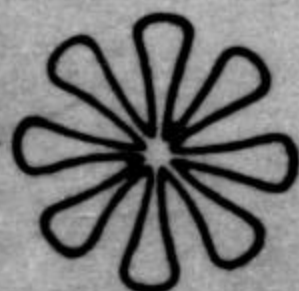


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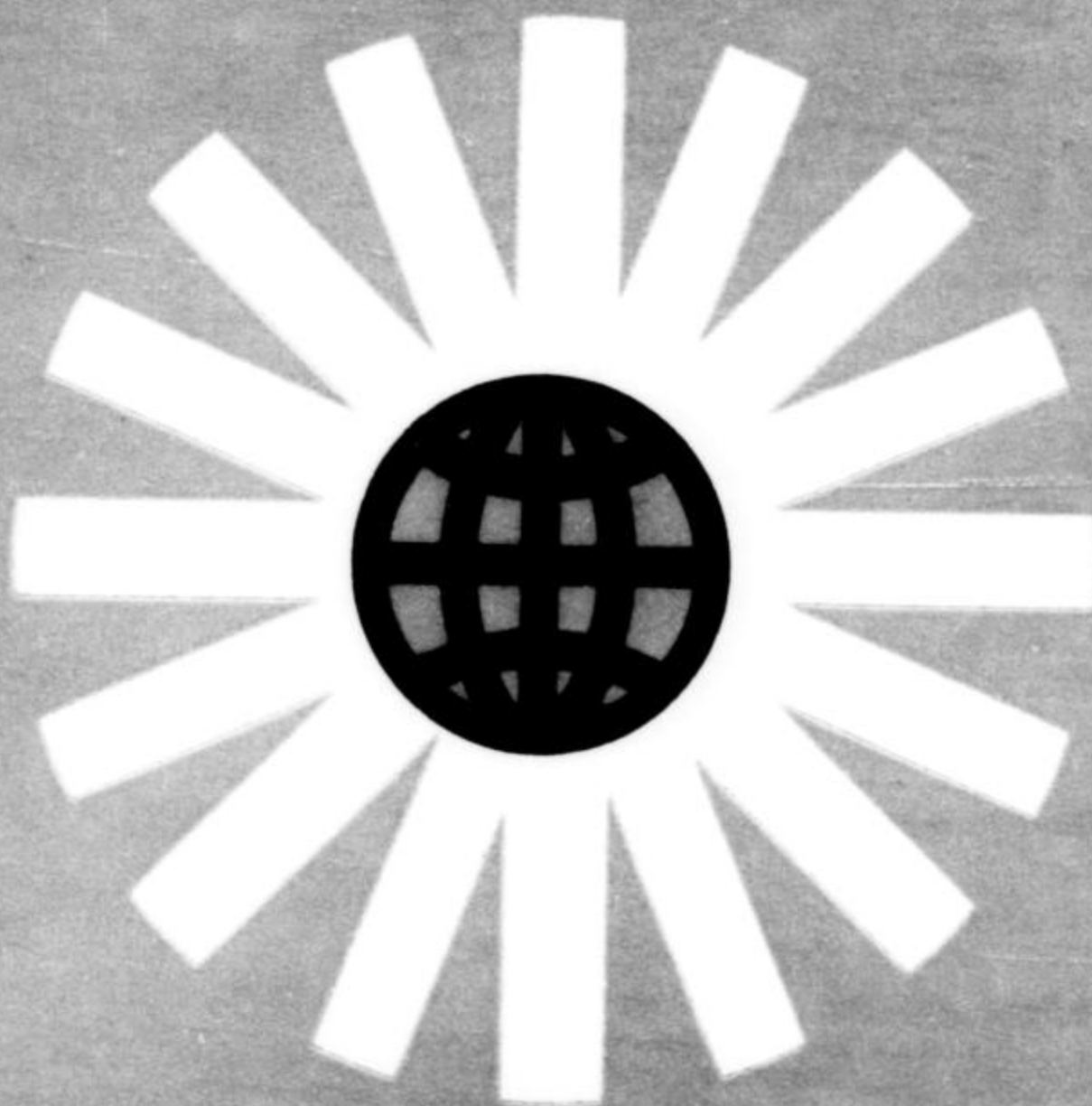
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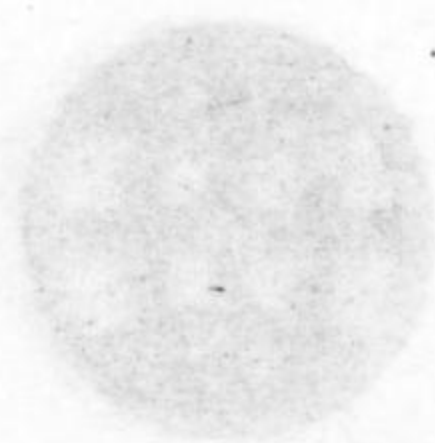
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—E. Fajon

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**WAR ECONOMY
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REPORT* OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FRENCH CP

PRESENTED BY GEORGES MARCHAIS

I. EVOLUTION OF THE BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES

Our Party fully shares the estimation made on this score by the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, that the main characteristic of the present epoch is the upsurge in the progressive and revolutionary movement throughout the world, the increased opportunities which the three great revolutionary forces of our time—the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement—have today.

In this great struggle which is developing on an international scale against imperialism, the role of the world socialist system is decisive.

The October Revolution and socialist development in the Soviet Union have transformed life on our planet. They have proved that the working class can abolish capitalism and build a new society in which the millennial exploitation of man by man has been banished. The victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union over the Hitlerite aggression, a victory achieved so heroically and at so high a price, has confirmed and emphasized this turn in history. Today the Soviet Union is the main force in the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialist war plans and domination.

The Soviet Union exerts tremendous efforts to maintain world peace, to support the national liberation struggle and to aid the developing countries.

Today socialism exists in fourteen countries of Europe, Asia and even America, and encompasses more than one-third of the world's population. It has been proved that a people which has got rid of capitalist power and imperialist oppression can through immense efforts cover its country with a network of factories, schools and libraries. Due to socialism, industrial concentration, the modernization of agriculture and urban development are being carried on along new lines, without leading to the ruin of small producers or causing unemployment.

Like the 50 years' results achieved by the Soviet Union, the results registered last year on the anniversary of the people's demo-

*Abridged from *Humanité*, February 5, 1970.

cracies born after the anti-Hitler war showed that, barring initial delays and mistakes, the first decades of the new society were a considerable success.

The socialist countries' share in world industrial production has grown. Assessed over a long period and on the average, the socialist countries have appreciable superiority over the capitalist world in rate of expansion and per capita growth of the national income. In spite of the heavy burden of spending needed to keep imperialist aggressors at a respectful distance, the living standard of the working people of town and country is steadily improving.

What is typical of the socialist world today is neither the difficulties nor the mistakes that are natural in a world system in the making. It is the transition of a number of European socialist countries to a new phase of the historical process of building communism—the stage of the developed socialist society.

At the same time the socialist countries bring their full weight to bear in favor of social progress, national liberation and peace. They give concrete help everywhere—in Vietnam, to the Arab countries, to all the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression. They continuously take initiatives for collective security in Europe and the rest of the world, for a peaceful settlement of local conflicts and for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

Thus everything shows that the advance of socialism is really the dominant trait of our epoch.

On the other hand, despite this or that temporary success, the imperialist system is losing historical initiative.

The most striking proof of the increasing difficulty which imperialism has in carrying out its designs is the defeat which the U.S. aggression is sustaining. The admirable fight of the Vietnamese people, supported by the wise policy of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, aided by the socialist countries, first of all by the Soviet Union, and backed by the solidarity of the working people and progressive opinion all over the world, has scored important gains.

In fact, all the contradictions of imperialism, both those that have characterized it at all times and those that have arisen lately, are becoming more marked.

Imperialism tries to resolve these contradictions at the peoples' expense. Whereas technological progress makes it possible to put extraordinary resources at the service of the well-being of man, imperialism dooms millions of men and women. Throughout the capitalist world the working people lack the purchasing power adequate to their basic needs. It is extremely difficult for their children to receive an education and learn a skilled trade. Their families live in permanent insecurity. Even in the United States, that vaunted example of the virtues of capitalism, a report pre-

pared by White House experts admits that hunger and poverty exist on an appalling scale.

All this explains why the capitalist system today is characterized by profound *instability*. This instability finds reflection in the monetary crisis. It expresses itself in the rising tide of big national, social and political struggles.

It would be wrong, however, to infer that imperialism is no longer dangerous and that one has only to wait for its decline to lead to its definite downfall.

The decisive factor in foiling imperialism is the struggle of the peoples, of the working-class, democratic and anti-imperialist forces, especially of the revolutionary vanguard — the Communist parties.

The situation in the Middle East is another indication of the aggressiveness of imperialism. In this region of the world there is mounting danger due to the expansionist and provocative policy of the reactionary leaders of the State of Israel, backed first of all by U.S. imperialism. We shall continue to identify ourselves with the Arab peoples who are putting up legitimate resistance to the annexationist measures of Tel Aviv and insist by right on the restoration of the areas occupied as a result of the Israeli aggression. We declare for a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolutions, the right of the State of Israel to existence and the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

In Europe the main imperialist powers are striving to build up the aggressive military potential of the Atlantic pact controlled by the United States. Spending on armaments continues to grow in every country of the Atlantic alliance. Proposals are again made for a "European" nuclear strike force. According to new plans drawn up by NATO, the Atlantic forces would be the first to use atomic weapons in the event of conflict. This means that a provocation or an incident could soon lead to a terrible conflagration.

Hence, establishing a system of lasting collective security in Europe is a problem of primary importance today. Such a system requires, among other things, recognition by all countries of the existing frontiers, including the frontier between the two German states, and legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany. This should lead to the simultaneous dissolution of opposed military blocs and promote measures for disarmament and cooperation.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have proposed convening a conference of all European countries without delay to discuss ways and means of establishing such a system of collective security. It is a far-reaching initiative. As our Party declared at the public meeting for peace and European security it held in Strasbourg, we

invite all working people, all democrats, all men and women striving for peace, to join together in action for collective security in Europe, for a conference of all European states.

Safeguarding world peace has been, and is, a burning issue. It is inseparable from the struggle to impose the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems on the imperialists.

But Communists are also resolute defenders of national independence. They oppose U.S. imperialism's hold over the economy and technological progress of nations, and the cosmopolitan monopolies' advance to the political and economic integration of Little Europe.

The fight for peace and national independence is an integral part of the fight against imperialism, against monopoly capital, all over the world and in our own country.

II. POLICY OF BIG CAPITAL

Ours is a time of rapid progress in the most diverse fields of scientific discovery and technological invention. These advances make it possible to raise labor productivity by a considerable margin. The development of information, accompanied by improvements in electronic equipment, provides more effective means of acquiring knowledge and managing the economy and the various enterprises. There is also the prospect of continued progress in automation.

Now this scientific and technological revolution clashes with the limitations imposed by private ownership of the means of production. It is held up and misdirected by the exigencies of the law of profit.

Due to the immensity of the resources its progress requires, the scientific and technological revolution forcefully poses the problems of making rational use of the resources, of planning and managing the economy on scientific lines, and of harmonizing economic, scientific and cultural development. Only socialism can solve these problems effectively. It is therefore socialism that opens up the prospect of full-scale progress of the scientific and technological revolution to meet the needs of every member of society. On the other hand, the efforts of capitalism to adapt itself to it come up against the fundamental anarchy of the system and accentuate its contradictions. To invest on the enormous scale needed, the monopolies are compelled to sacrifice whole industries, branches or regions and, furthermore, to step up the exploitation of the working class and all other working people, to exert the utmost pressure on the vast majority of the population.

At the same time this revolution makes for growing rivalries between the monopoly groups of the imperialist countries. French big

capital is confronted by powerful competitors. A merciless struggle is under way for control of whole branches of production without regard to the national interest, profit for a handful of industrial and financial magnates being the only concern.

Nor is that enough for the monopolies. At his first presidential press conference Pompidou said that French enterprises must now attain "international dimensions . . . either by themselves or, in most cases, by agreement with other European and even extra-European enterprises." And he added: "I think this is the fundamental objective."

Thus we are in the presence of a new stage in the policy of state-monopoly capitalism in our country. This stage is characterized by the accentuation and aggravation of all the most negative features of the policy that monopoly power has been following for eleven years now.

This anti-social policy cannot but arouse opposition on the part of the masses, first of all of the working class, which is affected more immediately.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to bring about class cooperation in the form of the "new society," "progressive contracts" or "worker shareholders."

In the political sphere the regime of the monopolies is out to strengthen and extend its basis by regrouping all reactionary forces.

The potential future of France is in grave jeopardy. In the important sphere of education, research and the training of technological personnel, for example, the insufficiency of budget allocations for equipment and personnel, social inequality and the inadequacy of structures and methods make it impossible to meet the present-day needs of France.

Besides, the ruling groups of the big bourgeoisie in the recent period have been trying to establish closer links with their imperialist partners. Above all, they betray a growing tendency to range themselves behind U.S. imperialism on big international issues. This is due, needless to say, to the relative weakness of French imperialism compared with the United States and inside the Common Market. However, another reason for it is that the imperialist bourgeoisie is anxious to regroup its forces in the face of growing working-class and democratic struggles in the capitalist world.

Economic, technical and cultural relations between France and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are developing and we are glad to note this. But the regime's foreign policy restricts desirable progress in cooperation in every field with all countries without discrimination and for mutual advantage. The government refuses to recognize de jure such realities of our time as the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. We call on the working

people, the democrats and peace supporters of our country to express more strongly their will to see France establish relations with these countries corresponding to international law.

III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

At one pole of society the big monopoly bourgeoisie holds all the riches of the nation. Its profits feed a thin parasitic stratum. This privileged group makes up less than four per cent of the gainfully employed population of our country.

From 1958 to 1966 the minimum visible profit of industrial companies before depreciation went up by more than 206 per cent. Let us recall that in the same period wages increased by only 74 per cent.

The working class is nine million strong today. Contrary to certain affirmations, its numbers continue to grow. Workers now account for 44.5 per cent of the gainfully employed population against 40.3 per cent in 1954.

This means that three wage workers out of five belong to the working class, which therefore constitutes the bulk of wage labor.

It will be seen that the reasons which make the working class the decisive force of social evolution and the leading force in the fight for the revolutionary transformation of society are unchanged. The efforts which Right- and Left-wing opportunists have lately been making to question again this role of the working class clash with the facts.

At present the employers and the regime are trying to take back the important concessions they had to make in view of the struggles in May and June 1968. The working people's purchasing capacity has been curtailed again. It has already dropped by seven or eight per cent over late 1968 due to increased taxes and prices.

But whereas the working class and wage labor as a whole are hit hardest by the misdeeds of state-monopoly capitalism, the latter is encroaching more and more on the interests of other social strata. This applies to the majority of the peasants.

The workers and peasants have the same adversary and must therefore fight him together so as to extend and strengthen the anti-monopoly front.

However, the worker-peasant alliance can and should extend to other social strata that are likewise victims of the policy of the big bourgeoisie.

Apart from the students, the number of intellectuals has increased from approximately one million in 1954 to more than three million today. The role of most of them in the nation's economic and social life has likewise increased. This trend will no doubt go on due mainly to the growing role of science and technology in economic

and social life. Thus it is a question as our Party has repeatedly stressed, of a very important fact.

Thus it is in terms of an alliance that the issue of relations between the working class and the intellectuals presents itself. Our Party has said that it regards this alliance as a matter of the first importance.

Of course, the younger generation does not constitute a social class. Nevertheless, it plays a particular role in the battles of our time.

Young workers are hard hit by capitalist exploitation. In addition to low wages there is the lack of professional qualifications, the impossibility of continuous training, and difficult working conditions.

Moreover, young people are particularly sensitive to the deficiencies of capitalism as regards social services and facilities, specifically housing, recreation, physical training and sports, social pursuits and education.

The question of the social background of these intellectuals is no less important.

About three-quarters of the intellectuals are salaried workers.

Apart from the diversity of their activities, these categories of working people suffer in specific forms from the effects of the policy of the monopolies and their power. The regime encroaches more and more on their living standard, specifically through taxation. Job insecurity is becoming for them a serious preoccupation, all the more since they are denied real opportunities of steadily improving their knowledge.

It follows that young working people and students have good reason to fight against monopoly power and to join their struggle to that of the working class and the democratic movement.

Analysis and exact evaluation of the changes I have listed are very important for carrying on our activity. Two important conclusions may be drawn. First, three-quarters of the gainfully employed population today are wage and salaried workers. Second, big capital and its power are creating increasingly intolerable living and working conditions for the vast majority of the population, including a substantial proportion of non-wage workers. The masses are discontented and want deep-going economic and political changes. Thus there is an objective basis, not only for promoting the struggle of these diverse social strata, but for the convergence of these struggles and the rallying of all these forces around the working class. Together they can successfully carry on the fight against the monopolistic oligarchy, for a new, advanced political and economic democracy meeting the interests of all our people and the needs of a modern, prosperous and independent France.

The evolution and nature of the struggle of our working class

and other working people since our 18th Congress are evidence of the great new opportunities in this field.

IV. AN INNOVATING AND REALISTIC PROGRAM

Our Central Committee, taking up and carrying forward the ideas defined particularly by our 17th and 18th congresses, set them out in the Manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France" which it adopted at Champigny in December 1968. The appearance of the Manifesto was applauded by the entire Party.

