forced to retreat, it seeks to limit progress. In the part of the world where it still dominates it is vainly trying to perpetuate its rule by recourse to heinous crimes, as it did in Chile. It continues the ruthless onslaught against the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, against the Arab peoples, against all those who want to live in freedom and independence and be the masters of their national resources.

Today the French government occupies a place among those governments that are resolved to slow down détente and block any disarmament measures. It supports the most reactionary governments. Its policy gives priority to selling arms. Whereas an independent France should have actively promoted détente and international cooperation, the government's policy is aimed at protecting the egoistic interests of big capital, even at the price of national interests. Breaking with the positive aspects of General de Gaulle's foreign policy, it advocates strengthening the Atlantic bloc. By accelerating

France's integration in the Little Europe of trusts dependent on the United States and increasingly dominated by the Federal Republic of Germany, it is seriously undermining national sovereignty.

From now on important decisions concerning French diplomatic, defense and economic policies are no longer made in Paris. France can no longer speak in her proper voice at important international negotiations or in connection with important international events.

The government follows the road of ever closer cooperation with Atlantic military organizations. Various projects increasingly mention the inclusion of the nuclear strike force in a "European defense" system, an updated variant of the "European Defense Community" contemplated by imperialism 20 years ago, at the height of the cold war.

The Giscard government inaugurates no "new era," it merely aggravates the negative aspects of the policy that plunged our country into crisis and which it adapts to prolong the rule of big capital.

But its opportunities for maneuvering are restricted. In the face of the mounting crisis of French society, in the face of the powerful popular movement, it is forced to reckon with the strength of the desire for change and the realities of the new balance of political forces.

The government of big capital was obliged to bring together all the forces of reaction, right-wing organizations and leaders. The government coalition formed around Giscard d'Estaing for the first time includes the UDR, the so-called independents, centrists and other reformers.

At the same time, the government resorts to shameless demagoguery to camouflage the reactionary essence of its policies. It institutes changes necessitated by the evolution of society and long demanded by the masses, as for example, lowering the voting age to 18.

Forced to make some concessions, it makes a virtue of necessity so as to foster illusions concerning the true nature of its policies and encourage class collaboration. It strives to restrict these changes, these concessions to spheres which do not affect the basic orientation of its policy. It dramatizes the situation so as to force acceptance of its austerity policy and appeal for a "holy alliance."

Its increasingly authoritarian character is indicative of the limits of its so-called liberalism. At all levels elected bodies of the population are barred from participation in decision making, including the most important. The real power is concentrated in the hands of the President of the Republic, while his trusted aides play an increasingly

important part in the nation's life. The dissolution of the French Radio and Television Administration; threats to the trade unions, to the right to demonstrate and strike, to all freedoms, are indicative of the authoritarian character of Giscard d'Estaing's policies, his party and his government. In violation of its own Constitution the government is sponsoring a racist campaign and a xenophobic campaign unworthy of France and dangerous for the country.

Thus, the government's whole policy is aimed at perpetuating the rule of big business and placing the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of our country's workers and people.

But the government is pursuing these objectives at a time when the popular forces are on the offensive. Its forced retreat is also an illustration of the real balance of social and political forces and the new opportunities for the popular and national forces stemming from it.

Various aspects of the Giscard government's policies have already led to widespread actions involving social strata the majority of which had voted for it last spring. The government of big capital can be forced to make new concessions by fighting for the immediate demands of the masses, for achieving important objectives in keeping with the needs of the working people and the development of society, such as working conditions, especially for unskilled workers; the position of the youth; the position of women; urban and environmental problems; the need for a genuinely democratic reform of the tax system; repeal of reactionary, archaic and hypocritical laws on divorce and abortion. It is also necessary to fight for the implementation of measures proposed by the Communist Party to overcome the crisis, curb inflation, reduce the balance-of-payments deficit and protect the French people's living standards and employment.

At the same time, the need for a real change of policy is a democratic and national requirement the urgency of which is increasing. There exist new, unprecedented possibilities and conditions for public and political forces to realize that the Giscard government is incapable of resolving any of the important problems of the French people and the country's future.

As long as the financial oligarchy can impose its ruthless order on the country the crisis of French society will only grow more acute, accompanied by increasingly unbearable injustices for some and privileges for others.

3. FRANCE AND THE PEOPLE NEED FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS

The crisis is too deep for face-lifting to suffice. It involves the very system, i.e. the rule of a small number of financial groups that have usurped power.

The aspirations of the masses, the needs of social development and national interests demand real changes. The people must be given the power to manage their activities and enjoy the fruits thereof through a series of democratic reforms capable of curtailing the limited power of big companies over the country's life.

This objective is set forth in the Common Program. Naturally, the text includes propositions prompted by considerations of expediency which will have to be reviewed at the appropriate time. It can be enriched with new agreed propositions to be worked out by the signatory parties on the basis of positive ideas suggested by the forces of the alliance.

But the Program's basic provisions rest on an analysis of the crisis and measures capable of leading the country out of it. The recent aggravation of the crisis, regardless of its causes, reaffirms their importance and urgency. They reflect basic popular and national policies, entirely new policies capable of giving our people the opportunity to live better, to live freely, policies ensuring France's independence and prestige.

Such a policy is impossible without giving the nation control over the main levers of its development. That is why it is necessary to carry out the nationalization envisaged in the Common Program, nationalization of the banking and financial sector, nationalization of the nine monopolies holding key positions in the national economy, and ensure the state majority participation in four other major companies. Nationalization, while affecting a limited number of companies, will involve key sectors. It will promote their democratic and modern development. Along with the already nationalized enterprises, which have to be democratized, it will play the part of a lever in the whole economy. It will provide a basis for planning and not in the technocratic secrecy of ministerial offices and big business, but with the participation of all parties concerned. It will help contain inflation and speculation, ensuring the people's control over economic and financial policy. It will create conditions for social progress.

Consequently, this nationalization differs radically from big capital's caricature of nationalization. Far from being a threat to the peasant's farm, the artisan's workshop, the trader's shop, the small or

medium enterprise, it will enable a democratic government to create more stable and more favorable conditions for them. Private property and savings will be guaranteed.

Far from leading to the appearance of a bureaucratic society dominated by an all-powerful state, nationalization will ensure the effectiveness of political reform, from which it is itself inseparable. Nationalization does not mean étatisation. Within the framework of a plan the management of nationalized enterprises will be decentralized and autonomous. The rights of workers and employees will be expanded so as to enable them to participate effectively in decision-making on questions concerning the enterprise, management, production, supplies and marketing.

All the freedoms won by the French people will be restored, guaranteed and expanded. Trade union rights at enterprises, as well as the prerogatives of factory committees, will be expanded; the latter will be provided with guaranteed political rights.

The fate and future of a big modern country cannot depend on one man wielding excessive personal power or on the whims of a handful of financiers and big companies.

All citizens must be able to take an active part in running the country, i.e., in determining the directions of its development and in making decisions on which their personal position and the country's future depend. In all spheres they should have the opportunity to set forth and defend their views, notably through the medium of political parties, regardless of whether they represent the opposition or the majority. In all cases decisions taken by universal, direct and secret ballot will be respected.

These reforms will make possible a policy of social and cultural progress with the participation of the nation's men and women. Its main purpose will be to satisfy popular needs and improve the conditions and quality of life. At the same time such a policy at the service of man will become one of the prime conditions of economic development and greater democracy.

This policy will ensure rising purchasing power and full employment for the working people. It will improve their working conditions and make work easier. It will start meeting their aspirations — in conditions corresponding to present-day needs and possibilities — in housing, transport, health care, urban development, environmental protection, education, culture and vocational training. It will create conditions for genuine improvement in all regions of the country.

Thus it will help provide for all real opportunities for living better and developing the personality.

France, rejecting all encroachments on its independence, must restore her complete freedom of initiative in international affairs and place it at the service of dynamic activity for the benefit of détente and peaceful coexistence, collective security and disarmament.

She must pursue a policy of the broadest cooperation with all countries without discrimination and use all opportunities beneficial to our country opened up by cooperation with the socialist countries; she must strive to build up a peaceful, democratic and independent Europe, give support to the peoples fighting for their independence and development, the peoples under the yoke of fascist regimes.

The right of the peoples of the "overseas departments and territories" to take their destinies in their own hands and assume the status of their choice will be recognized.

To pursue this new policy France needs a government of broad democratic alliance based on equality of rights and commitments of all participating parties and their resolve to implement it. Reactionaries continue to claim that this new policy would cause chaos, whereas it is their own policy that is dragging the country deeper and deeper into the mire of crisis. The French people can see this for themselves.

We offer our people a new, concrete, clear-cut experience. National history shows that when the people take their future in their own hands they blaze new trails to social progress and freedom and ensure the growth of French prestige throughout the world.

Today we propose reasonable changes: it is possible to lead France out of the impasse and open up new vistas in keeping with her genius and the spirit of our time.

The Communist Party fights for these democratic changes in the framework of broader perspectives. A revolutionary party, it sets itself the objective of doing away with capitalism and all its evils, restructuring society so as to rid man of all injustices and oppression, ensure his material welfare, access to culture and freedom, fostering brotherhood among people, i.e., socialism. This new society will be built on the basis of the general laws of socialism, on the basis of acquired experience, taking into account French traditions and conditions.

Socialism taking into account French conditions, as emphasized in the Chamigny Manifesto and *The Democratic Challenge*, implies collective ownership of the principal means of production and ex-

change, political power of the working class and its allies, gradual satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of the members of society, continual development of democracy and unprecedented expansion of freedoms, creation of conditions for the development of the abilities of all people.

All the Communist Party's activities are based on the conviction that transition to socialism can only be brought about by a democratic movement of the majority of the people. That is why it seeks, at all stages of the struggle, support for the ideals of socialism from more and more new people. It holds that our people's achievements in carrying out major democratic changes will create the conditions for a popular movement broad and resolute enough to carry out the socialist transformation of France.

4. ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE

The solution of important problems requires great national élan, the efforts of all our people. Only a policy providing for the fundamental reforms outlined in the Common Left Program can serve as a basis for such popular unity. Only a broad popular, national movement can ensure such unity. That is why the French Communist Party calls for an alliance of the people of France for democratic change.

To whom do we offer alliance? To all working people, all victims of big capital, all the people of France with the sole exception of a handful of big businessmen and their political henchmen.

This appeal is based on the political and social realities of present-day France.

The Left Alliance is becoming a major factor of French political life. It represents the nucleus for the unification of the overwhelming majority of the people, which today has become a definite possibility.

This is a tremendous threat to the government of big capital, which more than ever before seeks to split the Left alliance or distort its aims. In these conditions it is necessary to raise to a new level the quality of the Left alliance, the clarity and consistency of its conclusions and explanations, the resolution of its actions. That is why the Communist Party raises before the public problems of concern regarding the position of the Socialist party and Left Radical movement. A union of the people can be based only on the united Left forces and their program. Success depends on the loyalty of the parties that signed the Program to its basic provisions and their commitment to work for their achievement; on the clarity of the alliances that have to be concluded on that basis; on competition between the partners with

no such purpose as the strengthening of some at the expense of others or of imposing the will of one of the partners.

In particular, we shall expose the harmful, very dangerous character of any attempts to weaken the influence of the French Communist Party. Today the alliance must be strengthened and expanded and for this the growing influence of all its components is needed. It is the duty of the working people and all democrats to guarantee the Left alliance and strengthen popular unity, not only to defeat the government, but mainly to ensure the implementation of fundamental democratic reforms and create conditions for a better life.

France is not divided into two halves with diametrically opposing interests. The decisive dividing line passes between the caste dominating in the economy and the state, on the one hand, and the great mass of French people living by their labor and serving the country, on the other.

The latter can unite because they share common basic interests: to throw off the yoke of big capital, extricate France from the mire, live better and work in security and freedom.

An important step toward achieving that goal has already been made. New openings for unity are being created both by the baneful policy of the government and by Communist efforts aimed at ensuring united action. The alliance of French people is advancing.

The main forces of the working class have united in the daily struggle and in their resolve to win the changes proposed by the united Left. The indispensable basis for broader unity, the working class is at the same time the most determined, the most dynamic component of the alliance, and the most devoted to democratic change. That is why it is its driving force. The enterprise is one of the alliance's main fields of political struggle. Workers, employees, engineers and administrative personnel that had remained uninvolved in the struggle are now joining it.

Following those who have already united on the basis of the Common Program, many intellectuals of all professions are coming to realize that their living conditions can be guaranteed, that they can perform their responsible mission and their creative abilities can blossom only in the conditions of a new democracy.

Conviction of the need for fundamental change is mounting among farmers, legitimately dissatisfied with their fate and fighting for their interests.

Artisans and traders are also protesting against government policies

from which they suffer. More and more of them can be convinced that genuine reform is what they need.

The managers of small and medium enterprises suffering from steps toward the concentration of capital are worried about their future. They are threatened not by the legitimate demands of the workers actively supported by the French Communist Party, but by the policies of big companies, banks and the government. The situation should force them to work together with the popular forces for democratic change.

Among the military, disaffection is mounting with government tactics casting independence in doubt, rejecting a national defense policy, attempting to isolate career officers from the people, and setting off inductees against professional military personnel. The need to place the army at the service of the nation is more and more apparent.

The government and reaction are trying to split the country by counterposing women to men in line with old reactionary traditions and at the same time worsening the position of women. Workers, realizing the economic and social role of women in the country and their mounting participation in the struggle, will fight alongside working women and all women to satisfy their economic demands, against the forces of big capital, their real oppressor, for democratic change.

The government and reaction would like to set one generation against another. They are alarmed by the youth's increasing dissatisfaction with the injustices of the old world, the privileges of big capital, their desire for a new life, a new society and their broad participation in the popular democratic movement.

The government and reaction are trying to set French workers against immigrant workers so as to step up their exploitation. This emphasizes the need for strengthening their fighting solidarity and enhances its importance.

The government and reaction are trying to divide French people into believers and non-believers. Philosophical differences between Marxism and Christianity are no obstacle to an alliance of working people, democrats, patriotic believers and non-believers sharing common demands and aspirations. Their alliance has expanded in all spheres of public life. More and more Christians find in social reality and their faith itself the justification of action for a more just, more humane, brotherly society in which profit would not be the sole purpose of human activity. More and more Christians denounce the domination of the class of big capitalists. To them belongs an important place in the unification of the people of France, which Com-

munists are prepared to facilitate with full respect for the convictions of each and full freedom for each to shape his life in accordance with his convictions.

The government and reaction are dividing the country by discriminating against the Communist Party and the millions of French men and women it represents. They hope thus to preserve their influence among those French people who do not belong with the reactionaries but have been misled by falsifications and caricatures of Communist policies and the real state of affairs in socialist countries. Experience shows that anti-communism is a brake to Left unity and popular alliance. Democratic and national forces can be shown that the struggle against anti-communism is a task for all those who want to bring the hour of change nearer.

Many Frenchmen do not belong to Left parties. Life experience helps and will help them realize the fact that this is no obstacle for alliance with the Communists and the Left.

French men and women who opted for the "centrists" and "reformers" can realize the extent to which their hopes for change have been betrayed. They can see for themselves that the "center" is but a facet of reaction.

Many Frenchmen proclaim themselves Gaullists. But they see no Gaullism in the policy of restricted French independence, limiting France's international role or attempts to revive the obsolete political combinations of the past. They are shocked by the UDR leadership's support of this policy.

The Communists had opposed many aspects of the Gaullist policy. But both were in agreement about the importance of fighting for France's independence and dignity. Today this is again the issue. That is why they can unite in the framework of a broad alliance setting itself the objectives of the unity, prosperity, grandeur and prestige of the French nation. In the Communist view the efforts to achieve rapprochement with Gaullist workers, democrats and patriots is essential to forge an alliance of the French people.

Today the government and reaction are mobilizing their forces and making desperate efforts to split the nation. They speculate on the social, political and philosophical diversity of its components.

The Communist Party sees the alliance of the people of France as a powerful popular and national movement relying on the unity of different parties and organizations favoring democratic change, as well as on the cooperation of trade union, professional, public and family organizations cemented on the basis of the program for which

they are fighting today and which will make possible tremendous social gains for the good of man. Within this alliance each will retain its special features and independence on the basis of reciprocity of rights and obligations.