An advanced democracy means a regime that would take resolute steps to curb big capital's domination in the national economy. In other words, it means nationalizing the key industries and big banks and putting the management of enterprises thus restored to the nation on a democratic basis.

An advanced democracy means a regime that would set out gradually to meet the important demands of the working people concerning purchasing power and employment, social services and facilities and public education. It means an agricultural policy guaranteeing a decent life to the working peasants and encouraging their cooperation, a policy of aid to handicraftsmen, small manufacturers and traders.

Lastly, an advanced democracy means a regime that would do away with one-man power and establish the sovereignty of the people, give real powers of control to the National Assembly elected on the principle of proportional representation, re-secularize the state and education and introduce democratic statutes for the press, radio and television. It means not only extending democratic liberties and trade union rights but enabling the masses really to share in the management and orientation of public affairs on various levels and in various spheres.

Of course, all these measures are inseparable from a foreign policy of peace and national independence aimed at establishing collective security and at fostering cooperation with all countries without discrimination.

It goes without saying that an advanced democracy would not yet abolish the exploitation of man by man by carrying out these anti-monopoly measures. But it would gradually and steadily reduce monopoly power, enhance the authority of the working class and its political leverage in the life of the nation. It would make for the isolation of reaction and the unification of all progressive forces. It would create the best conditions for the majority of the French people to take a favorable stand on the transition of France to socialism.

This revolutionary transformation and building a socialist society will take forms which will accord, as our Manifesto and draft theses

show, at once with the universal laws of socialism and with the prevailing balance of forces, with the historical traditions of our people and the conditions peculiar to our country.

Socialism is a historic necessity. The most important means of production and exchange, decisive to the nation's economic life, are in the hands of an infinitesimal minority. Socialism will transfer them to society as a whole. New economic relations leading to the abolition of capitalism will gradually assert themselves in the life of the nation. To the small and middle peasants, traders, handicraftsmen and manufacturers, whose property would by no means be "nationalized," voluntary cooperation and association with the state will bring a real rise in the standard of living. Socialism will bring an end to the exploitation of man by man.

Power today is the instrument of big capital. Socialism will establish the political power of the working class and other working people. This leadership of society by the working people, which the founders of scientific socialism called the "dictatorship of the proletariat," can be assured through the cooperation of democratic parties sincerely committed to building socialism. By providing a democracy superior to any bourgeois democracy, socialism will strengthen and extend the rights and freedoms won in the long class struggles marking the history of our country. It will guarantee exercise of the rights of the minority under a democratically established legal system.

The possibility of building socialism in France is linked to the Communist Party's ability to play a vanguard role in socialist society. The Communist Party does not intend to impose this role but to win it in the hearts and minds of the masses by its discernment, its devotion and its ability to lead the whole of our people on to the road of steady progress, well-being and democracy.

The primary point of our program is nationalization of the main industries, the banks and the credit system.

To transfer all these big industrial and financial enterprises to the whole nation means enabling it to coordinate the use of the powerful financial and technological resources indispensable to economic progress, to make requisite investments, to carry out research and consistently direct production according to social and national needs.

This is why nationalization is the democratic and modern form of concentration.

Nationalization is also a requisite of the effective planning of economic and social development.

Lastly, nationalization would provide the material basis for the country's independence and safeguard our economy against domination by foreign capital while promoting our cooperation with all countries in the national interest.

What we mean is democratic nationalization, of course. Indeed, nationalizing is not enough to reduce monopoly power. This is seen very well in the case of Britain. It is also seen in our country, where big capital has succeeded in partly using the nationalized enterprises to its own advantage. It is necessary, therefore, that our people establish a democratic government and, in more general terms, economic, social and political life be thoroughly democratized in the country.

This democratization constitutes—and this is the second point—an objective condition for the full development of the nation.

In the third place, our program stresses that we want for our country a policy firmly committed to national independence.

By coming out against the omnipotence of the monopolies, an advanced democracy would therefore commit itself to preserve national independence and serve the interests of France. This independence is a vitally important condition for a democratic regime to be able to accomplish its task of fostering social progress and thwarting pressure and interference by imperialism and foreign monopolies.

Yes, the perspective we offer to the men and women of France is at once realistic and revolutionary.

It is realistic because it corresponds to what objectively can and must be done for the good of the people.

It is revolutionary because the objective it sets is not an illusory readjustment of the capitalist system but a decisive change, building a really new society.

V. FIGHT FOR UNITY

An advanced democracy and the transition to socialism in France can only be brought about through resolute struggle by the working class, by the millions of workers by hand and intellectuals in town and country, through the democratic movement of the nation.

The experience of the working-class movement in France and in the world, its gains as well as its setbacks, have amply demonstrated the need of working-class unity, of an alliance of political parties and other organizations seeking democracy and socialism. It is therefore necessary to regard it as a task of decisive importance to unite the working class and to rally around it all other working people, the intermediate strata of town and country who have, as we have seen, different reasons for combating the regime's policy.

Working-class unity is decisive in this respect. In fact, it is only the working class, which neither exploits nor aspires to exploit any other class, that can bring into being an alliance of diverse non-monopolistic categories meeting the common interests of the

masses. It is the working class that strikes the most telling blows at the monopolies and their power.

Our Party attaches special importance to cooperation with the Socialist Party. The Rules of the latter refer to socialism as the party's goal. Our Party, which has a majority among the working class, and the Socialist Party together wield decisive influence on the working people. This is why an agreement between them would constitute "the cornerstone of a Left alliance," as the statement adopted by the two parties on December 18 last says.

The French Communist Party, the main force of the democratic opposition and the struggle for progress, a party which polls over five million votes of the nation and enjoys the confidence of the majority of the working class, does not, for all that, lay claim to accomplishing alone the democratic and national tasks of today. Still less can the other parties of the Left lay claim to bringing about a majority alliance such as could impose decisive political changes without the Communist Party. The working people and the democrats know by experience that in our country there can be no policy of social progress, democratic government and advance to socialism without the Communists.

What is lacking, in fact, to end the Gaullist power of the monopolies and ensure the advent of a democratic team is, first of all, a political agreement of the parties of the Left and the big trade unions on a real common program.

At the same time the French Communist Party is going to persevere in its effort for an alliance of all working-class and democratic forces. This is why our Party on January 8 proposed a meeting of all Left-wing organizations to provide conditions for joint action for social progress, democracy and socialism.

It addressed that proposal to the Socialist Party, the USP, the Convention of Republican Institutions and the Radical Party. We have no intention of debarring a priori from the necessary alliance of democratic forces anyone willing to join it.

The FCP will therefore go ahead with the agreed talks with the Socialist Party. It will also confer with the USP.

Our position on the various democratic organizations is explicit: we declare for unity of action, for cooperation with every organization willing to fight effectively against the policy of monopoly power, for the interests of the working people, for democracy, peace and socialism.

We will continue to work for the early convening of a general meeting of all these organizations.

We consider it desirable for the big trade union and professional organizations to be able at the right moment to work together on a common program.

To bring about an alliance of the working-class and democratic

forces on the basis of a common program rallying the energies of the masses, it is necessary to overcome certain obstacles.

Communists do not see this as something that can discourage their effort. Unity is a battle. It is a battle for unity, a patient and tenacious battle carried on without sectarian narrow-mindedness and without opportunist abandon and aimed at furthering the trend for unity among the masses and at giving it irresistible strength.

This also implies much political, ideological and organizing work by the Party. All Communists will join in it with courage and confidence.

VI. STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

The struggle of ideas today is gaining in importance and sharpness. It is a reflection of the sharpening of the class struggle both on the international scene and in our country.

This battle of ideas involves every sphere of national life. It is going on in the universities and the enterprises, in the cultural field and in political economy.

Our paramount task in this sphere is to fight unremittingly and without compromise against every form of bourgeois ideology.

One of these forms is the apologia of class cooperation between capital and labor. Being as old as capitalism, this mystification today adorns itself with new labels: Gaullist "participation," "worker shareholders," "new society," "Swedish-type socialism."

Another form of bourgeois ideology, very close to the former, are theories drawing wrong conclusions from the increased rate of scientific discovery and its technical application.

The big monopoly bourgeoisie's key ideological objective is to stem the spread of socialist ideas among the masses. Hence its efforts are spearheaded against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist Party, exponent of the scientific principles of revolutionary theory, and against the socialist countries, which already are very much in existence. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the two important themes of bourgeois ideology. Any method, from slander onwards, is good enough for it.

We will resolutely expose every attempt to bring confusion into our principles and objectives and the reality of socialism. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have always served as camouflage for inroads on democratic liberties, the interests of the working people and the national interest. It is not socialism that the peoples accuse and history condemns but capitalism with its concomitants of exploitation and oppression. Everything attests that the future belongs to socialism.

It is precisely because they are aware of the growing impact of socialism that bourgeois ideologists now resort to new devices.

Accordingly, a whole literature pretends to be concerned about the purity of socialism and to have proper application of our principles more at heart than we do.

In this drive the bourgeoisie increasingly takes advantage of various deformations of Marxism-Leninism and of every form of opportunism, Right- and Left-wing alike. It uses powerful means to support and spread them and smuggle them into the working-class movement and among its own allies.

Everyone knows of the publicity given by the bourgeoisie to Leftist propositions and groups which spearhead their blows against working-class organizations and our Party. Anarchism, Trotskyism and Maoism are a godsend to a reaction set on isolating and dividing the working-class and democratic movement.

We cannot in this connection shut our eyes to the backing given to the imperialist bourgeoisie by the Maoist *policy of fighting* against scientific socialism, against our Party and other Communist parties, against the Soviet Union. At the Ninth Congress of their Party last year the Chinese leaders officially substituted Maoism for Marxism-Leninism. The new Rules they have given the Party have nothing to do with Leninist organizational principles. The Chinese people have been instructed to fight "relentlessly" against the so-called "modern revisionists," which in the Maoist leaders' parlance means against the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries and Communist parties.

Putting U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union on the same footing, the Maoist leaders describe the latter as the enemy. A few months ago they went so far as to commit serious acts of provocation on the Chinese-Soviet frontier.

It is not true, as some people claim, that with the Maoist leaders it is a question of a conflict of interests between the Soviet Union and China. Nor is it a question of a particular "interpretation" of Marxism that should be taken for valid in view of the distinctive conditions of China. Actually it is a question of a policy running counter to scientific socialism, a chauvinistic and adventurist policy intended to split the Communist movement and anti-imperialist forces.

While declaring emphatically against this pernicious line of the Chinese leaders, we earnestly desire that the Communists and people of China should resume normal relations with the world Communist movement and with other socialist countries. We would like the Sino-Soviet talks on frontiers begun on Soviet initiative to yield positive results.

The fight against opportunism is a fight on two fronts. It therefore implies criticizing and exposing Right-wing opportunism.

Right opportunists do not believe in the possibility of fighting successfully for socialism. They propose not abolishing but re-

adjusting capitalism. Fearing the development of mass struggles, they count on the "good will" and "intelligence" of the big bourgeoisie to justify their trend towards class cooperation.

Combating Left- and Right-wing opportunism is indispensable because opportunism can only lead to the surrender and defeat of the working people. It is indispensable because formulating and implementing a correct policy are fundamental conditions for the success of our struggle.

That is why our Party as a whole emphatically rejects Roger Garaudy's theses and condemns his attitude, which militates against the principles of the Party.

Roger Garaudy insists explicitly on the Party modifying its strategy, tactics and organizational principles. He also wants it to abandon its theory.

The Political Bureau said in its communique of December 19 that Roger Garaudy "questions the role of the working class, for which he substitutes a so-called 'new historical bloc' as the leading force of the political and social movement."

Garaudy's estimation of the policy which the Party followed in May and June 1968 reveals what he means by "new historical bloc." Speaking at the Central Committee meeting in July 1968, Garaudy actually accused the Party of not having in the final analysis subordinated its activity and the working-class movement to the student movement. According to what he said, we were wrong in denouncing the Leftist groups' methods and blind violence. Instead, we should have established a sort of united front with them to influence the mass of students. In short, we should have criticized ourselves in front of the Leftists.

It was a question, as you see, of an analysis entirely at variance with that made by the Party. It is evident that to join up with the Leftist groups so as to have on our side, so to speak, those students who followed them, would have meant disrupting the working-class movement, engaging in a bloody venture and discrediting ourselves in the eyes of the nation. Our Party refused to do so. And it was right.

Furthermore, Roger Garaudy does not agree with the policy of alliance of the working-class and democratic forces that our Party has been steadily pursuing. Contrary to the facts, he declares that except for the Communist Party the parties no longer play any role. Contrary to the facts, he pretends to consider that our Party excludes trade union and other mass organizations from its policy of unity. Seeing none but the economic functions of the monopoly state and disregarding its political role, he invites us to operate chiefly in the sphere of economic struggle and puts his greatest hope on "economic paralysis" of the state, which he expects to lead magically to the disappearance of monopoly power. He says noth-

ing about the perspective of an advanced democracy. Incidentally, after the Central Committee meeting at Champigny, Garaudy made the most outspoken reservations about our Manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France." He went further than that by declaring afterwards that he regarded it as an "ineffective instrument."

No lesser are Roger Garaudy's departures from the Party's general line on international issues.

Renouncing the fight against imperialism, he suggests achieving world unity "through an integration making possible harmonious unity."

While our Party's estimation of the Moscow Meeting of June 1969 is explicitly positive, Roger Garaudy vehemently attacks the course and outcome of the Meeting and those who took part in it.

In contempt of proletarian internationalism and our Party line, he indulges in violent diatribes against the Soviet Union and the majority of the socialist countries and Communist parties. On the other hand, he shows the greatest "understanding" for the policy of the Chinese leaders and alleges that the Maoist "cultural revolution" fits in with Leninist tradition, an allegation which constitutes an absolute falsification.

In the theoretical sphere, Roger Garaudy expects us to renounce our scientific doctrine, Marxism-Leninism. He wants the Communist Party to be "neither idealist nor materialist, neither religious nor atheist." This is not a very original idea. Kautsky maintained that Marxism was nothing but a method for action—which Garaudy calls "methodology of historical initiative"—and thus proclaimed his indifference to world outlook. Lenin denounced that relativist thesis, which has nothing in common with Marx's and Engels's thought. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," he stressed (Vol. 5, p. 369).

Lastly, Garaudy rejects the Leninist principles of the Party and calls for a "profound transformation of the very concept of Party and its organization." He demands, in fact, the right to form trends, which should have the possibility to debate permanently on the Party line. He opposes democratic centralism to the possibility and need for a full democratic life in the Party. But that means contradicting the experience of hundreds of thousands of our Party members. There is no position adopted by our Party on this or that important development at home or in the world that has not been most widely discussed in our organizations and at all levels. On every occasion the Central Committee has made a point of widely informing the Party on matters that were not discussed in our press. The draft theses submitted to this Congress were prepared by the Central Committee, whose duty it was to do so, and were studied, discussed and amended at thousands upon thousands of branch

meetings. Really, there is no other party in France which can pride itself on a functioning as democratic as ours.

However, in this field as in others, we must yet introduce necessary improvements, for example, by improving in a spirit of responsibility the supply of information to the whole Party. The Party does not content itself with allowing whatever critical remarks may help to improve its work — it asks for them. But then this is something entirely different from what Roger Garaudy does. He calls on us to renounce the very foundations of our organization and demands—I will put it in his own words—a party different from the one formed by Lenin.

The Party has furnished proof of great patience with Roger Garaudy. The Political Bureau and the Central Committee have repeatedly and fraternally called his attention to the erroneous character of his theses, with Garaudy never heeding the criticisms and never stopping to think of his responsibilities nor of public censure levelled at him. At the October meeting of the Central Committee the Party's General Secretary invited him to join in the pre-congress discussion like all the other members of the Party. You know how Garaudy responded: he engaged from without in a campaign against the Party by setting forth his divergences in a book significantly entitled *The Great Turn of Socialism*, to which the bourgeoisie immediately gave the noisiest publicity. Having finally made up his mind to speak in the debate, he took care to reveal only an infinitesimal part of his divergences so as to make believe that he was not fundamentally in disagreement with the Party's policy.

Garaudy has been rapidly following a road leading from opportunism to liquidationism.

The pre-congress discussion showed that all our organizations and all our federal conferences emphatically reject Garaudy's liquidationist stand. Congress will undoubtedly confirm the Party's will to uphold and resolutely apply its correct policy line, to uphold our organizational principles and fully put them into-effect, to uphold and carry forward Marxism-Leninism, and to strengthen the unity of the Party and of its leadership so as to give fresh impetus to its activity.

VII. THE PARTY

In the period of intense political battles we have just gone through our Party fulfilled its tasks with a keen sense of responsibility.

The Party is the main force of the democratic opposition. It supports the struggle of the working class, of all the victims of monopoly oppression, for their most pressing demands.

It shows them the means they must use to pave the way for social progress, democracy and socialism.

It is the most resolute and consistent builder of working-class unity, of the unity of all working-class and democratic forces.

Whereas the big bourgeoisie now regards our country as only a source of profit and an object of business deals, our Party is taking resolute defense of the interests of France into its own hands.

In short, the Communist Party is in the vanguard of the fight for social and human progress.

Propaganda is an essential aspect of the activity of a Leninist party. There can be no action without propaganda, for the masses can only be set in motion if they know its object.

This aspect of our work is particularly important today.

A second aspect of our Party's activity I would like to deal with bears on our educational work.