The Communist Party holds that the diversity of organizations and ideological trends characteristic of French life is fruitful when placed at the service of great common tasks.

Such unity was achieved in our country at other stages of our history, for example, on the basis of the program of the National Resistance Council during the liberation and reconstruction of the country. The Communist Party takes pride in the fact that back in 1935 it had called for the unity of the French nation and contributed greatly to it.

The circumstances are now different. But the crisis is serious. New decisions and a united people are needed for the renewal of the country. For its part the French Communist Party is fully resolved to do everything to unite in a framework of the alliance the majority of the people, all those who want France to pursue a policy of social progress, democracy, independence and peace, all those who want democratic reforms, who want to fight together for their triumph and implementation.

5. THE PARTY FRANCE NEEDS

A more influential Communist Party is a guarantee of the working people's future. Its existence, its strength, its action is necessary to take the country out of the crisis and ensure its democratic renewal; that is one of the main conclusions French men and women should draw from their recent experience.

The Communists have fought stubbornly and persistently for the demands of the working people, for freedom, independence and national progress. They did everything to get agreement on the Common Left Program and cement the broadest masses of the people on its basis. They missed no opportunity to promote the success of the Left in the presidential elections.

Thereby the Communist Party again proved its ability to be in the vanguard of the workers' popular, national struggle. At the same time it proved that, while playing this decisive role, it has no intention of occupying a special, domineering position. In working for an alliance of the French people in the struggle for democratic change it wants only one thing, to do all it can to promote common goals.

It is, consequently, in the interests of the workers and the people, in

the interests of the nation, that the Communist Party should expand and strengthen its influence, its organization, its activities. Its growing appeal, the influx of tens of thousands of new members is an indication that more and more French men and women share this conviction.

Communists realize that this imposes a new and important responsibility, new, important commitments. They will do everything for their Party to be up to national expectations in every sphere.

The Party must be ensured the means to play its part. This means, in the first place, that new forces must be boldly drawn to its side. Workers constitute the largest segment of the Communist Party, which is only natural, for it is their party, a party of the working class. Therein lies the first guarantee of its effectiveness. To strengthen it, the first thing necessary is to have large numbers of workers, employees, engineers, men and women join it, to set up hundreds of factory-floor branches so as to engage in political and ideological work to combat reactionary propaganda and popularize Communist policies. The party ranks also include peasants, workers by brain, including some of the most eminent figures, engineering, technical and administrative personnel. They all have the same rights and duties.

The French Communist Party must increase its ranks substantially. As always, it is open to all, without exception, who wish to fight for fundamental democratic change. Today being a member of the Party offers the best opportunity of participating in the creation of an alliance of the people of France for democratic change, which is an imperative of our time. In the French Communist Party the new members will take their place in the vanguard of the struggle for fundamental democratic reforms and at the same time gain from the Party's experience and theoretical heritage. Thus, to be a Communist means to take part in the struggle for advanced democracy, it means fighting for the subsequent triumph of socialism.

It means, further, continuing the development of the Party's collective thought in keeping with contemporary evolution of material and social reality. The Communist Party possesses a scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, which makes for its ability to inspire the working class and the people to the struggle. This theory is far from being an array of cut-and-dried recipes. It is a scientific philosophy, a means of knowing reality, a method of reasoning, a fighting tool at the service of the Party in carrying out its tasks. This theory must be constantly enriched with new conclusions based on social reality, the experience

of struggle, the progress of science and technology. At the same time, it should increasingly become the common asset of all Communists. To this end the Party will expand its educational work.

This means perfecting party propaganda, its living, popular, modern character, its initiative and ability to parry enemy blows swiftly. The same goes for Party newspapers and magazines. Party organizations should do all they can to promote support and distribute the newspaper *L'Humanité*, which has a prime role to play in view of government attempts to smother freedom of speech.

Finally, it means promoting democratic life in all Party branches. In view of the growing complexity of economic and social life and the intensity of political struggle, the Party more than ever before requires thoughts, ideas, a critical and creative approach, initiative, greater activity of every branch and every member. We shall promote all measures to this end. Collective Party thought and free discussion can be fruitful only if all majority decisions are carried out. That is democratic centralism. Without suggesting it as a model for the organization of French society, Communists consider it essential for their, vanguard Party, because it is the earnest of its effectiveness.

Youth participation in the democratic and popular struggles is expanding. Young people of 18 have received the right to vote.

It is necessary boldly to encourage the promotion of active, energetic, popular young Communists to important Party positions.

At the same time special attention will be given to the work of young Communists aimed at enhancing the initiative and substantially increasing the ranks of the Communist Youth Movement.

Communists will constantly do everything to improve their work style. More than ever before we need a viable party to fight the magnates of big capital, a party united with the victims of the financial oligarchy, a creative party in step with the time, a party open to all working people, to all those who want a better life and greater confidence in the future. Every branch will strive to perform this new duty. In conditions of aggravated class struggle the French Communist Party will be a mass party fully performing its vanguard role.

Thus, the French Communist Party is a great revolutionary party of our time. It is fighting for socialism. Today, realizing its responsibility to the country in the throes of a crisis, loyal to its national duty, which it does not separate from its duty of international solidarity, the Communist Party devotes all its efforts to uniting the forces capable of

carrying out necessary democratic change. It is inspired by the single desire to serve the people, to serve France.

L'Humanité, October 31, 1974

EXTRAORDINARY SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Portuguese Communist Party held its Extraordinary Seventh Congress on October 20, 1974. The Congress, which met in Lisbon, was attended by nearly 1,000 delegates and 5,000 representatives of Party branches. Among the delegates, Communists under 30 years of age made up 42.2 per cent, those between 30 and 50 years, 32.3 per cent and those over 50 years, 24.5 per cent. The proportion of women delegates was 12.3 per cent.

Social composition of the delegates: workers, 51.3 per cent, clerical personnel, 24.1 per cent, intellectuals, 12 per cent, students 6.3 per cent and peasants, 2 per cent.

The item on the agenda was amendments to the Party Program and Rules.

The Congress was opened by Pires Jorge, veteran Communist, member of the CC PCP.

Alvaro Cunhal, the Party General Secretary, presented the relevant report.

The Congress unanimously approved amendments to the Party Program and Rules and an Appeal to the Democratic Forces of Portugal.

The Congress received messages of greetings from the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' parties, as well as from national liberation movements.

Alvaro Cunhal spoke in reply to the debate.

Following are the abridged text of A. Cunhal's report and the complete text of the Appeal to the Democratic Forces of Portugal. The report was published in *Avante*, October 21, and the Appeal was brought out as a pamphlet.

REPORT BY ALVARO CUNHAL

This Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party is the first in 48 years to be held in legal conditions.

It is a fact indicative of the radical changes that have occurred on the Portuguese political scene since April 25.

The Portuguese people today enjoy freedom. There is no press censorship. Democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations are formed and operate in freedom. The people exercise the right to assembly and have been granted the right to strike. The colonial war is over, historic steps have been taken toward decolonization and Portugal has established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The working people have won some very important demands: a living wage, collective bargaining, higher pay for civil servants and a number of social benefits. The overall result is an appreciable improvement in the living standards of the low-paid categories of working people.

Changes leading to the removal of the legacy of fascism are taking place, if not without difficulties, in every sphere of national life.

The revolutionary process is making rapid headway due to the alliance between the country's democratic movement and the Armed Forces Movement (AFM). The AFM, which has overthrown the fascist dictatorship and firmly upholds the established democratic order, could not, however, have effected the changes nor registered the gains in question without the democratic forces and the masses. But neither could the democratic forces and the masses have scored these gains without the AFM.

There are those who talk of "exaggerations" and "excesses" in the people's struggle and other actions. If they mean certain acts of provocation by pseudo-revolutionary groups we must say that these acts injure the people's mass movement rather than promoting it. It is only reaction that they serve.

Had it not been for the struggle of the workers, peasants, working youth, students, intellectuals, women and the middle classes and strata and for the dynamism in the political battlefield characterizing the popular forces, the freedoms would have been far more limited and indeed, it is doubtful whether there would have been any. Without the people's struggle, the democratization process would have been much slower.

The experience of the first six months of freedom shows that the alliance of the democratic movement of Portugal and the AFM shapes developments in the current revolutionary process.

The present alignment of forces entitles us to express confidence that the evolution toward consolidating freedom, holding elections

and building a democratic Portugal will continue.

Throughout the past six months reaction has repeatedly tried to take the offensive so as to do away with the freedoms won and re-establish dictatorship.

Palma Carlos* and his accomplices were behind the plan for a constitutional coup as a result of which the Council of State was to have transferred all power to General Spínola.

The reactionaries launched their new attack on September 28. Either attempt at a coup was preceded by artificial social conflicts in the form of unwarranted "strikes," demonstrations and scandalous provocations by fascists and "leftists," who wanted to bring on street riots and chaos and give the conspirators' demands a semblance of justification.

With Palma Carlos's scheme foiled, the reactionaries lost their positions. They had to pay even more dearly for their September reverse.

That serious setback was due in decisive measure to two factors. One factor was the action of the people's mass movement in which our Party played a decisive role. When the counter-revolutionaries started on their major operation it was our Party that exposed their aims and warned against the impending danger. It realized and pointed out that the proposed demonstration of the so-called "silent majority" was part of a vast conspiracy designed to establish a new dictatorship. Our Party started an open battle, assuming the responsibility and risk involved.

At the time many considered that the demonstration should be authorized, and there were those who denied the existence of any danger or underestimated it, while others preferred to wait and see. The Party, firmly backed from the outset by the Portuguese democratic movement, the Intersindical, trade unions, Working Youth Movement, League of Communist Students and other democratic organizations, mobilized the masses to combat reaction's plans.

Acting with determination, sometimes in cooperation with the armed forces, the people set up barriers all over the country, from the north to the south, organized road and transport control and picketing and defeated the counter-revolutionaries' plans by preventing their "march on Lisbon." Those were the people's most remarkable and resolute actions since April 25 and they revealed the strength, organi-

*Former Premier who provoked the government crisis last July — Ed.

zation, ability and role of the masses in defending and building up democracy.

The second factor for the people's victory was the AFM, which uncovered and destroyed reaction's underground network and frustrated its attempt to silence the mass media. In common with the people, the AFM dealt the reactionaries a crushing defeat which led subsequently to the removal of three reactionary generals from the Council of National Salvation, followed by the resignation of General Spínola.

Spínola and the generals removed from the Council of National Salvation had opposed democratization and decolonization from the first. The four men were involved in the reactionaries' maneuvers and conspiracies aimed at vesting Spínola with unlimited powers, establishing martial law, unleashing repression against democrats, dissolving the AFM and abolishing democratic freedoms.

It was behind Spínola that reactionary and conservative forces rallied. What stood out in the first five months of the complicated political development following April 25 was the conflict between the AFM and the democratic forces, on the one hand, and the conservative forces behind Spínola, on the other. The most important steps toward democratization and decolonization were taken against the will of Spínola, who played a positive role at a definite moment but afterwards became an obstacle to democratic policy.

The 28th of September will go down in the history of the Portuguese democratic revolution as a date of immense importance. Political power gained in strength and efficiency. The state apparatus was consolidated. The AFM and the democratic forces became stronger. The alliance of the popular movement and the AFM showed itself again to be the political axis of democratic change in our country. It is too early to evaluate the defeat suffered by the counter-revolution late in September. If the progressive forces take proper measures and carefully analyze their victory it will be safe to affirm that building democracy in Portugal has become an irreversible process.

However, it would be wrong to imagine that all danger is over, that the reactionary forces can no longer rear their ugly head or that everything will be simple and easy from now on. Reaction is still strong and active. It holds definite positions in the state apparatus and has economic power, which it uses against democratization and decolonization.

All this prompts us, now that reaction is demoralized somewhat, to lose no time in carrying out emergency measures to maintain free-

dom, strengthen the democratic state and solve economic and financial problems.

Counter-revolutionary action by conspirators is not the only threat to freedom. The main threat to freedom is posed by economic power hindering the country's progress and serving as a political and financial basis for counter-revolution. The monopolies and latifundists resist the new democratic process. It is above all they who raise obstacles to independent economic development, a higher living standard for the working class and rural working people and improvement in the condition of small manufacturers, traders and landowners. They are conspiring to re-establish dictatorship. In the economic field they carry on subversion, withhold credits, cancel investments, engineer a "flight of capital" and suspend or cut production in industry and agriculture. They try to aggravate the economic situation, disrupt production, foment discontent among the people and set them against the government so as to pave the way for counter-revolution.

If we want to preserve and strengthen the regime of freedom and democracy we must curb and then abolish the economic power of monopolists and latifundium owners. The state should participate ever more actively in the solution of economic problems without prejudice to private non-monopoly enterprise. It should proceed to nationalize key economic branches and transfer the latifundiums to the peasants.

Ever since April 25, political power has been in the hands of democratic forces, whose policy defends the interests of the people and country. However, economic power is still wielded by the monopolists and latifundium owners. This situation cannot last long. Either the monopolists and latifundium owners will regain political power and restore dictatorship, or the democratic forces will end the economic power of monopolists and latifundium owners in the interest of building a democratic Portugal.

Conditions for radical social reforms may not be ripe as yet. However, proper measures against the monopolies and latifundiums are needed to safeguard democracy and assure economic and social stability.

The AFM Program notes that "anti-monopoly strategy" is the main principle of carrying on the new economic policy in the interest of the Portuguese people, first of all the most destitute section. The situation calls for applying this idea without delay.

At this Congress, the Party offers its Extraordinary Platform to the Portuguese people and democratic forces. The platform will be in-

cluded in the Party Program as a program of primordial tasks. It is aimed at defending the freedoms, strengthening the democratic state, continuing decolonization and maintaining economic and financial stability to ensure further progress.

In September the fascist and reactionary conspirators tried to justify their action by alleging that the Communists were opposed to freedom. General Spínola himself used this pretext to demand full powers and the establishment of martial law, that is, in the final analysis, the abolition of the freedoms, the repeal of constitutional guarantees and the installation of a new dictatorship. Those who talk about a non-existent threat to freedom as an excuse for doing away with freedom are giving themselves the lie.

The Communists have always fought and will go on fighting for our people's freedom. Last September it was the Communists (as well as other forces accused of "attacking" freedom) that saved freedom.

It is reaction that sticks to its plan of abolishing democratic freedoms. Had the fascists and reactionaries won the upper hand on September 28, they would not have taken power with carnations in the barrels of their guns but would have staged a bloodbath, as they promised they would on the eve of the planned coup.

The Portuguese people fought against tyranny for over half a century. They must now do all in their power to prevent a recurrence of that tyranny. We must uphold the most extensive freedoms and will defend them against enemies with a firm hand or, indeed, with a very firm hand if necessary.

For years our Party, other democratic forces and the Portuguese youth saw a key task in ending colonial war and recognizing the right of the oppressed peoples of Portuguese colonies to complete and immediate independence.

The termination of the colonial war, the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the establishment of equal relations with it and the formation of a transitional government by FRELIMO in Mozambique were historic gains of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as of the Portuguese people, who ended the fascist dictatorship and gave this process a tremendous spur and have now entered into fraternal cooperation with these peoples.

Our gains should not, however, allow us to shut our eyes to the enormous difficulties and complicated problems still facing us. There may develop a situation holding up this process in some territories, and serious incidents may occur in Portugal itself. We think a policy carried on with due regard to reality in each particular case should be

based on the idea of actually recognizing the right of every people to self-determination and independence.

Speaking of the colonial problem as a whole, the country should pursue a policy precluding the resumption of war. Our soldiers and sailors should be brought back as soon as possible and the call-up period should be reduced. Military spending should be sharply cut at an early date.

It must also be remembered that Portugal has limited resources and that this is likely to limit our financial aid to the new states.

Portugal is in a difficult economic and financial situation. This is largely a result of the heritage left us by fascism: a deficit-ridden economy and a precarious balance maintained with the help of foreign credits.

The sharp drop in hard currency receipts from emigrant workers, the decline in tourism, the impact of a worsened world economic situation and subversion by powerful domestic and certain foreign economic groups have added to the country's economic and financial plight. A crisis in civil engineering and some other fields, the difficulties besetting small and big enterprises and fewer investments are among the serious aspects of the situation. The large budgetary, trade and balance of payments deficit is the most preoccupying fact at the moment. Unless reduced in the near future, it will endanger the economic stability of Portugal.