Our policy is based on theoretical principles of a scientific nature. To make these principles, that is, Marxism-Leninism, the common patrimony of all Communists is indispensable, therefore, if we want to enable them to analyze every situation and to lead their struggle to a successful end.

In substance, the main shortcoming to be eliminated is underestimation of the intimate connection between the political practice and scientific theory of our Party.

Lastly, I must stress a third aspect of the activity of our Party, namely, strengthening its organization.

In 1969 the Party had 454,350 members. In the past three years our membership has increased by 30,000 and the number of our branches, by 850—from 18,400 to 19,250. Our growth is particularly marked among the working class and the younger generation.

Thus our Party today numbers 80,000 more members and 3,200 more branches than in 1961, at the time of the 16th Congress, at which strong emphasis was laid on the need firmly to combat every tendency to underrate the vanguard role of the Party and its organization.

In short, important results have been achieved in Party work and organization. But we must do more.

Because life, that is, the growing struggle, demands it.

Because the Party must therefore grow, gain strength and continuously improve its activity in accordance with its principles. This will enable it to serve the cause of the working people and the nation all the more effectively.

VIII. THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We have always held that while each Communist Party is accountable to the working class and the people of its country, this

is no reason for it to disregard the interests of the international revolutionary working-class movement as a whole.

The working people of the world are linked by common interests. They have the same enemy—big capital. They have the same objective, which is to eliminate exploitation and oppression and bring about a society without classes and wars. Communists make this objective solidarity which unites them an active force capable of effecting the great social changes necessitated by our time.

Hence there is no contradiction between our national and internationalist responsibilities. On the contrary, these responsibilities are indissolubly interlinked, as are the principle of the sovereignty of each Party and the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties stressed in no uncertain terms that "each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country."

Shaping and applying its policy in sovereignty, our Party is, nevertheless, at one with brother parties in the struggle for democracy and peace, for socialism and communism. It strives to put into practice the great watchword advanced by Marx and Lenin: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!"

World Communist unity is a decisive factor for the success of the struggle of every Communist party. It cements the unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

This is why our Party has been striving and will strive to step up its activity for world Community unity.

In so doing, it will take inspiration from the great ideas emphasized by the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

That Meeting, in which our Party took an active part at every stage, was an indisputable success. It revealed a large area of agreement between the points of view of Communists fighting in various parts of the world, in extremely diverse social and national conditions. By strengthening the relations of internationalist cooperation between the parties and by clearly defining the current tasks of the struggle against imperialism, the Meeting opened a new phase of progress in our movement. It made a far-reaching contribution to the fight of the peoples of the world for independence, peace and communism.

The task now is to carry out the collective decisions of the Meeting.

Of course, this is primarily the business of each particular Party.

As far as we are concerned, the anti-imperialist objectives specified by the Meeting are an integral part of our standing tasks.

Our Party has persevered in its action of solidarity with the people of Vietnam and intends to step it up. It has been carrying on a big campaign for collective security in Europe and will intensify it in the coming months. Loyal to a tradition that has marked its entire history, the Party has manifested active solidarity with the peoples and Communists who are victims of imperialism and fascism. It will continue to give its full support to the Greek democrats fighting against the colonels' dictatorship, to the prisoners of Spain and Portugal, to the Indonesian Communists, to the fighters for peace and civil rights in the United States.

The Party will go on developing its fraternal relations and strengthening its cooperation with Communist parties, especially with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which plays a decisive part in the worldwide struggle for peace and socialism. It will intensify exchange of experience and views with them.

In its relations with brother parties our Party will continue steadfastly to take inspiration from the principles defined by the world Communist movement: respect for the independence and equality of each Party, non-interference in the internal affairs of brother parties, mutual solidarity and assistance, and proletarian internationalism. These principles also apply to the relations between socialist countries, as the Moscow Meeting stated.

At the same time we consider it desirable for the Communist parties to engage in joint action to mobilize the masses in order to achieve the various objectives set by the Moscow Meeting.

Unity of the international Communist movement, the most advanced, powerful and consistent anti-imperialist force, is an indispensable foundation of the vast united anti-imperialist front that must be formed.

IX. ALONG LENIN'S PATH

A century has passed since Lenin was born in tsarist Russia.

On the eve of the centenary of Lenin's birth this Congress thinks of the man whose genius dominates our revolutionary age.

Lenin's influence helped in decisive measure to regenerate the French working-class movement. It made possible the founding of our Communist Party fifty years ago, in 1920, at the Tours Congress, which will for ever be linked with Marcel Cachin's name. Maurice Thorez, our comrade whose memory we closely associate with these five decades of our history in which he played a decisive role, was inspired by Lenin's influence all his life.

It was Lenin's influence that guided the activity of all our comrades who made our Party what it is today and to whom we pay heartfelt and affectionate homage here.

Throughout these fifty years of struggle the workers' party of a new type, the Leninist French Communist Party, has increasingly revealed itself to the working people and the masses of our country as the great party of the French people and nation.

The preparations for the congress attested to the soundness and solid unity of the Party. In the course of the free and ample discussion that took place in the past three months, our whole Party gave massive expression to its approval of the orientation and great ideas of the draft theses, that is, the analysis of the past period and the Party's line of action for the next period.

This Congress arouses a keen interest in public opinion, among our friends as well as our opponents. This interest is understandable, for, like our every meeting, the 19th Congress will constitute an important stage in our Party's activity. And this activity is entirely in the service of our people's struggle, as both friend and foe know.

"The Party's *raison d'être* is not in itself," wrote Waldeck Rochet, the General Secretary of our Party, to whom our hearts go out in affection. "The ultimate reason for its moves is never its narrow organizational interests. The Party is there for the sole purpose of serving the people."

Yes, our ideal, our goal, our *raison d'être*, is democracy, the prosperity of the nation, socialism and peace. We will devote all our energies to them.

Long live working class unity!

Long live the alliance of the working-class and democratic forces!

Long live the struggle for an advanced democracy, for a socialist France, for the independence of the peoples and for world peace!

Long live world Community unity!

Long live the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party!

REPORT* ON THE THESES OF THE CC FRENCH CP

Comrades,

The *raison d'être* of the Theses submitted to this Congress is indicated in their preamble. They specify the policies, objectives and tasks of the Party for the coming period. They do so with due regard for the present situation in France and the world, and in the light of the results and lessons of the great struggles that have been going on ever since the previous Congress.

To put everything in this document was out of the question. One should not look in it, in particular, for a comprehensive statement of the Party's theoretical and organizational principles. The Party and the world Communist movement, assisted by progress in human knowledge and by social changes, have been carrying forward these principles—set forth in the writings of Marx and Lenin—for five decades now, and have included them in their fundamental documents. Nor are the Theses a substitute for the Champigny Manifesto** adopted by the Central Committee in December 1968. Unless Congress decides otherwise, the Manifesto will remain for a whole historical stage our action program for an advanced democracy and a socialist France.

The task now is clearly to orientate our activity till the next congress according to the Party's theory and program.

It may be useful to recall the procedure of drafting the Theses, for it is an excellent illustration of the democratic functioning of our Party.

I recall that on October 14 last the Central Committee, as well as resolving to convene the 19th Congress, elected a committee which it entrusted with submitting a preliminary draft. The work done earlier by the Party, its leadership, its periodicals and its experts provided the Committee with a wealth of material. The Committee collective prepared a text that was circulated to all the members of the Central Committee early enough for them to study it carefully.

Meeting again on November 13, the CC discussed 158 draft amendments. It kept fully a hundred of them and published in *Humanité* the improved draft we now have before us. It was at that meeting of the CC that Comrade Waldeck Rochet, our General Secretary, called on all Communists freely to offer their comments

*Presented by Etienne Fajon to the 10th Congress of the FCP. *Humanité*, February 7, 1970.

**See Information Bulletin, No. 1, p. 20 (1969).

and put forward proposals without allowing the adversary's subversive maneuvers to distract them from this task.

These maneuvers were not lacking. Reactionary propaganda repeatedly tried to divert the attention of our members by means of the usual allegations about personal struggles between Party leaders. Party members, branches, section and federation committees ignored these tales and made a deep study of the draft Theses.

Barring exceptions which confirm the rule, every Party branch devoted several meetings to that study, some as many as four or five, so that tens of thousands of branch meetings took place in two and a half months. Thousands of amendments were proposed by the branches. Those of the Paris federation, for example, proposed over 1,200 amendments. Section conferences in which about 60,000 delegates took part and federation conferences attended by 17,500 people discussed the draft Theses and voted for numerous amendments.

As regards the discussion columns of *Humanite* and *France Nouvelle*, the Central Committee and its drafting Committee received so many articles and letters that they had to confine themselves to only some items from that enormous mail. The choice was made in such a way as to have all important subjects covered and the eventual diversity of opinions and arguments regarding each of them expressed. Thus 150 personal or collective contributions were published as against 44 in the case of the previous congress.

The 19th Congress, a democratic forum of the whole Party, will decide sovereignly on the amendments to be accepted and on the adoption of the Theses.

Never within Communist memory had preparations for a Party congress given rise to so vast and high-standard a debate. Is there any other organization in France that could furnish a similar example of democracy? To say nothing of the reactionary parties that are mere appendages of power like the UDR or the notables' clubs like the groupings called "independent" or "centrist," we must say that the parties of the Left, except for our own, had until then conceived their inner life as an interminable confrontation of warring factions. This confrontation, which reflects the indeterminate nature of their social basis, exposes these parties to the influence of bourgeois ideas and often makes their activity barren or even leads them to decisions contrary to the desire of the majority, as in the case of Deffere's nomination by the Socialist Party at the recent presidential elections.

With us, it is through discussion by all members and organizations that Party policy is shaped on the understanding that, once the sovereign Congress has pronounced itself, its Theses or resolutions become law for the Party valid for all its members and binding on everyone.

The Communist party is the great revolutionary party of our time, says the Champigny Manifesto. We may add that it is also the great democratic party of France.

Now that the discussion of the Theses is drawing to a close with Congress, it is right to sum it up in brief. The dominant feature of this discussion is the almost unanimous acceptance of the draft Theses by the Communists or, in other words, the profound ideological and political unity of our Party.

Our opponents are or pretend to be surprised at this cohesion of the Party, which guarantees the efficiency of its activity in the service of the people. In quarters where bourgeois individualism and twaddle have priority over struggle, it is good manners to deride what is called Communist monolithism.

Actually it is a split in the Party that would be at once worthy of derision and disastrous. Party unity is based on principle.

Let us speak first of the nature of the Party, which is the party of the working class, and then of the advance adherence of all Communists to common principles and a common program. The French Communist Party groups all workers, peasants, intellectuals and others who accept its Rules, which in their preamble give a summary of our doctrine, our goals and the direction of our struggle.

The character of the Party's policy is another foundation of its unity. In the case of the Theses, which express this policy in present conditions, it goes without saying that they do not owe their value mainly to the personal abilities or the imagination of those who have drafted them but to the very developments that have led to their adoption. Economic, social and political facts were examined from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, Marxism-Leninism being at once a world outlook, the sum total of the experience of the working-class movement, and a scientific method of analysis and action. Such an examination, constantly confronted with practice, leads naturally to correct general conclusions that the whole Party recognizes as its common patrimony and the fruit of its collective thinking.

The agreement shown over the Theses is the exact opposite of nominal acceptance. At every level it was the result of a frank and heated exchange of views, and it is this deep-going discussion that imparts to Party unity the great significance it has.

Our policy would not have been scientific unless it were a product of discussion. Its object is complex and changing phenomena, particularly the movement of diverse social classes operating in definite material conditions but showing different degrees of awareness, of firmness or hesitation. To take exact stock of these phenomena, we need constant recourse to our theory and, on the other hand, detailed analysis and collective practice by the whole Party.

This is why all the economic, social and political problems brought

up by the Theses gave rise as was only normal, to exchanges of views, to comments and, in most cases, to proposals for amendments. In this report I will refer to some of the subjects over which discussion was particularly lively and then recall some fundamental principles of the Party called into question by an isolated revisionist attempt we found ourselves faced with during the Congress preparations.

One of the points raised in the discussion was: Are we in France at a new stage in the policy of the monopolies? We think Congress will have to answer this in the affirmative by amending the draft Theses accordingly.

The monopoly bourgeoisie's hold on our national life is nothing new but this domination varies in form. It was exercised for a long time under the classical parliamentary system. The establishment of the Gaullist regime in 1958 brought a profound change in this respect. From the outset our Party described that regime as a direct and marked expression of monopoly domination. For twelve years now French policy has been characterized by a close link between the government and the leaders of the big financial and industrial groups, and by their unity within a single mechanism typical of state-monopoly capitalism.

This regime is still there but its policy in every field has become accentuated to such an extent that it is right and necessary to speak of a new stage. To cope with the working-class and popular opposition which the events of the spring of 1968 showed to be very extensive, the ruling caste took advantage of the opposition's temporary inability, for lack of unity, to promote a democratic solution. It formed an alliance of reactionary forces despite subordinate dissent: Gaullist power became Gaullist-Centrist power. We are at a new stage in the policy of the monopolies because their new power, unchanged as far as its nature and aims are concerned, considerably points up the distinguishing features of its activity, that is, to list only the more important of them, the acceleration of monopoly concentration, the attack on the living standard of the masses, the erosion of working-class and democratic liberties, the attempt to integrate the working class into the Establishment and abandonment of the national interest.

The latter aspect—the national interest—brings us to another question that was amply discussed during the Congress preparations, namely, French foreign policy.

This policy has been and still is the policy of the monopolies exploiting our country. While identifying themselves fundamentally with international imperialism, these monopolies maintain their particular ambition against their rivals in the world. The world capitalist system is not a harmonious entity but a jungle.

French capitalism has lately been led by its own mutations, the

uneven development of the various imperialist powers and its fear of growing popular struggles, to establish closer links with foreign capitalism.

This is the reason for the principal changes in foreign policy over the past year, for the "turn" which Pompidou has spoken of and which General de Gaulle began during Nixon's visit to Paris.

The government is ever more favorable to the domination of certain key branches of French production, such as atomic energy, by foreign companies. It is searching actively for new forms of cooperation with NATO. At the Hague meeting it acceded to the main demands of its partners on European integration and Britain's entry into the Common Market. It is striving to delay the European conference on collective security and to revive the Paris-Bonn alliance.

In the Mideast conflict the government's primary concern is to serve the interests of the monopolies by signing arms contracts with some Arab countries while at the same time supplying the Israeli Air Force with various items of material, the scandal of the Cherbourg gunboats being an illustration of this double game.

While keeping silent about continued U.S. aggression against Vietnam, the government on November 15 last banned demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

In these circumstances we think Congress should retain, in one form or another, the amendments to the Theses tending to stress the modified orientation of French foreign policy.

Several letters published in the discussion column bear on advanced democracy. Some of them reveal differences over this point, in particular over the content of advanced democracy and what distinguishes it from socialism.

The correct position is given, as we see it, by the draft Theses, which say that "advanced democracy is a form of transition to socialism."

To clear up this point of view, I will first recall the Champigny Manifesto's definition of socialism. "Socialism," it says, "is at once collective ownership of the important means of production and exchange, the exercise of political power by the working class and its allies, increasing satisfaction of the steadily growing material and intellectual requirements of the members of society, and the creation of proper conditions for the full development of every personality."

It follows from this definition that the victory of socialism demands collective appropriation of all the important means of production and a radical change in the nature of the state, that is, a political and social revolution, whatever its form may be.

Since the socialist revolution can only be accomplished through action by the mass of the people, it implies that the masses must

be convinced of its necessity from their own experience. This decisive condition is still lacking in our country.

However, it is possible even now to bring it home to the vast majority of workers by hand and by brain, whether salaried or not, that they are victims of the omnipotence of the monopolies and the policy of their regime, and that it is in their common interest therefore to join efforts with a view to curbing this domination considerably and to imposing far-reaching political changes.

This accounts for the mobilizing force of such slogans as gradual nationalization of the monopolies or effective participation of the people in economic management and public life at all levels. Our program for an advanced democracy is based precisely on reforms of this kind. The fight for an advanced democracy is in accordance with today's real possibilities of unity.

Advanced democracy does not end capitalist ownership of all the important means of production. It does not imply that the working class will lead the state. In other words, it is not socialism.

But it meets the more pressing needs of the working people and the nation. It weakens big capital's grip on the decisive economic levers. It weakens the monopoly bourgeoisie and increases the political weight of the working class. It fosters popular initiatives and struggles through which the proletariat asserts its decisive and leading role. In short, advanced democracy will modify the alignment of forces and provide favorable conditions for the socialist revolution.

Lenin wrote in 1916: "It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (Vol. 22, p. 144).

The discussion in the Party also bore on the problems of working-class and democratic unity. No one denies that this unity is an essential means of establishing a democracy leading to socialism. However, particular aspects were often an object of controversy: Why make a special effort in the direction of the Socialist Party? What view should be taken of other political organizations of the Left? What are the possibilities of joint action with believers? We think the Theses deal with these questions correctly, barring inessential amendments.

We have always criticized without concessions the Socialist Party's policy of class cooperation, of compromise with reaction and of hostility to the united front. We criticize it again in the the Theses, nor are we certain that that policy is done with. It is a

fact that while numerous workers regard the Communist Party as their own, others who sincerely aspire to socialism without having got rid of reformist illusions for all that, side with the Socialist Party, which represents an important and lasting trend of the movement. Thus, working-class unity presupposes, first of all, winning worker Socialists for united action, which an agreement with the Socialist Party on a clear and solid basis would certainly make easier.