Some reassure themselves, saying that the country has substantial resources. Yet unless the state takes energetic steps, the available resources will soon be exhausted because they are being used too fast. Unless we solve our current economic problems the economy will find itself in a deep crisis and, moreover, democracy will be imperilled. We must pursue a realistic economic policy and promptly cut inessential government spending, first of all military expenditures. We must also increase revenues by levying higher taxes, not on the working people or small manufacturers, traders and landowners, but on those who own great wealth and capital.

Another high priority task is to improve the management of state enterprises. An end must be put to what has become an impermissible rule, tradition or shortcoming, namely, being reconciled to unprofitable state enterprises which made high profits when they were privately owned.

The nationalization of some banks affords the state new opportunities to play a role in economy and finance in order to make private banks step up their activity. Big capitalists today affirm that they have

no money, yet they unlawfully transfer capital to other countries. Control over the flight of capital must be radically improved and those guilty of this kind of practice as well as their accomplices must be severely punished. The very flight of capital indicates that funds do exist and hence the allegation that no investments can be made for lack of funds is untenable.

In industry as well, the state should follow different lines. First of all, it should support the big and small enterprises which make investments and contribute help to develop and expand production. Second, it should take drastic action against economic subversion, the closing of enterprises, cuts in production and unwarranted dismissals by establishing control over the enterprises guilty of abuses, speculation and fraud. Third, it should strengthen the state sector of industry by improving management, making it more profitable and setting up new state and mixed enterprises. Fourth, it should support small and medium enterprises.

There is much debate on whether Portugal should encourage or discourage foreign investments today. We believe it should encourage them under adequate state control.

Growing state participation in the economy poses difficult management problems. Under the dictatorship, with state-monopoly capitalism developing, state and government representatives performed managerial functions. However, their actual role consisted in adapting the state apparatus to the needs of big business. They now have a different function, which is to uphold state interests even to the detriment of private companies whenever there is a clash of interests. This requires competent personnel with the necessary experience and devoted to the present political regime. Hence the working people must continue to exercise control over the management of state enterprises and promote capable people to key managerial posts.

The rural working people encounter serious difficulties which must be overcome without delay. These are real problems affecting the vital interests of millions of Portuguese and arising from the general situation in the country.

The Portuguese democratic revolution, which has triumphed in the cities, must not be defeated in the countryside. Democracy is reliably supported by the agricultural proletariat of Ribatejo and Alentejo,* as well as by the peasants of some other regions united in leagues and associations which we must fully back. It would be illusory, however,

*Southern provinces of Portugal. — Ed.

to believe that democracy enjoys similar support in the country's central, inland and northern rural regions. Reactionary landowners in these regions claim that if the Communists (they call anyone a "Communist" who is fighting for a democratic Portugal) come to power they will take the peasants' lands and homes, kill old people who can no longer work, rob husbands of their wives and mothers of their sons. Unfortunately, some villages are so isolated that people living there fall for these lies. We must send to these areas courageous propagandists who can overcome the peasants' indifference to politics and their anti-Communist and anti-democratic prejudices and destroy the wall of political isolation put up by reaction in vast rural areas.

However, propaganda and explanation alone are not enough to end deep-rooted prejudices, deliver certain sections of the peasantry from landowner oppression, draw them into the democratic revolution and make small proprietors and small tenants or sharecroppers staunch defenders of the present political regime. What will really associate the peasantry with the democratic cause is specific steps to solve their pressing problems. Propaganda is necessary but it is deeds, not words, that will win the peasants for the revolution.

The state should think over the problem of requisitioning uncultivated lands and transferring them to cooperatives and to individual or state farms. The small peasants' tax burden must be eased while big proprietors and absentee landowners should be made to pay higher taxes. The state should extend substantial aid in the form of credits, machinery and technology to set up or reorganize cooperatives, meaning not the false cooperatives which helped certain big landed proprietors and capitalists to exploit thousands of peasants but genuine cooperatives freely established and managed by small and middle producers.

There is a need for an entirely new agrarian policy and for emergency measures to solve urgent problems of the working population of the countryside and bring the bulk of the peasantry into the revolutionary process.

Since April 25 the working people have won more demands than in the long years of fascist dictatorship. However, the overall deterioration of the economic situation, inflation and crisis in some industries and in agriculture tend to nullify the improvements won. The working people, while not allowing themselves to be inveigled into putting forward unrealistic demands, cannot relax their fight for a better life. They insist on collective agreements being fulfilled, which some employers refuse to do. They are compelled to demand a periodical wage

rise in accordance with rising prices. They want greater social benefits and resist groundless dismissals. They demand more public works and subsidies, a curb on the mounting prices of necessities, and lower rents.

Speaking of trade union struggle against the employers, two remarks should be made.

First, the working people should decide by democratic procedure on the pressing demands they are to put forward and refrain from demands demagogically suggested by reactionaries or pseudo-revolutionary "leftists" who want to create impossible situations, provoke clashes and drive a wedge between the working people and the provisional government.

Second, the working people should choose appropriate forms of struggle, bearing in mind the social and political implications of their actions.

Everyone should be well aware that in the present political situation at home, tranquillity and organization are the most effective way of consolidating the freedoms and going on to still greater democratic changes. Unrest in production and transport, and whatever aggravates the economic situation, benefits reaction and not the working people. This is why we have said more than once that in the present situation strikes, while remaining an inalienable weapon of the working people to which they owe numerous gains even after April 25, may only be used when there are no more suitable forms of struggle and when it is certain that a strike will not result in serious economic and social unrest playing into the hands of reaction.

There are those who believe that for the sake of economic stability the working people should temporarily renounce struggle for a better life and, indeed, agree to a deterioration of it if necessary.

The working people of Portugal are willing to work more and better because they work for themselves, for their nation and country, and not for a parasitic bourgeoisie whose luxury is an insult at a time when the masses meet hardships or even live in poverty. Working harder for the country, yes, working harder for the exploiters, no.

The Constituent Assembly to be elected in the spring of 1975 will have to adopt the Constitution of the future Portuguese Republic. Hence the extreme importance of the coming election and the necessity for it to be really free and for the electorate to be delivered from physical, financial or psychological pressure.

It is often asked how the Communist Party plans to proceed in the election campaign and whether we are going to campaign by ourselves or join efforts with some other political organization. I think it is too

early to answer these questions. Everything will depend on the actual situation before the election. The election should not cause a division of the democratic forces. On the contrary, it should help to strengthen the existing unity so that a democratic Portugal may be built.

The great objective at this stage of struggle is to establish a democratic regime elected by the people. We are fighting for the legalization of a regime recognizing the most extensive democratic freedoms: freedom of the press, association and assembly, the formation of parties and trade unions, as well as the right to strike.

We are also fighting for a regime that would carry out deep-going social reforms and fully implement the eight points of our Party Program intended to achieve the following goals at this stage of the democratic and national revolution:

- organizing the state on democratic lines;
- completely eliminating monopoly power and taking steps toward rapid and general economic progress;
- carrying out an agrarian reform;
- substantially improving the living standard of all working men and women and the people as a whole;
- democratizing education and culture;
- freeing Portugal from the shackles of imperialism;
- recognizing the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence should be colonies still exist by then;
- pursuing a policy of peace and friendship with all nations.

With the establishment of a democratic regime, the revolutionary process will be able to develop on peaceful lines and it will be possible to effect far-reaching social reforms in keeping with democratic legality.

Some characteristics of the Portuguese democratic revolution, in particular the existence of the alliance of the people and armed forces, enable Portuguese society to accomplish democratic changes by peaceful means. We will do everything to make this a reality.

We must foster unity between the Communist Party and the democratic movement of Portugal, between the Communist and Socialist parties, between the PCP and other democratic parties. Our task is to strengthen the alliance between the people's democratic movement and the Armed Forces Movement, an alliance indispensable to a fruitful revolutionary process.

This Extraordinary Congress is an important indication of our Party's role in present-day politics. It is extraordinary in every respect — its objectives, its form and date, the promptness shown in

preparing for it and, needless to say, its progress.

We are passing through an extraordinary period of national history. This necessitates certain amendments to the Party Program and Rules. It is not under a fascist dictatorship but under a regime of freedom that we are operating. Our Party is no longer illegal and is in the government.