This being so, we declare for an alliance, not only of the Communist and Socialist parties, but of all democratic organizations based on a common anti-monopoly program. Indeed, an alliance of this nature, if brought about, would open up the prospect of unity of the nation's majority and greatly promote unity in the struggle for necessary changes.

It is at this point that the question of the USP, for one, arises. The leftist phrasemongering of this party, which is coupled with surrender to the technocratic ideology of the big bourgeoisie and constantly serves to cover up a reformist practice, the scorn it shows for the struggle for various demands, its refusal to take account of the connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, its division into trends, its anti-Communist and anti-unitary attitude, and its tendency to interfere in the democratic life of trade union organizations, all reflect the frame of mind, the impatience, instability and individualism of the intermediate and petty-bourgeois strata that make up its backbone. The difficulties in our relations with the USP are indicative, on the one hand, of the complexity of an alliance between the working class and these strata in the fight against monopoly capital. However, within the framework of this fight, it is normal, on the other hand, that we should call for a meeting with spokesmen of the USP.

As regards unity of action with workers by hand and by brain who are believers, it has been an aspect of our Party's policy ever since 1936. All convergence of a philosophical nature being precluded, agreement between the Communists and them is propitiated, not only by common immediate demands, but by opposition to the misdeeds of capitalism that is increasingly motivating the militancy of numerous Christians. The present evolution of these groups, reflected especially in the great debates and contradictions by which the Catholic Church is rent today, gives added importance to the problem and calls for more sustained activity by our Party with a view to a rapprochement between the two.

Another question, that of the events in Czechoslovakia, came up for discussion during the Congress preparations. However, only 12 branches out of 19,250 proposed modifying the draft Theses on this head, in one way or another.

This reveals the Party's agreement with the position of the Central Committee on these events, a position which has not changed and which I will remind you of in brief.

In April 1968 the Central Committee stated its opinion on the changes that had come about in Czechoslovakia in January. While stressing that these changes were the Czechoslovak Communists' own business, we took a favorable view of their desire to ensure respect for and the development of socialist democracy. At the same time we expressed to the new leaders of their Party the earnest hope that they would take more vigorous action against the forces assailing the foundations of socialist society and the relations of friendship and alliance between Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In July our Central Committee, concerned about the evolution of the situation, considered that the brother parties directly concerned should do their utmost to reach a political solution ensuring that Czechoslovakia continued in the world socialist system and foiling the intrigues of imperialism and reaction in the heart of Europe. At that time we took the initiatives everyone knows of.

At the moment of the military intervention the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, who a fortnight earlier had welcomed the outcome of the Bratislava meeting, expressed their disapproval.

Let it be said in passing that we are amazed at the stupidity of the bourgeois elements that had hoped this divergence was the beginning of a break. On the contrary, we announced in the resolution of August 22, 1968 that our Party would step up its efforts to strengthen world Communist unity and, first of all, to make the relations of fraternal friendship that have always linked it with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closer still.

On October 21, 1968, the Central Committee reprimanded Roger Garaudy who had grossly violated the resolution by publishing anti-Soviet statements. Early in November talks between our delegation and that of the CPSU ended in a broad agreement on problems of the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism. Subsequently we did our best for the preparation and success of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which took place in Moscow last June. Lastly, in November, a delegation of our Party had fraternal talks in Prague with representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. They amply informed us of the situation in their country and of how they planned to solve their problems. We support their effort to overcome difficulties so as to carry on and extend socialist construction.

Let our common enemies mourn over that. The 19th Congress of the French Communist Party, an outstanding manifestation of proletarian internationalism, will contribute to closer unity of the

world Communist movement and to our indestructible friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the discussion preceding this Congress numerous Communists voiced a desire which may be put as follows:

Since democratic centralism is an inviolable principle of Party organization and our press must therefore popularize and defend the policies democratically defined by Congress and not publish anything at any moment, Party members wish, for their part, to have more complete information so as to be able to answer any question and carry on their struggle effectively.

We regard this desire as perfectly legitimate. Indeed, it occasionally happens that *Humanite* does not carry a certain item of information either because that would lead to a harmful controversy with another Communist party or because it concerns the inner life of the Party which normally has to deliberate behind closed doors like any other political organization. But it also happens in such cases that the whole membership gets to know an issue only from what the opponent says.

The Party leadership is aware of the existence of this problem and has already taken steps to deal with it. We have called for more frequent information meetings. Members of the Central Committee have on several occasions informed the federation committees they have been entrusted with helping and, through them, the whole membership.

We believe, however, that there should be more initiative. In line with what the Theses say about democratic centralism, the Central Committee to be elected by Congress will undoubtedly set itself, among other practical tasks, that of promptly supplying the Party with information whenever necessary. However, this does not rule out more systematic recourse to *Humanite* or *France Nouvelle* in accordance with the guidelines of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and in the spirit of the responsibilities of the editorial boards of our journals.

Another feature of the discussion of the Theses is that it revealed to all Communists the existence of a revisionist attempt against every aspect of the Party — be it the Party's theoretical foundation, its estimation of the present epoch, its strategy and tactics, the principles of its organization or those of the world Communist movement.

There is nothing surprising about this attempt. The efforts of the ruling class to smuggle its ideas into the party of the working class are a permanent fact. These efforts are stepped up whenever the class struggle—a struggle involving at once the ideological, economic and political spheres—gains in intensity.

It was only to be expected that the powerful movement in May and June 1968, described in the draft Theses as the first great con-

frontation of a period marked by accelerated monopoly concentration, would increase the importance of the struggle in this field, all the more since new social strata, more vulnerable to bourgeois ideology than the working class, were joining in action on its side.

Now as in the past, the bourgeoisie uses and supports diverse deformations of Marxism-Leninism to check or slow down the progress of our ideas. In these circumstances the ideological struggle is of exceptional importance and this is why one of the seven chapters of the Theses is devoted entirely to this struggle.

This chapter calls on all Communists to be on their guard against manifestations of Left- and Right-wing opportunism in the Party, which, incidentally, link up in practice, feed each other and draw on common ideological sources. Some of the texts published in the discussion columns and some of the speeches made at branch meetings or section conferences show that Left- or Right-wing opportunism is tenacious even when it affects only a few Communists. To fight on these two fronts is a standing task of the Party.

As far as Left-wing opportunism is concerned, I have nothing to add to what is said, and said well, in the draft Theses and in Georges Marchais' report. I would like, however, to touch on the struggle against Right-wing revisionism since Roger Garaudy, member of the outgoing Political Bureau, taking another step on the long road that is leading him away from scientific socialism, chose the eve of Congress to set out a general line opposed to that of the Party on all important points in a book which the bourgeois press, radio and television made widely known with the author's active assistance.

Contrary to the expectations of the bourgeoisie, the whole Party reacted by deepening and confirming its analyses of cardinal problems of our time. The debate at the branch meetings and conferences preparatory to Congress really concerned the substance of problems and examination of these problems resulted in the entire Party emphatically rejecting the line proposed by Roger Garaudy.

It is important that Congress, the Party's highest authority, should pronounce itself explicitly on these problems.

To begin with, I wish to recall that the entire Communist Party carries on its analyses and activities in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, the scientific conception of the world and society and of their development.

Philosophical materialism synthesizes the results and deduces the principles of scientific cognition of nature and history. It expresses confidence in man's ability to know and transform the world. Applied to the study of society, it enables us to ascertain the real objectives of the classes engaged in struggle and to use a strategy and tactics based on an exact estimation of realities.

Let us turn to Lenin's famous article "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism":

"The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism* . . . Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained how profoundly erroneous is every deviation from this basis. . . . Marx deepened and developed philosophical materialism to the full, and extended the cognition of nature to include the cognition of *human society*. . . . Marx's philosophy is a consummate philosophical materialism which has provided mankind, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge." (Vol. 19, pp. 24-25).

It is not surprising that the ruling classes have always stormed at materialism. In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin stresses that the struggle of parties in philosophy expresses in the final analysis the trends and ideology of the enemy classes of modern society.

An article about the 40th anniversary of this work of Lenin's published in *Cahiers du Communisme* twenty years ago gives an excellent definition of the relationship between philosophical and class struggle: "All compromise on materialism," it says, "weakens the class struggle of the proletariat. Historical materialism is the only revolutionary philosophy, for, drawing freely on reality, it alone lays it open to us, enabling us to transform it. All other philosophies play the part of a brake. This is why all abandonment of materialism is an ideological expression of a lack of confidence in the working class." What is original about this article is that it was written by Roger Garaudy.

Yet it is precisely this abandonment that he now calls for by writing in his book: "If the Party wants to be not a sect of doctrinaires, but the ferment of all those forces in France that want to build socialism, it cannot have an 'official philosophy', cannot in principle be either idealist or materialist, either religious or atheist."

Now for the estimation of the character of our epoch.

Marxist theory, constantly tested by history and social practice, considers that the evolution of mankind is essentially determined by the struggle between antagonistic classes.

In this respect, the world of today is characterized by a growing struggle which opposes the socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement to imperialism and reaction. As regards our country, a dozen monopoly groups control the decisive spheres of national life. This expresses itself in increasing exploitation of the working class, in growing agricultural concentration effected to the detriment of the peasants, in suppression of the creative role of the intellectuals, who are gaining in numbers, in the difficulties encountered by handicraftsmen and small traders. Monopoly capital's efforts to utilize the opportunities af-

forded by immense progress in science and technology clash with the capitalist system of property and with the tendency immediately to derive the highest rate of profit. It follows that the socialist revolution is objectively necessary to establish relations of production corresponding to the present level of the productive forces. At the same time the conditions for a successful struggle for socialism are becoming more favorable as the fundamental contradiction between capital and the working class is aggravated by a profound opposition of interests between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all working people.

These elementary notions, which I can only give here in outline, are elaborated and illustrated in our draft Theses. It is on them that our Party bases its objectives in the struggle for an advanced democracy leading to socialism.

Roger Garaudy's analyses lie in an entirely different plane. What he emphasizes is not the essential contradiction between capitalism and socialism but the present progress of science and technology whose nature, pace and implications he describes, moreover, inaccurately.

It is true that the productive forces are growing as they never did before, which is characterized, in particular, by automation and the close connection between scientific research and its technical uses. But one must make a strict appraisal of how far the scientific and technological revolution has gone in the industrially most advanced countries. A serious examination reveals that we are only at the preliminary stage of a process of development which is going to cover a whole period of history. By singling out certain facts whose importance nobody questions and by snatching them out of their context in a way that is contrary to dialectical materialism, Roger Garaudy mistakes a part for the whole and describes a process that is only just beginning as having attained full maturity.

In any case, to base the progress of society on changes in the productive forces, separating them more or less from property relations and the need to transform them, means departing from Marxism and inclining towards a technocratic conception which tones down the imperatives of the struggle between classes and social systems. This is what Roger Garaudy does in his book by saying, for example, that "what is possible at present is to strive for a finalized capitalism in the United States, a democratized socialism in the Soviet Union and a search for new criteria and new methods of development in the third world."

As regards the modifications brought about in the alignment of class forces by changes in the productive forces, it is hardly necessary to recall that our Party did not wait for Roger Garaudy to analyze them.

In the Central Committee report which he presented to the 15th

Party Congress, in 1959, Maurice Thorez spoke of the growing numbers of engineers, technicians and other trained personnel due to scientific and technological progress. In 1963, during Marxist Thought Week, he read a paper on the concept of class and the historic role of the working class. In it he stressed that from the Marxist standpoint the proletariat, the main producer of wealth, constitutes the core of the working class. Among other groups belonging to the working class he mentioned production technicians. Speaking of engineers, he commented that economically they were part of wage labor but that their function, living standard and origin bring a number of them close to the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie.

Thorez described the working class as the natural leader of all anti-socialist forces. Subsequently the Champigny Manifesto, the National Study Days in January 1969, concerned with engineers, technicians and other experts and the Theses of this Congress enriched the analysis by taking account of new elements, such as the growing importance of scientific knowledge in the production process, the new links between the two, the changes that have occurred in industrial structures or in the relations between monopoly and state. But contributing to Marxist analysis does not mean turning one's back on it. Insisting—as Maurice Thorez did at the time—on the growing importance of the alliance between the working class and the intellectuals, we consider that he was correct in saying: “Neither the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie in general, the creative genius of scientists and engineers, nor the intellectual elite in general can constitute the social force leading the remaking of the world. The substance of Marx's doctrine, Lenin wrote, is that it elucidated the historic role of the proletariat as builder of socialist society.”

It would be wrong to identify all wage workers with the working class. The working class is the class of wage workers which by using the material means of production directly creates surplus value, capital. It comprises all working people who own no instruments of production whatever but are engaged in the sphere of material production (which in large-scale modern production implies manual operations but also an increasing measure of intellectual activity). In other words, the working class comprises, in addition to the industrial or rural proletariat, which makes up its essential nucleus, a body of working people whose activity produces surplus value because they participate in the preparation of industrial labor (production technicians) or contribute to the completion of the production process (transport and communications workers). In this composition the working class continues to grow and represents the decisive force in all social change.

Alongside it are other groups of wage workers whose growth

has been considerable for thirty years now and among whom the intellectuals are becoming more and more numerous. We have passed from a France with a preponderance of handicraftsmen to a France in which wage workers predominate. The class condition of wage workers not engaged in material production is complex. Being highly diversified, these workers have the one important feature in common that they are exploited individually and collectively by big capital and its state. This increases their community of interests with the working class and creates favorable conditions for their joint action.

What do these clear Marxist ideas have to do with the version offered by Roger Garaudy? At the whim of his latest book, the working class is first in "the totality of manual and intellectual workers," then "the juncture between 'white-collar' and 'blue-collar workers'," and then "the working class and its intellectuals . . . constitute a new historical bloc."

All this is based on the idea that the fusion of physical and mental labor typical of the higher phase of classless communist society has already been or is about to be accomplished. Hence the leading role of the working class is effaced together with this class defined in the Marxist analysis of the capitalist mode of production. Roger Garaudy's thought becomes specific when, at the end of his book, he affirms that scientists and researchers "today embody the decisive force transforming the world."

The policy of our Party is, needless to say, in keeping with the alignment of social and political forces in the France of today. As paragraph 16 of the draft Theses puts it, "in fighting for a socialist France, the French Communist Party, which bases itself on the universal laws of the socialist revolution and on the experience of the peoples that have already built socialism, takes most careful account of the concrete conditions and historical traditions of our country."

Chapters III and IV of the Theses, respectively, state the objectives of the advanced democracy we are fighting for and of the socialist power for which it will pave the way, and then the policy of alliance of the working-class and democratic forces, that is the essential method of advancing to these objectives and achieving them.

Our text, which in paragraph 30 recalls that this alliance, "which alone can provide a clear perspective, will be forged first of all through action carried on at grass roots," shows that progress in the mass struggle will find expression in an alliance of democratic parties and organizations which, in turn, will give the movement the unprecedented scale and vigor that will assure its victory.

Roger Garaudy does not confine himself to mixing up the political objectives of the Party as, for example, in his book of 300

pages in which there is no reference—not even the slightest—to advanced democracy. He considers that the struggle for united action by the democratic parties is an outdated notion, that the framework of parties has already been broken up, that the alliance of Left forces should be sent to the museum of the Popular Front and that one can now envision a direct democracy of an entirely new kind in which computers would take the place of political organizations.

"Today," he writes, "thanks to computers and to progress in information techniques, one can dream . . . of a kind of standing plenary meeting of the whole people which at every moment registers, deposits and generalizes every individual opinion and which programs and spreads every piece of information . . ." It is this "possible" that must be brought about, according to Garaudy.

Now for the organizational principles of the Party.

These principles are formulated in Chapter VI of the draft Theses, particularly in paragraph 44 relating to democratic centralism. Surely there is no need to stress that democratic centralism does not exist in several varieties, some of them belonging to Lenin and others, to Stalin. There are the organizational principles recorded in our Rules which characterize the working-class party of a new type and determine the unity of thought and action that accounts for the strength of our Party.

According to these principles, every Communist takes part in shaping the policy of the Party, as is seen in the preparation and deliberations of this Congress. Every Communist has the right to express his opinions and offer his criticisms within the Party, whose leading committees at all levels are elected by democratic procedure. After discussion the decisions that have been taken are carried out by all, an eventual minority submitting to the majority.

Roger Garaudy thinks it is time to give up this concept, product of a tenacious struggle which Lenin conducted and which we have been carrying on to disengage the revolutionary working-class party from the Social-Democratic type of organization.

Proceeding from confused considerations, from which it follows that democratic centralism was conceived "according to the mechanical mode" and that it is time to conceive it "according to the cybernetic model," Garaudy wants the Party organizations to discuss at any moment dissenting ideas formulated by anyone, which would amount to turning our great militant Party into a permanent club of discordant talk which the working people would be right in turning away from. Incidentally, what could be more mechanistic than a concept which deduces the organizational type of the working-class party from the state of industrial technology at a given moment?

Blasting what he calls "the Party apparatus" in the same way

as Lenin's opponents did over sixty years ago, Roger Garaudy considers that most of the federation or national leaders of the Party should not be permanent. In our society, which imposes on the workers a continuous and shackling presence in their enterprises, this would mean keeping them away from responsible tasks which require time and the possibility of moving about the workshop, the country or the world.

Lastly, Roger Garaudy suggests that we should change the methods and style of Party work by furnishing, through its very functioning, "a prototype of socialist democracy." Now the Theses state in Paragraph 16 that we consider it possible and desirable for all democratic parties and organizations to cooperate in building a socialist France. The plurality of parties does not imply for any one of them the obligation to renounce its organizational principles. To demand in the name of modernism or cybernetics that the working class party evolve within it a prototype of a democracy based on such a plurality means replacing the Leninist type of organization united on the basis of principle by the old, Social-Democratic type of organization with its mosaic of trends, which the First World War showed fifty-five years ago to be powerless and whose failure it brought on.

A party dominated by interminable discussions, lacking proletarian leadership and broken up into rival factions—this is, in short, the organization that is proposed to us as being in line with the exigencies of our time.

The changes constantly necessitated by the growing influence of our Party, the growing political consciousness of its members and the increasing and varied opportunities for its activity, as well as by the growing experience of the working-class movement as a whole, are of an entirely different nature. They are aimed at making our members and organizations more aware of their responsibility, at improving their education, increasing their contribution to collective decision-making and leadership, and hence at increasing the cohesion and efficiency of the Party, not at fragmenting it nor putting it at the mercy of the ideology of the bourgeoisie or of social strata influenced by it.

The incompatibility of the theses of the Party and those of Roger Garaudy bears, lastly, on the world Communist movement, specifically on the nature of our relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The immense majority of Communists have no doubts on this matter.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the one which paved the way for the first socialist revolution in history, led it and carried it through to a victorious end. The international Communist movement and our own Party came into being in the light of the

October Revolution and grew on the basis of principles which that revolution proved to be correct and fruitful.

However, our solidarity with the CPSU is not due to only a glorious past.

The French Communist Party, party of the French working class, is engaged in the worldwide struggle of the peoples against imperialism, and the Soviet Union is the main force in this struggle. Long the only socialist state faced by a hostile and aggressive world, and by the worst difficulties, a country that had inherited a backward economy, the Soviet Union built socialism on one-sixth of the globe, delivered the world from Hitlerite barbarity and provided by its achievements favorable conditions for overthrowing the capitalist system in other countries, for the formation and progress of the world socialist system and for the downfall of colonial empires. If the threat of a third world war has been held in check and if the peoples once in bondage are in a position to consolidate their independence and follow the path of progress, this is due in tremendous measure to the Soviet Union, to the might and impact of the socialism it has built, to the disinterested efforts of its people and to the policy of its great Communist Party.

Such is the basis of the solidarity in struggle which unites our Party and other fraternal parties with the CPSU in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of respect for the independence of all. Apart from divergences which may manifest themselves over particular questions, this solidarity is a constant of our glorious history. No pressure nor persecution has ever been able to make us repudiate it, not even in the complex situation of 1939 and 1940.

Roger Garaudy, however, is trying hard to misrepresent reality.

In his latest writings the prodigious effort of the Soviet Union is reduced to an accumulation of mistakes. Only the October Revolution is spared by him, and as for solidarity with the CPSU, he replaces it by denunciation of that party and by sustained and often insulting criticism of its leaders. I must say that he uses against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the calumnies of reaction. He refuses to see anything but mistakes and ignores the successful and never-ending effort to overcome difficulties.

Roger Garaudy pretends to think we want mechanically to transplant to France all the features of an experience prompted in part by the distinctive situation of the Soviet Union, and this at a time when its existence and victories, by modifying the relation of world forces, enable us precisely to define and set out on the distinctive path that will lead our country to the common goal.

He calls on us to dissociate from the CPSU under the guise of winning the confidence of non-Communist democrats who would agree, as a result of the disavowal, to ally themselves with us in order to build socialism in France.

To accept an invitation of this kind—if I may resort to an absurd supposition—would mean cutting off the French revolutionary movement from the main force of world socialism and undermining in this way the possibilities of transition to socialism in our country.

On the contrary, our Party will go on vigorously denouncing all anti-Sovietism. It will work harder than ever to strengthen the unity of Communist and Workers' parties and promote their joint action.

From this point of view our Party regards the Meeting of brother parties held in Moscow last June as an important success. It is happy to have been able to contribute effectively to the preparations for the Meeting and to its deliberations.

Roger Garaudy condemns the Meeting. Going so far as to dispute the representative character of most of the brother parties that took part in it, he contends that the Main Documents dooms the movement to impotence, just because it contains a fundamental analysis differing radically from his own.

This position again betrays ignorance of the present-day class struggle on the international scale, of the nature of Marxist-Leninist parties and the links connecting them whatever their national situation or the differences that may affect their approach to this or that problem.

This comes out clearly when Roger Garaudy replaces the universal principles of the socialist revolution by his ambiguous notion of different "models" of socialism. This notion opens the door to every interpretation and dissembles the existence of the general laws of social development which apply in varying degree in every country according to historical conditions and national experience. Add to this that Roger Garaudy has been successively carried away by the most diverse "models." In this neo-Utopian tour of the world he only rejects the socialist Soviet Union, which has blazed the trail into the future for all nations, and the Champigny Manifesto, which analyzes the conditions of transition to socialism in our own country.

In conclusion of this critical examination of Roger Garaudy's opinions, one cannot help being surprised at the affirmation he made in his article carried by *Humanite* on January 2: "I wish to repeat, first of all, that I do not at all question the program, policy or objectives of our Party." It is true that two months earlier, in a letter to Waldeck Rochet which he was sorry not to see published, he used a somewhat different language regarding the Party's policy and objectives stated in precisely the Theses. "How can anyone," he wrote, "submit this fabric of abstractions and apologetic and triumphalist formulas, which at no point link up with concrete reality, to the whole Party? Not a single real, vital question is

raised. . . . In these conditions I wish to say clearly that this text cannot be amended."

The 19th Congress is manifestly of a different opinion. It is going to amend and enrich the Theses, and their adoption will mean a pure and simple rejection of Roger Garaudy's platform which, to put it plainly, is on every point their antithesis.

Dear comrades, having begun this report by estimating the nature of the Theses, I would like to conclude with two remarks on the use we will make of this text.

The Theses are not a collection of recipes one has only to use to solve any new problem which life is bound to confront us with between this Congress and the next. Such a concept would be anti-Marxist. But the Theses will help our organizations better to understand developments as they occur, to find solutions to new problems and act effectively on reality.

Nevertheless, the Theses are not a document for only internal use. Containing, in a small publication and in a form that is both serious and easy to understand, our Party's opinion on the situation and on the ways and means it proposes for transforming it, they concern the working people and all men and women of France at a time when most of them are searching for answers.

Let us, then, see to it that in the coming weeks and months every member of the Party always has the Theses near at hand, that he studies and ponders them and acquaints non-Communists around him with them. If the great ideas of this document take hold of the masses and translate themselves into action and struggle, we will before long achieve the correct objectives set by the 19th Congress, together with the people of France and in their present and future interests.

APPEAL* TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE

Men and women of France,

Every day a propaganda machine equipped with the most diverse means is used again to make believe that France is heading for a "new society" that will be more equitable and more in keeping with the exigencies of the modern world.

But what do the facts show?

The condition of the working people and their families is deteriorating.

Wage workers are harnessed to more intense labor lasting many hours. Their purchasing power, like that of pensioners, is reduced through a higher cost of living and heavier taxes.

Peasants lose their family farms, with no other prospect than that of giving up the land they love. On arriving in the town, they encounter difficulties finding a job and lodgings.

Where are the equal opportunities and promotion that were announced? Socially biased selection cuts off access to education, vocational training and culture. Scorn or threats are the answer to the legitimate demands of teachers, students, technicians and engineers, scientists and researchers, artists and writers who feel they are responsible for progress in the intellectual domain.

Young men and women are seriously handicapped in labor and study, in rest and leisure.

Handicraftsmen and small traders are threatened with early ruin.

Millions of people suffer in a France delivered like an exclusive market to the big industrial and trading companies and the big banks.

Whatever the devotion of doctors and hospital personnel, the inadequacy of equipment and curtailments in social security affect the health of the nation.

Authoritarian power reigns supreme everywhere. For some it makes a principle of favoritism. But on most it imposes administrative shackles restricting liberties.

Where is the greatness of France, promised for so many years?

A useless and dangerous strike force whittles down the nation's resources.

Our economic progress is hampered by the priority quest for big capitalist profits made at a fast pace. Powerful foreign interests entrench themselves in our country and force their tutelage on our future. National independence is deformed by emphasizing

**Humanité*, February 8, 1970.

an orientation towards the dangerous positions of "Little Europe" and the Atlantic pact.

Really, the Gaullist and Centrist "new society" is merely a make-up which the oldest of societies, the one in which man is exploited by man, uses in a continued attempt to attract.

NO, a society which fosters rapid capitalist concentration and enables a few cosmopolitan groups to own the greater part of the means of production and exchange is not new.

NO, it is not new, this society which boosts the fabulous profits of some instead of bringing well-being to all, darkens the horizons of youth, sometimes to the point of tragedy, tries to discredit the most enlightened and most active defenders of the working people and turns every means at its command against everything democratic, with support from all the forces of reaction.

It is the same old capitalist society, which cannot meet the requirements of our time.

It is the united people that will bring into being a really new society, and not the privileged of capital nor their technocrats.

Progress and happiness are within our reach. We have the means to be less in bondage to our jobs, to be freer, more cultured and happier. In our country with its varied riches, up-to-date production and productivity increased by progressing science and technology should make it possible, by reducing working time, to pursue an advanced social policy.

The monopolies' grip on the national economy and on French politics must be loosened.

The big banks and monopolized industries must be nationalized and nationalized companies managed democratically.

The sovereignty of the people must be established, freedoms extended and their exercise guaranteed.

It is necessary to safeguard the independence of France and international cooperation and actively to promote an international détente, friendship among peoples and peace.

Thus, enjoying real democracy that will progress steadily, the majority of the French people will come to favor the socialist transformation of society. Our people will make this their cause.

It is up to them and not to a handful of allegedly liberal politicians or groups of adventurers.

The objective is to replace monopoly power by democratic power, which is a stage on the road to, and a condition for, socialism. Alliance is only one way of achieving it. An active alliance of all who are hit or threatened by the policies of the present Gaullist-Centrist government. A vigilant alliance against the maneuvers of the Centrists, who are preparing to avert democratic change and to assure the continued domination of big capital.

This alliance is possible. Working classes and strata that yester-

day were divided can and should unite today to uphold common interests and to realize common aspirations.

Democratic unity should spring from joint struggles at the places of work, in town and country, from the dialogue of democratic parties and organizations and from their joint definition of a government program.

Contacts between leaders and electoral agreements are not enough. This unity for democracy requires resolute prevention of any attempt of a third force, of any Centrist attempt to use the working class as an extra force for pursuing the policy of big capital.

The working class, with the Communist Party which is its expression and vanguard, is the decisive social force. It is with and around it that the great Popular Front changes were effected, the big battles of the Resistance fought and the struggles against one-man power carried on. The prestige of this working class and its spokesmen has been growing in the nation. Displaying the bugaboo of communism is useless.

During the presidential elections millions of you recognized our candidate as one of yours, and our statements, as an invariably kept promise of devotion to the people and loyalty to France.

Insist with us on our right to speak on national radio and television, for it is for you we speak.

Read our newspapers, periodicals and books, for it is for you we write.

To give us your confidence and to support our action means defending and helping yourselves.

To join our ranks and be among the Communists means doing your best to pave the way for a happy future.

We can bring about this future of social progress, peace, democracy and socialism only with you, and you can bring it about only with us.

*Nineteenth Congress
of the French Communist Party*

POLITICAL DOCUMENT*

COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The purpose of this document is to analyze some problems of the political situation. As for analyzing certain differences of opinion and their reasons, it was seen fit to put it off until conditions are more favorable. Some of the differences may persist while others will be settled by life. The point of departure now is, first of all, what unites our Party and its membership in spite of differences.

Some differences bear on ideological problems posed while discussing the Party's draft program and Rules. There were divergences among the Communists over the implementation of the Party's general line, specifically over the attitude to the Social-Democratic movement, the Liinamaa agreements,** various decisions on taxation, agricultural and other economic and political problems, as well as to international issues and decisions relating to personnel.

Finland is going through further concentration of production and capital, with the major industrial enterprises and their combines growing stronger and with the monopoly and the state joining forces. Increasing government interference, both direct and indirect, in economic affairs reveals and accentuates the social character of the productive forces. It aggravates the contradiction between the social character of the productive forces and the capitalist form of property. Government agencies allot an ever bigger share of the national income to the monopolies. The irreconcilable class antagonism between labor and capital is growing. So is the antagonism between the capitalist top of society and the rest of the population.

Monopoly capital is guilty of the fact that in Finland enormous productive forces are wasted and no use is made of available resources for steady progress in the economic and social spheres. These are general characteristics of the evolution of state-monopoly capitalism.

Growing monopoly control and big capitalist domination over the nation's economy and politics, misuse of the state as monopoly capital's instrument in exercising arbitrary power, and the penetration of foreign capital into the Finnish economy, which results in

*Adopted by Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Finland, February 1970. Abridged.

**On price and wage control.—Ed.

vital national interests being sacrificed to monopoly, all run counter to the interests of our country.

The Communist Party calls attention to the analysis of state-monopoly capitalism contained in the Document of the international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties signed in Moscow in June 1969 and approved by our Party.

The workers, peasants and middle strata can, by fighting against the monopolies with proper energy, make the state—through which the capitalists exercise their class rule and which the monopolies use for maintaining their interests and for bolstering their power—meet the demands of the working population. Communists avail themselves of every opportunity provided by their parliamentary activity. They stress, however, that the decisive factor in the fight for democracy and socialism is mass struggle by the working class and other working people.

The general line of the CPF is to establish a democratic front against monopoly and reaction, for greater democratic liberties, for lasting peace, and for progress towards socialism. Its implementation depends on progress in united action by the working class, the main force in the anti-monopoly struggle, and on powerful mass actions by the working class and other working people in support of their economic, political and social demands. Cooperation between the parties and mass organizations expressing the interests of the working people of town and country likewise helps the Party to carry its general line into practice.

The CPF attaches special importance to united action by the working-class parties. To win far-reaching social changes, the Social-Democratic Party and the organizations influenced by its leadership should renounce the policy of cooperating with big capital. This is an important condition for hastening deep-going democratic reforms.

All the activities of the CPF, including its policy in government and parliament, are geared to implementing the Party's general line and to mustering the political forces required for this. It was with a view to promoting its general line that the Party resolved to participate in the government under Paasio and Koivisto.

The government coalition has produced both positive and negative results. Its negative aspects are seen primarily in the economic and tax policies. The greatest defect of its policy in precisely these spheres is that this policy is not directed against big capital, and hence satisfies neither the Party nor its members and supporters. This explains why it has been of scant benefit to the Party's general line in this respect. The following factors have played a part in this:

1. For eighteen years the CPF called for a democratic government coalition. Nevertheless, its inclusion in the cabinet in spring 1966 came unexpectedly. It was not due to strong pressure on the part

of the working class or the Party's supporters, nor was it a result of increased electoral support.

2. The supremacy of private big capital and the capitalist system of the economy restrict and hamper the carrying out of necessary and desirable social changes. The living standard, social condition and political rights of the working people can be improved even under capitalism through a powerful and organized struggle backed by the masses.

3. The results of the policy of government and parliament are limited also because Social-Democratic and Center Party leaders, who have associated themselves with the Establishment, do not strive for deep-going social changes nor try to curb big capital's power.

The government's political and economic measures have not been directed against private capitalist monopolies nor designed to restrain capital, regulate and control profits and prevent profiteering in real estate sites and housing. The government has made no earnest attempt to remove the causes of imbalances in foreign trade although it could have done so by extending trade and economic co-operation with the socialist countries. The majority in the government adapts its economic policy mainly to big capital's interests, as is evident, for instance, from the devaluation of the Finnish mark and from tax cuts in favor of big capital.

4. We have been unable to organize vast and effective mass actions for the political objectives of our Party and the People's Democratic movement on the government level. This is due in a measure to inadequate contact with diverse groups of working people. In parliament and government there have been some instances of unwarranted readiness to give in to the demands of other coalition parties, while the negative aspects of the policy of these parties have not been made sufficiently clear.

5. The stand taken by the Communists and People's Democrats in the government and in parliament against some negative solutions has not been made properly known to the masses. This is one of the reasons why public opinion identifies the policy of the Communist Party with that of the government. The superiority of the bourgeoisie's mass media and the inadequacy of Party information have contributed towards this.

These factors and differences over government policy explain why we have been unable to launch a big campaign for a more effective government policy.

Our Party and the working class have succeeded to a certain extent in thwarting monopoly capital's attempts to put the burden of the capitalist crisis of overproduction on the working people. They have been able to ease the hardships brought on by unemployment only in part—unemployment retains its mass character. The prob-

lems arising from the lag of some regions of the country are still acute. There is an outflow of emigrants. Emergency powers to control prices have helped to check their upward trend somewhat but not the growth of the communal tax. The problem of daily allowances for transferred workers, raised in the Paasio government program, is still unsolved.

Due to our Party's contribution, the past years have, nevertheless, seen the working people score various gains, although these have not resulted in limiting monopoly power.

The state sector of industry shows a more intense growth than earlier. Many important projects are being carried out to extend this sector. Our effort in connection with the debate on the law on reserve funds resulting from high business activity—an effort aimed at making these funds, first of all in the case of the export industries, available to the state with a view to developing the economy and easing unemployment—produced no result.