We have included in our Program the Extraordinary Platform discussed by the Party before the Congress. If it is approved we will submit it to the people and democratic forces for discussion. In the Program, certain Marxist terms will be missing or will be modified. This should not be attributed to any ideological considerations.

There is, for example, the term "dictatorship of the proletariat." In Marxist terminology, "dictatorship" means the domination of one or several classes over another class or other classes. The freest bourgeois democracy is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which implies that the proletariat and its allies hold power, may take many forms. It may be multi-party and have a multiform state organization. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a more democratic system than the most democratic bourgeois democracy. However, the use in Portugal of the term "dictatorship" today, after 50 years of fascist dictatorship, that is, in an entirely new situation, would not be conducive to a correct understanding of our Party's policy or to the fulfilment of our tasks.

We are changing nothing in our concepts or our doctrine.

This Congress will not answer many of the new and different questions facing the Party. That is a task for the regular congress to be convened shortly.

The Party has become much stronger since April 25. It is organizing throughout the nation and has already opened numerous Labor Centers. Its membership is steadily growing. According to incomplete data, it doubled from June to September, workers making up 60 per cent of it and professional and office employees, 18 per cent. The number of organizations has doubled. *Avante* is published in a large edition and so are other Party publications.

We are undoubtedly making progress. However, our achievements are no reason for us to disregard shortcomings in organizing work, propaganda or cadre training. We must remove these shortcomings and improve our work.

The Portuguese Communist Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and people of the country. It has an inalienable role to play in the country's current democratic policy. Its very nature and

role put the Party in a position of high responsibility with regard to other democratic forces and the country.

We are confident that the membership will do everything for the Party to cope with its responsibilities.

APPEAL OF THE SEVENTH (SPECIAL) CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Freedom has come to Portugal. A stop has been put to the colonial war. The two great aims of the Portuguese people's long struggle have been realized. Six months ago an end was put to the horror of fascist dictatorship, the absence of elementary freedoms, PIDE omnipotence, the persecutions, arrests, tortures and murders, the unjust war which devoured, crippled and maimed lives. The Portuguese people want no return to the past. They want to preserve and are ready to defend what they won on April 25 and in the following period. They are ready to fight for profound democratic changes which will allow the country to take the road of rapid development, improve conditions of life, and ensure genuine national independence.

HISTORIC VICTORIES

The overthrow of the fascist regime on April 25, 1974 radically changed the political situation in the country. Expressing the profound aspirations of the people, inspiring their long struggle, the Armed Forces Movement put an end to a half a century of dictatorship, opening the way to democratic freedoms and to ending the colonial war. It was a turning point in national life, objectively linked with the historic process, defined by the Communist Party as a democratic and national revolution.

The victory of the Armed Forces Movement on April 25 became possible owing to the popular struggle against the dictatorship and the colonial war, the internal contradictions and isolation of the fascist regime, the liberation struggle by the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and also to international solidarity with the struggle of the Portuguese people.

Parallel with the actions of the military who overthrew the fascist government, *the democratic forces and popular masses, whose strength was forcefully demonstrated on the historic day of May 1,*

1974, together with the Armed Forces Movement took part in liquidating fascism, imparting a new dynamism to the revolutionary process. The alliance of the people and the armed forces immediately became the main condition for safeguarding the freedoms and ensuring democratization and decolonization.

The Provisional Government, a coalition of social and political forces having a stake in establishing a democratic system in Portugal, adopted and carried out the Program of the Armed Forces Movement. The decisive successes within only six months were made possible by the activity of the government and democratic forces, and the struggle and creative initiative of the people.

Political parties, trade unions and democratic organizations began to function openly. There is no censorship of the press. The right to hold meetings and demonstrations is assured. The armed forces, formerly the pillar of the hated regime, became the decisive force in safeguarding the freedoms. All political life and public activity in the country have been democratized. In the economic and social fields the working people have achieved more in six months than during the long years of fascist rule. In Africa there is peace. The recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the setting up with FRELIMO participation of a transitional government in Mozambique, and the measures carried out in other territories open up the way to independence for all the peoples oppressed by Portuguese colonialism only a few months ago. Isolated and all but accursed by public opinion yesterday, Portugal has now won prestige, is strengthening and broadening friendly ties, establishing relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, is beginning a new era in its foreign policy.

It is a question of *historic victories* which have created an altogether new situation in the country and represent a gigantic step on the way to democracy, progress and national independence.

Democratization and decolonization are being advanced against the strong resistance of the reactionary and conservative forces. Reaction has more than once attempted to take the offensive in order to destroy freedoms and instal a new dictatorship. But it has met with a rebuff every time. That is what happened when there was an attempt at a constitutional coup, led by ex-Premier Palma Carlos. The broadly conceived "silent majority" scheme connected with preparations for a counter-revolution had the same fate.

On September 28 the alliance of the popular movement and the Armed Forces Movement dealt another serious blow at reaction. Frustration of the wide-scale operation of the fascists and conspirator-

ial organizations, the withdrawal of three junta generals, and the resignation of General Spínola (who tried once more to introduce a state of siege and arrogate dictatorial powers) — all this meant the end of the crisis, a significant victory for the forces of freedom, the biggest since April 25.

This was further proof that *there exist forces strong enough to defeat reaction's plans and carry forward the democratic process.*

THE THREAT FROM REACTION STILL EXISTS

It would be dangerous, however, to think that the reactionary forces crushed on September 28 would accept their defeat and the democratization of political life. It would be exceedingly dangerous for the democrats and progressive military to overestimate their own forces and rest on their laurels. But it would be just as dangerous to underestimate them, for this could lead to indecision at a time when the conspiratorial maneuvers of the enemy must be rebuffed.

The threat to freedom has not been fully eliminated. Reaction still holds positions, it still has support and accomplices at home and abroad. It will learn from its defeat and try to improve its organization, using diverse forms of struggle, from economic passivity to attempts at bloody coups. It will continue its actions against the existing regime. It will take the offensive.

The strengthening of the democratic government, which implies a renewal of the entire state apparatus, firm defense of freedoms, unflagging vigilance on the part of the government bodies and the masses, immediate and severe punishment of conspirators are essential for the consolidation and viability of democracy.

But this is not enough. *Victory in the battle for democracy is not attained in the political sphere alone. It is necessary to win in the economic field too.* Should the democratic government, leaning on popular support, be unable to overcome the difficulties and resolve the economic problems confronting the country, democracy would be defeated.

In order to safeguard freedom, for the country to develop in conditions of peace, to raise the material and cultural level of the people, *a solution must be found to national economic problems, and, apart from all else, that means the interests of big capital and landowners must be subordinated to the supreme interests of the nation.*

DEMOCRACY AND ANTI-MONOPOLY POLICY

The big monopoly groups and latifundists used the fascist govern-

ment to lord it over the country for decades. They denied the people even elementary democratic freedoms, resorting to repression and terror to appropriate the national riches and the fruit of the Portuguese people's creative labor. After April 25 these kings and lords of fascist Portugal exposed themselves as the principal enemies of progress, independent economic development, higher living standards, and the democratic system. Democratization and decolonization encounter their resistance in the form of refusal to accept the new political situation, economic sabotage, subversion against the Provisional Government and the Armed Forces Movement and direct and indirect support for counter-revolution. A handful of families have concentrated in their hands the lion's share of the national wealth and resources, capital, lands, economic and financial levers. Their egoistic interests are irreconcilable with the interests of the people and of an independent Portugal. *The consolidation of the freedoms and establishment of a stable democratic system are impossible without implementing an anti-monopoly and anti-latifundist policy.*

The objective evolution of the Portuguese economy inevitably poses the alternative:

— *either* development, based on the accumulation and domination of the monopoly groups and latifundists, with the resultant miserable wages and destitution of the middle strata, which on the political plane would mean a new dictatorship, liquidation of freedoms, violent and constant repressions;

— *or* development, based on eliminating monopoly and latifundist power and stimulating non-monopoly initiative, on the growing role of the state, nationalization of the key branches, on creative abilities of the people and raising their living standards, curbing the profits and consumption of a handful of multimillionaires, which on the political plane would mean a broad democratic system.

Putting off this alternative will not remove the problem. *It will become clearer with each passing day that the only solution in the interests of the people and the country is the restriction and final liquidation of the economic power of the monopolies and latifundists.*

If this is not done (and it must be done as soon as possible), the Portuguese economy will fall into a deep crisis, the people's living standards will decline, social tensions will increase, and the democratic process will be jeopardized.

The PCP is participating in the Provisional Government. It will continue to take part in implementing the Armed Forces Program, which has become the government Program. It will continue to seek

solutions in agreement with other democratic forces. But the Program only outlines the main direction, and life daily poses new problems which demand immediate answers.

The AFM Program clearly shows that the governing principle of the "new economic policy in the service of the Portuguese people, particularly of the poorest strata of the population," is an "anti-monopoly strategy." It is in the framework of such a policy, *in the framework of such an anti-monopolistic strategy that we must look for answers to the questions which arise before the people and the country in the political, economic and social spheres.*

THE EMERGENCY PLATFORM

To consolidate the new political situation, secure economic and financial stability, improve the people's condition, and guarantee the elections it is necessary, even before the basic reforms are realized, to adopt emergency measures making it possible to solve the immediate problems. For this the *PCP* proposes a platform consisting of three main points:

First, strengthening of the democratic state and defense of freedoms.

Second, maintenance of economic and financial stability in the interests of development.

Third, continuation of the decolonization process.

I

STRENGTHENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE AND DEFENSE OF FREEDOMS

Strengthening the democratic state

1. Renewal of the state apparatus, first of all its higher echelons, by appointing supporters of the present political regime to all important political, economic, diplomatic and administrative posts.

2. Reorganization of the para-military and police forces into forces defending the democratic order.

3. Reorganization of the services to eradicate the customs of the parasitic bureaucracy, the offspring of the fascist dictatorship. The training of energetic civil servants loyal to the new political regime.

Defense of freedoms

1. Guaranteed broad exercise of the rights and freedoms by the citizens. Obligatory respect for the democratic order.

2. Broad participation of the public in resolving big national problems. Close cooperation in the democratic reorganization between the

government, state institutions, local organizations, political parties, trade unions, peasants' leagues and associations, cooperatives, youth and women's associations and other democratic mass organizations.

3. Ban of fascist and reactionary organizations, their propaganda and activity. Strict measures against counter-revolutionary conspiracies and economic sabotage. Punishment of the guilty.

Preparations for the elections to the Constituent Assembly

1. An electoral law guaranteeing democratic procedure at all stages of the elections, genuine expression of the people's will.

2. Conduct a comprehensive and verifiable census.

3. An immediate end to discrimination against political parties on the television and other state-controlled news media. Participation of the most representative political forces in the administration of these services.

II

MAINTENANCE OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STABILITY IN THE INTERESTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Public finances

1. Cut back without delay unimportant expenditures in all government offices. Reduction of military spending. An austerity policy.

2. Raise the public income by increasing the progressive character of taxes, especially excise duties, inheritance, transfer of property; place the main tax burden on the big taxpayers and reduce the taxes paid by small traders, businessmen and farmers. Impose taxes on big incomes, profits and real estate.

3. Reduce the rate of emission of money. An anti-inflationary policy.

4. Decrease the trade and balance-of-payments deficit by repatterning foreign trade, boost production and currency receipts from emigrants, tourism and the import of capital.

5. Radically improve the administration of state-owned and mixed enterprises with a view to cutting the deficit and making them profitable. Increase returns on state investments.

6. Introduce more stringent control over finances and punish those who embezzle state property.

Bank activities

1. The leading and correcting role of the nationalized banks in banking activity. The Bank of Portugal must coordinate the activity of the State Banks. Preferential rates for deposits in the nationalized banks. Development of the trade sector of the National Overseas

Bank. Obligatory deposits of insurance companies in the OGDCP. Orientation of the state enterprises to conduct their affairs through State Banks.

2. State control over the activity of private banks and government interference wherever it does not conform to the interests of the nation. Strengthening of the role of the government representatives and administrators. Reorganization of the general inspection of credits and insurance.

3. Control over the movement of capital. Surveillance and severe punishment of those guilty for the flow of capital abroad, as well as of their accomplices.

Industry

1. Support and credit aid, and other measures of encouragement for small or big enterprises which contribute to economic progress through capital investments, increasing production, creating new jobs.

2. Energetic measures against unfounded curtailment of production, shut-downs of factories and unwarranted dismissals. State supervision and control over enterprises unable to carry out their functions. Investigation and control of enterprises where violations, speculations or abuses occur. Confiscation of property and arrest for economic sabotage proved by the court.

3. Strengthen the positions of state and mixed enterprises in the corresponding branches. Set up new state and mixed enterprises. Raise production, productivity and the competitive capacity of the state sector. A more critical attitude to the selection of cadres.

4. Support the small and medium enterprises through credits, preferential taxes, state and local orders, and finding markets for them. Reorganize the branches. Reorganize management in cooperation with the state, and where necessary, with the participation of the working people.

5. Stimulation of and guarantees for foreign investments under state control and the creation of mixed enterprises where necessary.

Agriculture

1. Requisition of unused lands and their transfer to the state, cooperatives or to individual families. Transfer of vacant lands to the population to be used with an eye to conserving the forests.

2. Abolition of taxes for land and of sharecropping, with the latter to be replaced by leases. Revision of lease regulations: longer terms, lower and fixed rent and written contracts, payment of rent in money,

actual abolition of subrenting, remuneration to the leaseholder for invested capital.

3. Support for the small and medium farmers. Credits. Revision of privileges and subsidies. Insurance. Technical aid. Support and aid in setting up and reorganizing cooperatives.

4. A new prices policy. Examine the differentiation of prices on a regressive scale (grain, wine). Guaranteed prices for milk, meat and other products. Repatterning of trade turnover to make it simpler so that food prices will not be onerous to the consumer. Help to reduce production costs. Raise the quality of products. Stringent enforcement of the prohibition of wine-making that does not comply with production norms. Subordination of farm imports to the interests of Portuguese agriculture (potatoes, meat, etc.).

5. Reorganization of the civil service. Combine centralization of decisions on farm policy with decentralization of regional and branch decisions, liquidation of the corporative system in agriculture, transfer to the state of useful semi-state functions, and of properties to the cooperatives and other agricultural associations.

6. Development of crop-growing, stock-raising and forestry. Aid to buy machines, seeds, fertilizers and herbicides. Reorganization of the trade of farm machines. State and cooperative machine pools. Premises and facilities (wine cellars, silos, refrigerators, etc.) for the general use of all producers.

7. Higher taxes on big properties and absentee landowners.

Foreign trade

1. Guidance, control and planning of foreign trade by the government. Set up the necessary agencies.

2. Drastic reduction of imports on non-essential goods, and greater export, especially in the branches hit by the crisis.

3. Agreements with the Common Market, taking into consideration the level of the Portuguese economy. Development of exchange with socialist countries by immediately signing trade agreements and agreements of cooperation. Increase trade with other countries.

Situation of the working people

1. A periodical review of wages and salaries in keeping with rising prices. Observe the criterion of social justice in such reviews, having in mind the lowest-paid categories in the first place.

2. Observance of the collective agreements between trade unions

and employers. Obligatory fulfilment of such agreements.

3. Improve the social insurance system (pensions, grants, medical aid, etc.).

4. Ensure greater employment in industry and agriculture. Prohibit unfounded dismissals. Encourage the creation of jobs. Organize public works. Subsidies.

5. Restrain price rises on goods of prime necessity and of rent.

III

CONTINUATION OF DECOLONIZATION

End to the colonial war

1. Respect the ceasefire agreement and political measures to make peace irreversible.

2. Bring the troops back to Portugal as soon as their stay in Africa in the interests of decolonization and peace becomes unnecessary.

3. Cut military spending, especially with regard to re-equipment. Demobilization of servicemen and reduction of obligatory military service.

Decolonization

1. *Mozambique*. Strict observance of the Lusaka agreements. Support for the transitional FRELIMO government and solution under a common agreement with it of all problems relating to Mozambique in order to assure it full independence within the fixed time-limit.

2. *Angola*. Negotiations with the representatives of the liberation movements, primarily with the MPLA. Rejection of any compromise solutions with the neo-colonialists. Freedom of activity in Angola for all democratic movements and parties. A policy in line with the freely discussed agreement with the view of forming a transitional government that would reflect the political situation in the liberation movement in Angola.