Budget appropriations for house-building have been greater than before, when the bourgeoisie had a majority in parliament and government. However, business activity in the private sector of house-building has fallen off.

Progress has been made in social legislation, specifically by passing laws on pensions for families bereft of their breadwinners, allowances to pensioners to pay rent, allowances for care of chronically disabled children, pensions for agricultural and other categories of private producers, etc.

In decisions adopted three years ago, our Party expressed the opinion that the government coalition of the working-class parties and the Center Party had optimal opportunities to further Finland's active policy for peace, to strengthen Finnish-Soviet relations and to promote a democratic home policy.

We can now state that our estimation was correct. There have been a number of important initiatives based on the general line of Finnish foreign policy. One of them is the proposal for holding the conference on European security in Finland. An indication of the growing prestige of our country's foreign policy is that Finland was the venue of preliminary talks on measures to limit strategic arms. On the other hand, Finnish foreign policy is not consistent and active enough as yet.

Our country could make a much greater contribution to the peoples' fight for peace, against imperialism, than it does today.

Some progress has been made in Finnish-Soviet cooperation. In the face of stubborn resistance from the right, agreement has been reached to build an atomic power station in cooperation with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, economic relations as a whole are not developing satisfactorily.

Our Party put forward an initiative which resulted in setting up

inter-government working groups. But these groups have done little so far due to resistance and lack of interest on the part of big capital and the Right.

Our country's entry into the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and Development and its plans for Nordek, now in preparation, betray a desire to link Finland still more closely with capitalism and its fortunes in Western Europe.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has reason to welcome many economic decisions of the government but the Right resents the existence of a government coalition of cooperation and, above all, its basis.

Right-wing extremists in our country have become much more active of late. Greater electoral support for the bourgeoisie would help the Right to increase its influence.

The attacks from the right are prompted by the fear that the government, which includes Communists and People's Democrats, may eventually undermine monopoly domination at the insistence and with the support of the masses and eliminate spokesmen of the reactionary forces from the government for good.

The positive evolution of the Social-Democratic Party has come to a standstill and there is growing evidence of a drift to the right.

Despite shortcomings in the Party's work and the drop in the number of votes cast for the CPF, the political prerequisites of establishing an anti-monopoly democratic front have increased in recent years. Communists are convinced that this front is indispensable if fundamental social problems are to be solved and democracy extended.

The working people's will for united action is growing. Wage workers are becoming more active. Trade union organizations are gaining strength. Communists have won stronger positions in the trade union movement. In numerous communal bodies today unity of action between working-class groups is making better headway than before. Progressive trends have become more marked, especially among the youth. Joint efforts by the Social Democrats and Communists in the government, for their part, have gone some way towards bringing the working people closer together and promoting their cooperation in the enterprises and mass organizations. Anti-communism has been losing ground among the working youth and the intellectuals.

Our Party's central task is to direct the discontent and the activity of the working class and other segments of the population into the channel of anti-monopoly struggle.

To be able to put its general line into effect, our Party needs the support of all its members, needs their resolve and initiative, for the very best objectives cannot be attained without the backing and active participation of all Communists and Party supporters.

We must strive to ensure that members and supporters of other

parties as well become increasingly aware of the imperative need to curb the economic and political domination of big capital. This is the way to preserve and strengthen the Left majority in parliament and bring about a turn in the policy of the monopolies, so as definitively to eliminate the rightists, whose activity injures national interests, from the government and government politics.

Our Party today has greater opportunities to influence government policy than in past years. This implies, however, that it must follow an independent policy in the interests of the working class, a policy based on united action with the masses and on the Party's own unity. Our press, whose task is to publicize the Party's goals in the interests of the working people, is of great importance. It must also urge the working people to fight for these goals.

Party unity can be promoted by jointly specifying common and unifying tasks in the anti-monopoly struggle, and by working actively for their fulfilment at all levels—in the branch and district organizations of the CPF and in its Central Committee, in the government, in parliament and the trade unions.

MAIN TASKS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE

The Party will strive primarily for the following objectives:

It will seek an increase in the share of the national income that falls to the working class and other working people and in their purchasing power.

It will oppose all socio-economic solutions that may be regarded as leading to a deterioration of the condition of these segments of the population.

It will oppose the adoption of laws or decisions likely to hamper mass action for the interests of the working people.

1. The Party is striving to ensure that collective agreements are concluded for only one year.

An agreement on a pay increase should generally provide for real wages at least as high as labor productivity. Trade unions should be given sufficient room for maneuver in talks on pay.

As regards proposed decisions on pay, it is necessary to insist on reducing the great discrepancy between wage rates and seek an increase in the lowest pay rates.

Decisions on collective bargaining should also be linked with the demand for better social maintenance, a more effective system of union delegates and greater powers for the trade union organizations in the enterprises. These decisions should be worked out in collaboration with the union rank and file.

2. The government should have adequate powers to control and regulate prices, rent and the fees for diverse services. It should effectively use these powers in cooperation with the trade unions, which should have a share in control.

3. To increase production and combat unemployment, it is necessary:

(a) to extend and promote business activity under government control, first of all in the metalworking, chemical and mining industries, as well as in the building industry—by setting up a governmental building organization;

(b) to extend house-building and substantially to increase yearly appropriations for building loans. Steps should be taken to ensure that loans are granted primarily by credit and insurance institutions.

In the field of housing, the emphasis should be on building inexpensive houses at moderate rent and cooperative houses in those communities and areas where the shortage of this type of housing is acute;

(c) to grant the state and the municipalities extensive powers to obtain building sites for moderate compensation;

(d) greatly to increase imports from the Soviet Union and increase exports to that country accordingly. The import of machines and plant should be increased.

It is necessary to continue building atomic power stations in cooperation with the Soviet Union; to build an underground railway in Helsinki on the same principle; to extend the electrification of railways and place orders in the Soviet Union for the required number of electric locomotives. Automation on the railways should be planned in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The problem of deliveries of Soviet natural gas should be settled as early as possible. Our country should avail itself of all the advantages this would provide for its economy;

(e) to aid small and medium enterprises in the labor-intensive industries, specifically by granting them loans on easy terms, reducing the turnover tax and helping them to sell their output.

4. Social maintenance calls for improvement.

First of all, it is essential to raise the exceedingly low pensions, reduce the enormous gaps between pensions and seek a universal system of pensioning.

5. To help the state meet its growing expenditures, in particular on measures against unemployment and for social purposes, it is necessary:

(a) to introduce an extra tax on export revenue the proceeds from which should be budgeted as an income item.

These funds should be used without delay to promote economic growth and increase employment;

(b) to extend government powers in the credit sphere;

(c) in taxation, the emphasis should be shifted to individuals and joint-stock companies whose incomes and property are above the average.

Large enterprises should be taxed more rigidly than before. Taxation of the property of joint-stock companies should be re-established.

The excessive freedom allowed to joint-stock companies in specifying the amount of depreciation deductions should be restricted.

An effort should be made to win a progressive system of communal taxation, so that the tax reform may not lead to higher taxes on small and medium incomes. Putting up the communal tax should be resisted;

(d) the distribution of allocations for the maintenance of hospitals, etc., between the state and the municipalities should be revised in favor of the latter. The state must promptly take steps to prevent an increase in the communal tax.

6. In solving agricultural problems, it is essential to safeguard the interests of wage labor and small cultivators.

(a) In line with trends in demand and consumption, it is necessary to foster the growth of new industries, specialization, and the establishment of a diversified agriculture;

(b) steps to check relative overproduction should not lead to the small cultivators reducing production. As well as allowing arable lands to lie fallow, the state can also withdraw them from production by buying up outlying and unviable peasant farms. The same applies to the arable of owners who have other permanent sources of income providing them with an adequate livelihood;

(c) released arable lands should be distributed primarily among small cultivators to help them revitalize their farms. The state should grant low-interest loans first of all to small peasant farms;

(d) decisions on agricultural incomes should be made in such a way as to give the low-income groups of the rural population a bigger share;

(e) small farms should be encouraged to coordinate production.

7. Compulsory insurance, the pharmaceutical industry, chemist's shops and the big commercial banks should be socialized. There is a need to set up a viable central investment bank of the state to regulate and control investments more effectively.

Parliament should be given greater powers to control and influence the nation's trade and production.

8. The state should investigate without delay the concentration of economic property in the economy.

9. Vocational training, in particular for a new trade, should be vigorously extended. Voluntary migrations of labor should be facilitated by paying travelling expenses and solving the housing problem. It is essential to enable persons receiving vocational training to find appropriate jobs.

10. The policy on labor reserves should be revised and put on a

planned basis. Specific enterprises should be committed to advise the authorities beforehand of proposed reductions or increases in personnel.

11. The key tasks in extending the democratic freedoms of the working people in the enterprises are to amend the law on collective bargaining, increase safeguards against arbitrary dismissals, guarantee the status and allow the unhampered activity of trade unionists and union delegates in the enterprises, introduce proper procedures for lodging complaints and provide better conditions for association, assembly and the provision of information at the work places.

In amending the law on the status of production committees, it is essential to secure for the employees of industrial enterprises and economic institutions the right to exercise control and influence decision-making concerning:

(a) the production plan, labor organization and working conditions, the terms of employment and discharge, vocational training, social measures, personnel matters;

(b) management of the enterprise, including the distribution of profits, spending on taxes, public relations and advertising, financial, production and investment plans, the acquisition of building sites and capital export;

(c) to curb the power of employers' associations, national and communal joint-stock companies and economic institutions should withdraw from these associations and set up an independent coordinating body of their own.

12. Private institutions of higher learning should be transferred to the state, so that students may exercise their democratic rights. Tuition fees in secondary and higher educational establishments—a heavy burden on the students' living standard—should be reduced or abolished. Credits and allocations for scholarships should be so increased as to make higher education really accessible even to the needy.

APPEAL* FOR UNITY

TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Comrades,

We participants in the Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Finland unanimously call on all Communists to close their ranks again in joint struggle against monopoly domination, for peace, democracy and socialism. The political document and the resolution on organizational matters adopted by Congress, as well as the Central Committee elected by it, provide a sound basis for united action by all Communists. These documents are an important step towards restoring Party unity.

UNITY IS A NECESSITY NOW

The Party is faced with important tasks. It must rally its forces and resist monopoly capital on a wide front so as to make possible a decisive struggle to further the economic and social interests of the working people, extend their democratic rights and promote Finland's policy of peace, friendship and good-neighbor relations. The working class is the main force of this democratic front, and its unity and cohesion are a condition for the success of the struggle. The broad basis of mass action by the working people affords the prerequisites of bringing other segments of the population into the anti-monopoly struggle and compels the government to meet the working people's demands. This also helps to maintain the Left majority in parliament.

The possibilities for united action are greater now that the progressive and socialist forces are advancing faster. So is wage labor's will for struggle. The working people are striving more and more for unity of action in the trade union movement and in communal politics. Not only the workers but other working people have begun to organize their forces to defend their rights and interests. Discontent with existing shortcomings is spreading to youth. Socialism arouses interest among young people. As the contradictions between monopoly capital and the overwhelming majority of the nation become sharper there develop more favorable conditions for a broad-based, militant anti-monopoly bloc.

THE WORKING CLASS NEEDS A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

A united and close-knit Communist party is indispensable to working-class unity, to the unification of forces in a powerful front

*Adopted by Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Finland, February 1970.

against the monopolies, for the interests of the working class and other working people. What makes Communists strong is their ideological and organizational cohesion. The historic mission of the proletariat's revolutionary party can only be fulfilled by a Communist party adhering to the ideology of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to the theory of Marxism-Leninism enriched by the experience of the world Communist movement, a party which supports its ideological and political cohesion with proper organization.

There still exist ideological and political differences in our Party. Some of them will be settled by life itself. Others may prove more lasting. The important thing, however, is to deal with them from now on in a comradely way and not to allow discussion to infringe decisions unanimously adopted by this Congress. No differences should stand in the way of our joint struggle against the monopolies.

Comrades, we participants in the Extraordinary Congress unanimously call on all Communists to do everything to ensure that the decade beginning with 1970 becomes the decade of a united and strong Communist Party of Finland. We want to preserve our Party as the revolutionary party of the class struggle. It can be such a party provided it is united ideologically and disciplined. The closer the cohesion of the Party and the greater its strength, the more effectively will we accomplish our task.

The greatest and most important task is to bring about socialism in our country. We Finnish Communists are responsible for this and for all our activities to the Finnish people and the international working class. To close the ranks of the Party is a duty of every Marxist-Leninist and every internationalist today.

REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MEET IN SOFIA*

Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries met in Sofia on February 24-25. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was represented by V. Kotsev, Secretary, CC BCP; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by J. Fojtik, Secretary, CC CPC; the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany by W. Lamberz, Secretary, CC SUPG; the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party by A. Pullai, Secretary, CC HSWP; the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party by B. Lhamsuren, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC MPRP; the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party by J. Szydlak, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary, CC PUWP; the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party by P. Nikulescu-Mizil, Member of the Executive Committee, Permanent Presidium, Secretary, CC RCP; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by P. N. Demichev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary, CC CPSU.

The participants compared notes on ideological and propaganda work, exchanged opinions on topical problems of socialist and communist construction and briefed each other on the celebrations in their countries of the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

The atmosphere at the meeting was one of friendship and comradely cooperation.

**Pravda*, February 26, 1970.

WAR ECONOMY IN ISRAEL*

By TAMAR GOZANSKY

The meaning of militarization is the diverting of a substantial portion of the social product for military objects, and therefore it cannot but affect the social reproduction and the cyclical development of capitalism in a given country. This influence is the more pronounced the longer the militarization is being continued.

The diversion of the economy to the preparation and conduct of war brings about the establishment of new enterprises, to wide-ranging investments in transport (roads, harbors, vehicles), to the increase in the number of employed in branches directly or indirectly connected with military production. This sort of expansion is even likely to achieve what is called a "military boom"—an economic boom expressed by the narrowing of the number of unemployed, the admission of new workers (women and youth), and the expansion of production.

But parallel with this process there occurs another process, which is also caused by the militarization of the economy and which carries within itself an internal contradiction: From the general production of the economy an ever-increasing part is diverted to military objects, and as a result of this civilian production is narrowed, and there is a decrease in sources for new capital investments in non-military branches and for the satisfaction of social needs. The branches producing for the civilian market suffer from the lack of a skilled labor force, of raw materials and credit, and are often forced to limit their production. On the other hand, rises in prices and heavier taxes—which are an inevitable result of the militarization—bring about a decline in the buying power of the workers and the other wage earners and even of a part of the middle strata, and in the end lead to the creation of surplus goods and even to a crisis of surplus production.

These two processes develop in parallel, and the concrete conditions of each country determine which of the processes will have the upper hand at this or that stage of the development. An instructive example of the impact of the militarization process is afforded by the development of the American economy.

The aggravation of the Vietnam war caused at a certain stage a "military boom": 1.5 million people passed over to working in enterprises of the military industry and in so-called strategic labor-

*Abridged from the *Information Bulletin* of the Communist Party of Israel, January-February, 1970.

atories. The U.S. Government substantially increased the military budget and its orders from the military industry. The result was acceleration of the economic growth, a decline in the number of unemployed and . . . the declaration of President Johnson in January 1969, according to which the USA had got rid of cyclical depressions.

But the economic flourishing turned out to be corroded by contradictions. Already in October 1966 an official publication of the First National City Bank stated that "it seems that we have a flourishing military economy together with a narrowing civilian economy." (Re-translated from the Hebrew). Indeed, though since 1961 the American economy has not experienced any profound crisis, it has during this period passed through a number of depressions (end of 1962, spring of 1965, end of 1967). The galloping inflation which accompanied the accelerated increase of military production, forced Johnson before the termination of his office to proclaim a policy of economic recession—the narrowing of government expenditures for civilian objectives, a raise of the income tax by 10 per cent, a limitation of credit for the public, a rise in the rate of interest, a limitation of private building.

Analyzing this development of the American economy, the U.S. economist, Hyman Lumer wrote in "Economic Trends and Perspectives," (Political Affairs, No. 5, 1969):

"In an all-out war economy, the insatiable demand for war goods temporarily obliterates all else, but in a partial war economy such as the present one the production of civilian goods remains at a high level and symptoms of overproduction are not long in making their appearance."

Despite all the differences between the economy of the USA and that of Israel, this conclusion throws light on the prospects of the development of the Israeli economy, which finds itself already for the third year in conditions of a partial war and of a steady rise in military expenditures.

Here in Israel too we have witnessed an economic tide in the wake of the steep rise in military expenditures (though this does not mean that without the militarization of the economy there would have come no boom period). The summaries for the year 1968 showed an increase by 45 per cent in investments, of 14 per cent in the national product and by 9 per cent in employment. How far this boom was connected with the increase of military production can be learned from the example of the metal industry. In 1968 the metal industry raised its production by 50 per cent, but 90 per cent of this increase came from the increase of military orders and only 10 per cent from the increasing demand for metal products in the civilian market.

In Israel too one may expect a situation of a "flourishing military

economy side by side with a narrowing civilian economy," as the situation has been described in the USA. This development obliges the Government to decide about employing economic means. But among the economists there exists a divergence of opinions in this question.

The members of the first group too believe export ought to be augmented, but they claim, and rightly, that a substantial devaluation of the Israeli lira would necessarily bring about a big rise in prices, would accelerate the inflationary processes and thereby would shake economic stability.

As it turns out, according to the economists, the choice put before the Israeli economy is between recession and devaluation. But is it indeed possible to give the name of "choice" to a development which is dictated by the objective results of the economy's militarization? And if these alternatives are yet called a "choice" set before the Israeli economy—as a result of the June War, of the continuing occupation of territories and of the increase of military expenditures and war industries—is there any need for a further argument to prove the folly committed by relying upon the expansion of military production for the benefit of "economic development"?

Nevertheless, there does exist such a "choice", as reminds one of a frequently heard joke: One sentenced to death is asked: "What is your last wish?" He replies, "Make the gallows a bit shorter!"

The *real choice* is between the continuation of the partial war and the deepening of the economy's militarization, on the one hand, and retreat from the occupied territories and the decrease of military expenditures, on the other. The first way will lead to the shaking of the economic situation (devaluation, recession and similar "choices"), while the second—which can be attained by means of implementing the Security Council Resolution of November 1967—will enable a relatively fast development of the economy without galloping inflation and without big unemployment (even though it would not entirely cancel the cyclical character of the capitalist economy in Israel).

Someone might ask: How can one be sure that after a retreat there will be no economic catastrophe? Well, after the retreat in 1957 from the territories occupied in the course of the Suez-Sinai War of 1956, there was not only no decline in industrial production, but it rose by 13 per cent. And from 1958 on there began a lengthy boom period.

Hence it is clear that the only way to stop the decline in the buying power of the toilers, and thereby to prevent an economic depression, lies in the diminution of the military expenditures, in a policy that strives for a peace settlement. Such a policy will

enable the diverting of material and human resources towards civilian production, will abolish the necessity for deficit financing of the state budget, will prevent the drowning of the Israeli economy in debts and will save it from paying the interest on these debts.

The militarization of the Israeli economy aggravates negative phenomena, such as the expansion of deficit financing, a rise in prices and inflation, the increasing deficit in the foreign trade balance and in the balance of payments, depletion of the foreign exchange reserves, increase of foreign exchange obligations, etc.

In spite of the income from taxes and in spite of the capital import from abroad, the government does not succeed in covering its expenditures, and first of all the increasing military expenditures, with the real means in its hands. The government deficit foreseen for this year will be—as in 1967 and 1968—about 1,600 million *Israeli lira* (for the benefit of comparison: in the early sixties the yearly government deficit amounted to about 300 million I.L.).

In order to cover the expanding government deficit, the government turns to deficit financing—to printing money over and above the needs of circulation. For the tendencies to an increase in deficit financing see Table I, which outlines the changes occurring in the government debts to the Bank of Israel.

TABLE I

Government Debts to the Bank of Israel
(In millions of I.L.)

	31.12.67	31.12.68	30.6.69
Treasury bills and other securities	184.6	140.0	166.2
Long-term advance payments	358.5	305.0	664.2
Temporary advance payments	369.6	690.1	838.7
Total government debts to the Bank of Israel	912.7	1,135.1	1,669.1

Source: Reports of the Bank of Israel for January and July 1969.

The increase in government debts to the Bank of Israel is a very fast one. If at the end of 1967 the debts amounted to little more than 900 million I.L., at the end of 1968 they were higher than 1,100 million I.L. and at the end of June 1969 they already reached the vast sum of almost 1,700 million I.L. In order to grasp the significance of debts of such scope, it will suffice to compare them to the government expenditures expected this year.

According to the estimation made by the Economic Planning Authority governmental consumption will amount in 1969 to 4,900 million I.L. On the other hand, if the present trend continues, the increment in the government debts during 1969 will amount to 1,000 million I.L. It follows that the Government will be forced

this year to finance about 20 per cent of its expenditures by deficit financing through the Bank of Israel.

Deficit financing is also carried out by means of the increase in government debts to private banks, suppliers, to foreign countries, etc. In mid-August reports were published in the press, according to which the arrears in the Government's payments to suppliers reached hundreds of millions of I.L. As the treasury coffers had been emptied, the Government was forced to stop these payments for two weeks. The emptying of the treasury coffers too is explained by "*special defense expenditures, which had not been anticipated.*" (Davar—20.8.69.)

Deficit financing has always been a hothouse of inflation, of a rise in prices, the source of which is not economic prosperity, nor the fixation of monopolistic prices, but the printing of banknotes. The data quoted above clearly testify to the conditions having ripened for an inflation, the inevitable results of which are the shaking of economic stability and a new division of the national income to the detriment of the workers and for the benefit of the capitalists.

Have the extensive military expenditures already caused an inflation? The official data have stated that in 1968 the consumer prices rose by 2.1 per cent, a rise which does not bear the stamp of real inflation. In 1969 the picture changed: During the months January-July the index of consumer prices rose by 2.5 per cent; hence the yearly summary will show a rise of the price index by 5 per cent, a rise which—mildly expressed—bears the character of a creeping inflation. (When in the USA a yearly rise in prices of 5-6 per cent is discussed, it is there called galloping inflation).

But even if the official data do not yet testify to a substantial inflation, it is also important to indicate the expectations among the leadership and the public. "Al Hamishmar" (20.8.69) reported that the Bank of Israel and a part of the government economists are convinced "*that action must be taken now, since otherwise there exists a serious danger of an inflationary sliding down and the emptying of the remaining currency reserves.*"

What possibly testifies more than everything else to the inflationary processes is the frequent talk about the possible devaluation of the Israeli lira. Government ministers declare categorically that there will be no devaluation. Minister of Finance Z. Sheref said in an interview given to "Ma'ariv" (22.7.69): "*I am against a devaluation, I don't think that this is needed in today's situation.*" But this sort of declaration is really within the bounds of duty of finance ministers. As against this, senior economists are speaking about the vital necessity of a devaluation, and even state the rate of 5 I.L. per dollar as the minimum exchange rate needed after the devaluation.

It is again the increase in military expenditures which is the chief cause for the increase in the deficit of the balance of payments and for the decline in the foreign exchange reserves.

TABLE II

**The Deficit in the Balance of Payments and
Foreign Currency Reserves**
(in millions of dollars)

	1967	1968	1969 (forecast)	1970 (forecast)
Deficit in the balance of payments	527	700	800	900
Freely usable assets	950	670	500	300

Source: Report of the Economic Planning Authority, June 1969, pp. 26-27.

The picture emerging from Table II is one of a steep rise in the deficit of the balance of payments and of a drastic decline in the foreign currency reserves. According to the official forecasts the deficit of the balance of payments will be in 1970 by 70 per cent bigger than the parallel deficit in 1967, and the foreign currency reserves will then amount to only 300 million dollars—about a third of their level in 1967.

These tendencies cause much worry among the heads of the administration and economy in Israel. The president of the Bank of Israel said about the decline in the foreign currency reserves that it endangers *"not only our economic situation, but also narrows the space for political and defense maneuvering"* ("Economic Quarterly"—April 1969).

When speaking about the narrowing of the maneuvering space, D. Horovitz probably means what is alluded to in the Israeli press as *"the red line"* or *"the danger line,"* and this is to express the minimum amount of foreign currency reserves needed by Israel "in a period of emergency, when normal economic life will cease" ("Davar"—20.7.69). And since the official Israeli policy relies upon the possibility of a further war—which seems to them most reasonable, one can also comprehend their anxiety to ensure such foreign currency reserves as will guarantee the import of products and services during three months.

Economic reporters do not conceal that the main reason for the increase in the foreign exchange deficit and for the decline in the foreign currency reserves is the imports for military objectives. Thus, for example, the decline by 75 million dollars in the foreign currency reserves in the course of the month of June 1969 has been explained by the necessity to finance the acquisition of the Phantom planes. In the same breath the same reporters explain that insofar

as the present trend will continue, one will have to decide upon far-reaching steps, such as devaluation or a rise in taxes. It is only necessary to make one rational step forward in order to conclude from this that the augmented expenditures for the acquisition of war planes and other military equipment from abroad do indeed lead to a devaluation and to a rise in taxes (after the elections, of course . . .).

A considerable portion of the military expenditures of Israel is earmarked for the acquisition of military equipment abroad. Therefore the acceleration of the arms race causes the government's need for ever-increasing amounts of dollars, marks and pounds sterling. A part of these sums is obtained by the government from various money drives and from the "Independence and Development Loan", but the rest it has to obtain in the world money market.

During the last month the press reported about two such loans: One—a loan from the United States amounting to 85 million dollars (for a term of 10 years and at an interest of six per cent), and the other—a loan from West Germany to the amount of 140 million marks.

Israel's foreign debt which amounted at the end of 1967 to 1,500 million dollars, will (according to the forecast of the minister Z. Sheref, in "Davar"—15.5.69) reach at the end of 1969 the amount of 2,000 million dollars. This fast increase of the state debt in foreign currency makes necessary a yearly increase in payments of principal and interest. These payments, which in 1969-70 will (according to the forecast) amount to 1,250 million I.L., are liable to bring the government to utter helplessness.

The joy with which the new loans from the USA and West Germany were welcomed, testifies to the intention of the circles ruling Israel, to continue their policy of drowning in debts, if only this will ensure (so they believe) the policy of force against the neighboring countries.

The last section of Cde. Gozansky's article provides data on the growing profits of the capitalists and on the growing impoverishment of the working people.

The article is summed up as follows:

Facing this sombre prognosis, one has to struggle even harder to uproot the evil—to bring about a change of the official Israeli policy. A retreat from the occupied territories in the framework of implementing the Security Council Resolution and the diminution of the military budget are not only a matter of justice for "the other side" and for the attainment of real peace and security for the people of Israel, but also a vital necessity for the Israeli economy and the only way to prevent the accelerated impoverishment of the Israeli working class.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

The international situation is still marked by the contradiction between the trend for a détente and the influence of seats of world tension. Along with greater readiness for negotiations on important issues between states there are complicated unsolved problems causing concern to peace supporters.

1. The problem of peace and security in Europe is still the main international political issue. The initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries for an all-Europe security conference has brought a favorable response from the peoples of Europe, from a decisive majority of European countries. True, the governments of the United States, Britain, Italy and West Germany are putting forward preliminary conditions and using other methods to torpedo or at least delay the conference. Nevertheless, the situation is gradually becoming more favorable for convening the conference and there is growing hope that it will succeed.

The socialist countries, including Hungary, continue to work energetically for peace and security in Europe, for the convening of the European security conference.

The peoples of Europe welcome bilateral talks aimed at promoting peace and security. The CC HSWP and the Hungarian government are following with keen attention the negotiations between the Soviet, Polish and West German governments and the exchange of messages now taking place between prominent leaders of the two German states. We consider it of fundamental importance that the existing European frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the two German states, should be recognized or there will really be no point in any agreement renouncing the use of force.

The Central Committee considers it important that the government of the FRG is drawing lessons from the foreign policy reverses of the previous West German government by signifying in its statements a certain willingness to take a more constructive approach to European reality. The Central Committee holds that the FRG should take further steps to prove the sincerity of its intentions.

European peace and security require that West Germany and other countries concerned should establish relations based on

*Nepszabadsag, February 20, 1970.

equality with the German Democratic Republic according to international law. The Federal Republic of Germany should furnish clear proof ruling out all doubt that it has actually renounced its unlawful claim to sole representation of the whole German people. It should refrain from any move incompatible with the international status of West Berlin and recognize that the so-called Munich agreement has been null and void from the first. The Bundestag should ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

2. Hungarian public opinion is outraged by the continuing U.S. aggression in Vietnam and by America's obstruction of the Paris talks between the USA and the DRV. We condemn the duplicity of the U.S. government, which, wanting to "Vietnamize" the war and announcing limited troop withdrawals, is trying to mislead world opinion, primarily the American people.

The Hungarian people, like progressive world opinion, continue to identify themselves with the selfless struggle of the courageous people of Vietnam, who in the end are bound fully to defeat the imperialist aggressors. The Hungarian People's Republic will continue to support the fight of our Vietnamese brothers, a fight involving much sacrifice.

3. In the Middle East the threat of a renewed far-reaching conflict has increased due to the further acts of aggression by Israel. We emphatically condemn Israel's terroristic air raids on enterprises now producing non-military items, raids which have resulted in the death of numerous workers. The purpose of Israel's adventurist operations abetted by the United States is to cause internal difficulties in the Arab countries and impose its demands on them. It is necessary to extend greater assistance to the Arab countries fighting against Israeli aggression to ensure that the conceited Israeli leaders who threaten international peace and security are properly rebuffed.

Along with other socialist countries we identify ourselves with and support the Arab peoples fighting against Israeli aggression. We fully agree with the Soviet Union's initiatives and steps, which constitute an effective means of containing the aggressor. It is possible to proceed to a just settlement of Mideast problems and achieve lasting peace in the area only if the Israeli troops are pulled out of the occupied Arab territories, the effects of aggression eliminated and the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, calling for a political settlement, carried out.

4. An increasing body of opinion in the capitalist countries is coming out against the crimes of imperialism, primarily against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for better social conditions for the working people, for democratic rights, against neo-colonialism and racial discrimination.

The mass movements that are gaining ground throughout the world convincingly bear out the analysis and conclusions of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties regarding the crisis of imperialism and prove the action program worked out by the Meeting to be correct.

The Hungarian Communists and the people as a whole are following the worldwide popular movement against monopoly and imperialism with keen attention and deep sympathy. They fully identify themselves with it.

RESOLUTION

OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CP OF GREECE

1. The main characteristic of the situation at home is the continuing exacerbation of the contradictions between the "Black Colonels'" junta and the overwhelming majority of the people, as well as the persistence of the junta's internal contradictions. All the attempts of the dictatorship to stabilize its regime by winning at least some confidence among the people and political groups have been foiled by the mounting general resistance and struggle of the masses. Economic instability has increased although production grew somewhat in 1969. The most vulnerable spot in the economy is the balance of foreign trade, which shows an enormous deficit. Only foreign loans and an increasing sale of the country's natural resources to foreigners have made it possible to stave off disaster.

The national debt exceeds 50,000 million drachmas and interest on it has already risen to 6,000 million drachmas. Military spending under the strategic plans of NATO has reached 450 million dollars. These expenditures are a heavy burden on the economy, for they reduce the possibilities of accumulating foreign exchange and lay the way open to foreign capitalist penetration.

The foreign capitalist oligarchy's drive against the standard of living is continuing in the most diverse forms (intensification of labor, rising prices, increased rates of payment to insurance offices). If this drive has been contained somewhat, it is only due to the struggle of the working class and other working people.

2. The resolution of censure on the Greek military fascist junta adopted by the (West) European Council was a noteworthy develop-

ment of the recent period. The junta was branded as a brutal terroristic dictatorship flouting the elementary human rights formalized by the UN and by international agreements, rights for which tens of millions of people shed their blood in Europe and elsewhere during World War II. The Greek people's fight for the overthrow of the fascist tyranny first of all, the impact of the solidarity with the fighting people of Greece openly expressed by world opinion and the pressure exerted on their governments by the peoples of Europe constituted the main factor which made it possible to pass that resolution against dogged U.S. opposition. To minimize the significance of the resolution and to carry out its plans in the Middle East, the United States announced on the day the resolution was adopted that it was resuming deliveries of heavy armaments to the junta. In this way it again exposed itself as the main patron of those who suppress the freedom of the Greek people.

The condemnation of the Greek junta led to even greater international isolation of the latter and provided new opportunities for the unity of the anti-dictatorial forces of the Greek people.

3. After the adoption of the resolution of the (West) European Council and the arrival of Tasca* even stronger attempts were made to reconcile the junta with the king. Their purpose is to find a way out by using new methods of whitewashing the dictatorship and thus misleading the working people of Greece and world opinion. Makarios was among those used as a go-between in this matter. It is obvious, however, that the attempt encountered obstacles raised by both sides. The United States, which is behind this plot, needs the junta because the junta today affords it the best opportunity to use Greece in its "global strategic" plans for Southeast Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.

4. Greece is being caught more and more in the meshes of U.S. imperialism. Expelled from Libya, the U.S. imperialists are planning to transfer their bases once situated in Libya to Cyprus and Crete. They want to use our country even more extensively as a trans-shipping center for heavy armaments for Israel and an advance post for the implementation of their plans of aggression against the Arab peoples and the socialist countries. This is also the reason for the new sharpening of the Cyprus problem, in which the role of the junta as a tool of the United States and NATO is becoming more and more evident. The activity of the so-called National Front involving, in particular, junta officers is designed to create a crisis situation in Cyprus that the imperialists could seize on to interfere in its affairs. The junta has been exposed as a dangerous enemy of the people of both Greece and Cyprus.

5. Recent months have seen the working class and other working

*New U.S. Ambassador to Greece.—Ed.

people of Greece take action in support of their basic demands, and greater activity on the part of a number of labor unions, which is expanding despite the junta's efforts to reduce these unions to tools of the fascist state.

The working people and their unions have by their actions won an increase in minimum wages and pensions, put an end to the plunder of their insurance offices, brought about an increase in the supply of some agricultural products and prevented the complete abolition of safety measures for blue-and-white-collar workers. As these actions go on the spirit of unity and joint struggle against the dictatorship is becoming stronger. However, they still show certain shortcomings as regards both their scale and forms.

6. The desire of the anti-dictatorial forces for unity is growing not only in struggles for the everyday demands of the working people but due, above all, to the objective need to overthrow the dictatorship. This desire is so strong that anyone who is opposed to the dictatorship for one reason or another calls for unity even when he rejects unity against the dictatorship or, indeed, torpedoes it, arguing, for example, against cooperation with political parties that were not represented in parliament in 1964, meaning the Communist Party of Greece.