3. *Cape Verde Islands*. Recognition of the right to self-determination and independence. Recognition of the right of the PAIGC to carry out its activity. Stop all aid or encouragement to new puppet parties.

4. *Sao Tome, Principe and Timor Islands*. Freedom for the liberation movements in carrying out their activity. Recognition of their right to self-determination and independence.

5. *Macao*. Negotiations with the Chinese People's Republic on the integration of Macao with China, with an eventual accord on preserv-

ing the historical and cultural presence of Portugal.

Relations with the new states

1. Consolidation and development of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

2. Relations between Portugal and the new independent states on the basis of friendship, equality, sovereignty, respect for each other's interests, and non-interference in internal affairs.

3. Economic cooperation, keeping in mind Portugal's limited financial resources. Technical aid and experts.

The Portuguese Communist Party considers these measures indispensable for establishing a democratic system chosen by the people.

It is a global political plan. It does not include education, culture, health care, foreign policy, etc. The proposed platform only points out the main policy line at the present moment and the emergency measures involved.

The PCP submits this program for approval by the people and is ready to examine it together with its allies in order to find a way of implementing common policy and common actions.

IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO MUST DECIDE

The position of the Portuguese Communist Party on the question of the country's fate is clear: *the future of Portugal must be decided by its people.*

For this reason the Communist Party insists that the *elections to the Constituent Assembly be prepared and carried out in such a way that the people can really and unambiguously express its will.*

The lists of candidates must be carefully drawn up and verifiable. Candidates must be assured the freedom to speak wherever they wish. The elections must be universal, direct and secret. The casting and counting of votes and the final tally must be verified. Pressure, threats, bribery, and actions hindering the free expression of the will or distorting it must be prevented and those guilty punished. The election results should be accepted by every one as the will of the Portuguese people. And the condition for this is truly free elections.

The Portuguese Communist Party will do everything to make the free elections truly worthy of the name. Its deputies, whom the people will elect to the Assembly, will work for the future Constitution to proclaim broad rights and freedoms (of the press, association, to form political parties, trade unions, strikes), for a united Legislative As-

sembly, and for a government invested with broad executive powers and accountable to the Assembly.

The Portuguese Communist Party respects and will continue to respect the people's will, it counters every attempt to hinder its expression or to distort it in any way. It will respect the democratic order to be set up in the process of developing genuine democracy, and will demand that every one respect it.

No one must be allowed to use the freedoms for the purpose of their liquidation. Fascist activity, propaganda of fascism, militarism and racial hate must be prohibited by Portuguese democracy. The democratic order must be firmly defended against the enemies of freedom, conspirators and masterminds of counter-revolutionary coups.

After the democratic system is established, wide possibilities will open for a peaceful development of the revolutionary process and profound social reforms will become possible in the framework of democratic legality and in conformity with the Portuguese people's will.

The alliance of the people and the armed forces gives us confidence in the prospects of a peaceful road to the democratic transformation of Portuguese society. The Portuguese Communist Party will do everything to make this possibility a reality.

UNITY TODAY AND TOMORROW

The protection of freedoms and the building of a democratic Portugal call and will call for the unity of the popular and democratic forces, of the people and the armed forces.

The unity of popular and democratic forces implies unity of the working class in the economic and political struggle, a unity based on democracy of organization and decision-making; trade union unity, overcoming disruptive tendencies; united action by peasants organized in leagues and associations; unity of the working and student youth on the basis of their organizations and mass movements; unity of all strata of the people, intellegentsia, small urban bourgeoisie and even sections of the middle bourgeoisie in economic, political and social struggle; and, finally, unity of democratic and political parties and movements.

Unity is expressed, forged and consolidated in action, in struggle: in the government, armed forces, local government bodies, trade unions, mass organizations, at enterprises, in the villages, on ships, in schools, at places of work, wherever there is social life.

Unity was one of the main factors of our successes. It must be

safeguarded and strengthened. Divisive activities directed by Right or "Left" anti-communism play into the hands of reaction. The breakdown of the unity of the democratic forces and their alliance with the AFM would be fatal for Portuguese democracy.

While continuing its work the PCP is studying and will continue to study, together with the Armed Forces Movement, the Socialist Party, the Portuguese Democratic Movement, and other democratic parties and organizations, all problems connected with strengthening the relations of regular and continued cooperation at all levels, defining common policies, and agreeing on common actions and initiatives.

For the PCP, the unity of democratic forces and the alliance of the people and the armed forces is not a matter of expediency. It is a long-range policy. The fate of the country both before and after the elections will depend on this unity and this alliance.

The elections should not be a motive for division or a rupture of relations, but should be a unifying factor in a great cause to be accomplished after them, namely the building of a democratic Portugal, a new society.

THE PCP IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY

The Portuguese Communist Party is the party of the working class, of the working people, of all Portuguese who are ready to build a society without classes and the exploitation of man by man.

Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the PCP is a national and internationalist party. It firmly defends national interests against internal and external enemies. It displays active solidarity with all working people and nations.

The PCP plays an indispensable role in defending and consolidating the democratic process now under way, while pointing out the way to the future. Concentrating its forces and energy on achieving the immediate aims, it shows the working people and the entire nation an inspiring perspective of socialism and communism.

In the decades of struggle in the difficult conditions of clandestinity, the PCP has shown that all its activity is dedicated to the interests of the working people and the nation. After April 25, in the conditions of legality, it proved to be a big national party without which it would be impossible, either now or in the future, to defend the freedoms and set up a democratic system. The thousands of new people who are

entering its ranks are aware that to be a member of the PCP means to be a champion of freedom.

The top priority task in the present political situation is to consolidate freedoms, bar the way to reaction, continue the process of democratization and decolonization, assure economic and financial stability in the interests of development, and create conditions for genuinely free elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The PCP spares no effort to unify the democratic forces, strengthen the alliance of the popular movement and the Armed Forces Movement, unite, organize and mobilize the workers and the people generally in the struggle to realize the charted tasks, to fight both in and outside the government for their full implementation.

The fate of the working people and the broad masses allied with the Armed Forces Movement is in their own hands. Real possibilities exist for building a democratic, peace-loving, prosperous and independent Portugal in the near future.

After its special congress the PCP proclaims that *today, as always, the Communists are ready to make any sacrifices in the service of the people and country, that they will be worthy of the confidence shown and being shown by the working class, all working people, the youth and other sections of the population.*

IN BRIEF

BANGLADESH

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh met in Dacca from October 27 to 29 to discuss the domestic political and economic situation. The report was delivered by General Secretary Mohammed Farhad, who urged the government to reorganize the country's administrative and political system with a view to ending the current crisis.

The meeting approved the report and passed several resolutions. One of them points to the difficulties caused by food shortages. Every day, it states, sees thousands of people dying of hunger, exhaustion or disease. Poor peasants are selling their lots and even their children, industrial workers are giving up their jobs to start on a search for food. The government has opened food distribution centers but they are too

few. It must take further steps to improve the situation and combat abuses in food distribution. The market is still controlled by profiteers. The government must take drastic measures against speculators irrespective of their political affiliation and introduce a strict distribution system.

The meeting called on the government to establish state control over grain purchases, introduce obligatory purchase quotas, and curb smuggling with a firm hand. The government should cooperate with patriotic parties to remedy the situation.

HUNGARY

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an enlarged meeting in Budapest on November 20. It discussed and approved the report on current international problems presented by CC Secretary Arpad Pullai and the report of First Secretary Janos Kadar on political and organizational aspects of preparations for the 11th Party Congress.

The meeting put it on record that the international situation is favorable to further détente. The Hungarian Party and government delegation's visit to the Soviet Union in September was an outstanding political event. The HSWP highly assesses the outcome of the talks between L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP. The meeting noted that the Hungarian Party and government delegation had fulfilled its mission and contributed to inviolable Hungarian-Soviet friendship.

The Central Committee approved the Party delegation's activity at the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in Warsaw and declared for the convocation of a conference of European Communist and Workers' parties in the first half of 1975.

After discussing the progress of preparations for the 11th Party Congress, the meeting approved the Congress agenda and the theses of the CC report to the Congress. It discussed and approved amendments to the Party Rules to be submitted to the membership for consideration. It also discussed the draft of the Party's policy statement.

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