The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda which Andreas Papandreou has been carrying on particularly in the recent period conflicts with his own statements in favor of unity against the dictatorship. He tries to minimize in the eyes of the people the prestige of the Soviet Union, main supporter of the struggle of the Greek masses, in order to prevent unity with the most consistent anti-dictatorial force, that is, the Communist Party of Greece.

7. The main reason for the limited scale of everyday action and the anti-dictatorial struggle as a whole is not only inadequate unity of action but the low standard of organization of the Communist Party and other anti-dictatorial forces, even though some progress has been achieved in this. The Communist Party should concentrate on furthering the struggle of the workers and other employees, the peasants, urban middle strata and young people for their vital interests, on promoting unity of action "below"—among the working people—and "on top," with a view to utilizing or making better use of the legal opportunities for work among the masses. Effective fulfilment of the Party's tasks is inseparable from constant struggle against the revisionist group of splitters.

This makes it the duty of Communists to work without let-up in the trade unions, including those of handicraftsmen and artisans, and in agricultural cooperatives, to defend the interests of the working people and press forward anti-dictatorial activity by setting up various committees to organize the struggle of the working people.

8. The main task whose fulfilment will contribute in very important measure to the progress of political activity is to strengthen the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League. This should be done at the work places—factories, mines, docks, offices, etc., that is, wherever workers by hand and by brain are active, as well as in the countryside and in the universities and schools.

Increasing mass work in the economic and political fields and the organizational consolidation of the Communist Party will go a long way towards achieving unity among political and other public leaders and unity between parties on the basis of a minimum program of general objectives, the more important of which are to overthrow the junta and form a government of the anti-dictatorial forces that will restore democratic liberties, immediately release all political prisoners, repeal all emergency laws, including No. 509 Law banning the Communist Party, and lead the nation to free elections to a Constituent Assembly.

HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH*

One hundred years ago, on April 22, 1870, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov was born, whom the world was to know by the name of Lenin.

Lenin was the theoretician of scientific socialism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, founder of the working-class party of a new type, leader of the victorious socialist revolution and founder of the first socialist state, organizer and leader of the Communist International.

A disciple and continuator of Marx and Engels, Lenin carried forward their work and thought, which he enriched in accordance with the realities of his day.

Lenin's name is inseparably bound up with those of Marx and Engels in Marxism-Leninism, the general outlook on the world and on its transformation, which alone shows mankind the road to a radiant future of happiness for all, a future of freedom, brotherhood and peace.

Lenin played an immense role in the upheaval in the evolution of mankind that consisted in establishing a socialist society, first in the Soviet Union and then in a large part of the globe.

Few men in history have left so deep an imprint on their time.

* * *

Having realized in his youth, by his own experience, the deep significance of Marx's motto, "The emancipation of the working people will be a deed of the working people themselves," Lenin strove unremittingly to win the masses for action against the class enemy, both in daily struggles for the modest demands and in more decisive battles for the great objectives of the proletariat and its allies.

Lenin attached primary importance to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Uncompromising towards the enemies of the people, the revisionists, dogmatists and false prophets of the revolution, Lenin was understanding and patient with working people who had yet to be won for the concepts of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. He committed himself without respite to convince them, to draw them into struggle, to guide their action.

The revolutionary transformation of society accords with the

**Humanité*, February 9, 1970.

objective laws of historical evolution. However, it cannot come about spontaneously. To defeat imperialism, the working class needs a militant organization having a scientific and effective doctrine and capable of leading its action. Lenin, taking into account the international experience of the proletariat, in particular the mistakes and failure of the old parties of the working class, showed the need to form a party of a new type, a genuinely revolutionary party, the Communist party.

He set out to found this party, taking guidance from the scientific theory of Marxism. He evolved the organizational principles of this party—democratic centralism—which guarantee at once the efficiency of the party's action and its unity based on the effective and conscious participation of each of its members in the common struggle.

To Lenin, the Communist party was not an end in itself but the instrument which the working class needs to fight successfully, first of all where it was exploited, to fight for the socialist revolution and socialist development.

From analysis of the modifications that had occurred in the structures of capitalism and the society of his time, and of the transformation of capitalism into imperialism, under which the most developed powers divide the riches of the world among themselves through plunder, oppression and war, Lenin deduced the possibility of passing on to socialism in one country.

A brilliant strategist and tactician, Lenin considered, in the period following the February Revolution of 1917, the diverse possibilities of that bourgeois revolution developing into the socialist revolution. He explored every open road and advanced slogans accordingly. At every stage he used the forms of struggle that suited the conditions of the moment best of all. In October 1917 the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia, led by him, accomplished the greatest exploit of the contemporary world.

Theoretician and leader of the first victorious proletarian revolution, Lenin defined the fundamental aspects of the transition to socialism and of building the new society: the winning of political power by the working class and its allies, and socialization of the more important means of production and exchange.

An ardent defender of the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin showed the necessity for a close alliance between the national liberation movement and the revolutionary movement of the international working class, the leading force of the fight for democracy, independence and socialism.

Lenin launched the watchword of our epoch, "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!"

Leninism shows mankind the road to peace. One of the early acts

of the Soviet state was Lenin's Decree on Peace. The struggle for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different economic and social systems is aimed at stripping imperialism of its preferred weapon, war. It provides the best conditions for socialism to demonstrate its superiority by achieving rapid economic progress and by bringing about an unprecedented rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people. It creates a favorable climate for the struggle of the working class and the peoples of the capitalist countries. It enables the peoples of the newly free countries and the countries fighting for their liberation to advance in the most propitious conditions towards real independence and economic growth.

Lenin is proletarian internationalism. Thoroughly devoted to his country, he always strove for the solidarity of the working people of all countries, of the exploited and oppressed throughout the world. Founder of the Communist International, he contributed in vast measure to the founding and strengthening of Communist parties, which by now have become the decisive force in the fight against imperialism. He revealed to them the universal validity of the laws of the revolution and socialist development and the need to take careful account of national peculiarities.

Lenin invariably stressed that the unity of the international Communist movement and the alliance of all anti-imperialist forces are a decisive condition for defeating imperialism, reaction and war.

* * *

Lenin knew France well—he lived here for several years, never missing an opportunity to mix with working people. Remembering that “Marx’s doctrine of the class struggle took shape according mainly to the French example,” he drew lessons from the revolutionary past and intellectual resources of our people.

Lenin emphasized the role of the French materialists of the eighteenth century and the example of the Jacobins’ revolutionary struggle in 1793.

Studying the 1848 revolution in Paris, Lenin noted that it had definitively established the socialist nature of the proletariat. He condemned Louis Blanc’s behavior, “the bourgeois intellectual’s opportunism and Girondist timidity,” and showed why the Blanquists were wrong in advocating the seizure of power by a minority.

Lenin underlined the most fruitful lessons of the heroic history of the Paris Commune of 1871, which posed the problem of the social revolution in specific terms and laid the foundations for internationalist revolutionary patriotism. In combating the anarchist survivals of Proudhon-like federalism, Lenin stressed that the Commune had sought “a conscious and organized proletarian centralism.”

In his exemplary fight against the reformism of the Second International Lenin laid bare the roots of right-wing opportunism in France and its connection with what complements it—"left"-wing opportunism and phrasemongering.

The letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of July 29, 1920, signed by Lenin, is indicative of the confidence which his knowledge of French realities had inspired in him:

"The working class of France, with its amazing revolutionary traditions, its culture, its readiness for sacrifice, and its admirable militancy cannot fail to found a powerful Communist party at a time when the bourgeois regime is clearly in its death-throes," it says in the letter.

Lenin's advice was most valuable for founding such a party and prevailing on the vanguard of the working-class movement, including one-time Socialists and revolutionary working people still influenced by anarcho-syndicalism, to accept its principles. His comments on the Party's agrarian program in December 1921 made a decisive contribution to its policy of alliance with the working people of the countryside.

In searching, after the example of Comrade Maurice Thorez, for methods and forms corresponding to the conditions of its activity and likely to enable it to attain its goals, the French Communist Party remains loyal to Lenin's teachings.

* * *

Working people, workers and technicians, intellectuals, peasants, young people, progressive men and women, we call on you to celebrate the centenary of Lenin's birth in a fitting manner.

We call on you to draw from Lenin's work lessons indispensable to your struggle.

To know Lenin, his thought and his activity ever better means gaining a new insight into the inspiring revolutionary vistas of our epoch.

Study and spread Lenin's work more widely!

Give wider publicity to the achievements of Leninism in the world, the progress made by the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the activity and program of the French Communist Party for an advanced democracy paving the way for socialism.

Unite in the struggle for social progress, national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

Respond to Lenin's ever-living call by joining the ranks of the French Communist Party.

Long life Leninism!

*Nineteenth Congress
of the French Communist Party.*

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IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

FRANCE

The first issue of *ITC-Actualités*, a new monthly journal of the French Communist Party, appeared in *January*. It is intended for engineers, technicians and managerial personnel. The issue carries reports on important events at home and abroad, surveys and other items.

SOVIET UNION

A delegation of the Center Party of Finland led by I. Loikkanen, Acting Secretary of the Party, stayed in the Soviet Union from *February 9-16* at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

At the close of its visit the delegation had an interview at the CC CPSU with B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, F. D. Kulakov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, and A. S. Belyakov, First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CC CPSU.

During the interview, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, both sides pointed out the positive significance of the Soviet visit of the Center Party delegation and expressed readiness to promote contacts between the two parties, which they believe will contribute to the progress of Soviet-Finnish relations and to the cooperation of all forces championing peace and friendship among nations.

The representatives of the two parties expressed satisfaction over the general state of good-neighbor relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. The Soviet side spoke highly of the Center Party's role in furthering these relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence, in accordance with the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line.

The two sides stressed that the main line of friendly Soviet-Finnish relations was determined by the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland. They expressed the conviction that unfailing implementation of the Treaty fully met the national interests of the peoples of both countries.

It was pointed out that there were opportunities for expanding trade in manufactured goods and agricultural products, for greater economic cooperation and exchange in the spheres of science, technology and culture between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Views were exchanged on a wide range of international problems. It was stated that the position of the two parties coincided or were close to each other on many issues. Concern was expressed over the

continuing tension in a number of world areas. The war in Vietnam was still going on and no progress had been made at the Paris peace talks. Both sides reaffirmed their conviction that the Vietnamese people must be fully enabled to decide on their future independently, without any foreign interference.

The two sides voiced concern about the persistently grave situation in the Middle East. They were agreed that peace in this area should be restored on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 through the withdrawal of Israel's troops from the occupied territories and through recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Mideast states.

In discussing the situation in Europe the two parties noted that the proposals for an all-Europe conference and the Finnish initiative for it had won widespread international support. The two parties would continue to take initiatives for peace and security in Europe. They confirmed the relevance of President Kekkonen's proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and for peace on the Finnish-Norwegian frontier, where the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO come into contact.

The Center Party delegation told about the political situation in Finland and pointed, in particular, to the positive experience of cooperation of the political parties making up the present government coalition. Spokesmen of the CPSU, for their part, declared that the Soviet Union welcomed this cooperation as a guarantee of the continued implementation of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen foreign policy line.

In conclusion the Finnish delegation suggested that the CC CPSU send a delegation to Finland as a guest of the Center Party. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The date of the trip will be agreed later.

INDIA

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India on February 10 circulated a statement about the Supreme Court decision to void the law nationalizing banks.

The country would be shocked by this reactionary decision, which the monopolies would receive with the deepest satisfaction. If the decision was left in force neither parliament nor the legislative assemblies would ever be able either to nationalize any industry, restrict the size of landed property and concentration of wealth, or abolish monopolies without immediate compensation in cash.

The Communist Party called on the people to form a united front and hold protest demonstrations and meetings against the blow delivered by this reactionary decision. The government must be made to take all necessary steps for the demands and interests of

the people to prevail over court decisions aimed at safeguarding the interests of monopolies and exploiters.

FINLAND

February 14. The Communist Party of Finland, meeting in extraordinary congress in Helsinki, discussed the results of talks to restore Party unity and adopted appropriate documents.

Reports on the outcome of the talks to restore Party unity were presented by Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, and Taisto Sinisalo, MP.

Congress unanimously approved documents on the political and organizational problems of restoring Party unity and decided on the new composition of the Central Committee. It adopted an appeal to the membership for unity and to the working people of the country in connection with the coming general election. (See p. 47 for Congress documents.—Ed.)

VENEZUELA

February 16. The CC CP of Venezuela met in Caracas to discuss preparations for the Fourth Party Congress and drafts of the Party Rules and Program.

Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Party, made a report at the first sitting.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

On *February 17 Etoumba*, the newspaper of the CC of the Congolese Party of Labor (CPL), carried "Guidelines for the Establishment of Revolutionary Enterprise Committees."

According to the Guidelines, signed by Claude-Ernest Ndalla, First Secretary and member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPL, revolutionary committees operating under the leadership of the Party are to be set up in the enterprises and institutions of the People's Republic of the Congo. Each committee will be composed of CPL members employed in the enterprise or institution concerned and representatives of the local trade union committee, working youth and the management.

The task of the committees will be to implement the leading role of the CPL in all enterprises and institutions and to form under its leadership a broad anti-imperialist and anti-colonial front—a patriotic alliance of various segments of the population interested in the revolution.

The Guidelines describe the revolutionary committees as an "instrument of the dictatorship of national democracy."

"The dictatorship of national democracy," say the Guidelines, "is

not the dictatorship of the proletariat as yet. However, the leading role of the working class is a necessary condition for the solidity of this dictatorship."

SOVIET UNION

February 17. A symposium called "V. I. Lenin on Women's Role in Society, and the Experience of Solving the Problem of Women in the Socialist Countries" opened in Moscow. It was attended by representatives of the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization and delegations from the socialist countries and the Republic of South Vietnam.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

February 18. The CTK news agency released the text of the communique signed in conclusion of Todor Zhivkov's visit to the CSSR.

According to the communique, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB, paid a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia from February 17-19 as a guest of the CC CPC and Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC.

During the talks Comrades Husak and Zhivkov informed each other of the situation in the two fraternal parties and countries and of the results and tasks of building socialist society in the PRB and CSSR and exchanged views on the situation and the further development of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations and cooperation.

They stated that favorable conditions had been created for the further progress of cooperation, first of all in the economic field, through specialization and coordination. This cooperation should concentrate on engineering and the chemical industry. An example of this is furnished by the inter-state agreement on cooperation and production coordination in the manufacture of trucks, signed on February 18, 1970.

In the coming period the two sides plan to increase trade on the basis of progressive division of production programs and purposive coordination of capital construction in both countries, especially in those fields in which both countries have particularly favorable opportunities.

There was a discussion of topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement. The participants spoke highly of the meetings of the Party leaders and statesmen of seven socialist countries in Moscow on December 3 and 4, 1969. They stressed that the two parties and countries would continue to work for an all-Europe security conference. They reaffirmed the view that with regard to the settlement of international issues in Europe the German Democratic Republic should be on the same

footing as other European countries. Hence they fully supported the legitimate demands of the GDR for recognition according to international law. They stressed the necessity for solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting against U.S. aggression. They condemned Israel's growing aggressiveness and expressed support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

The two brother parties reaffirmed their full support for the decisions of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. They regard the results of the Meeting as an important gain of the world Communist and working-class movement. They expressed the resolve consistently to put the conclusions of the Meeting into effect, considering it their internationalist duty.

Unity and solidarity of the socialist countries in struggle, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and sincere friendship with the Soviet Union are a guarantee of success in building socialism, of the independence and prosperity of both countries and of their security against hostile activity by imperialism. Initiatives and coordinated measures by the socialist countries help to solve pressing problems in Europe and the world.

On behalf of the two Communist parties, Comrades Husak and Zhivkov declared that Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria were determined to strengthen their fraternal alliance, do everything for the unity and strength of the entire socialist commonwealth.

HUNGARY

The CC HSWP, which concluded its meeting in Budapest on *February 19*, resolved to convene the Tenth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the end of 1970.

The meeting discussed and passed resolutions on current international problems and on work among women and youth. (MTI)

FRANCE

February 20. The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party discussed the problem of carrying out the decisions of the 19th Party Congress and appointed a delegation for talks with the Socialist Party.

The Political Bureau worked out measures to publicize the 19th Congress decisions among the French working people. It plans an extensive campaign of public meetings to be attended by Party leaders, with reports and debates on the Congress decisions.

The Political Bureau also discussed organization of the work of the Party leadership elected by the 19th Congress.

G D R

Speaking in the Karl Marx Party School in Berlin, Erich Honecker,

member of the PB and Secretary of the CC SUPG, stressed the readiness of the GDR to hold effective talks with the FRG. He said these talks would be worth while provided they helped to create—through a treaty similar to the one proposed by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR—the prerequisites of peaceful coexistence of the two German states in accordance with international law.

“The purpose of a treaty establishing relations of equality between the GDR and FRG according to the principles of international law, as well as safeguarding European security,” Honecker said, “is to preserve the status quo in Europe.” Peace could be safeguarded only if the status quo was recognized by both the GDR and the FRG. “In the absence of a peace treaty it is necessary to safeguard the status quo through establishing by treaty relations of equality in line with international law. This would rebuff all revenge-seekers. Without this honest step forward, without a treaty of this nature, the Brandt government would be suspected by world opinion—not without grounds—of wanting to conceal the revanchist demands of West German imperialism and militarism behind a smokescreen of fine words and to conclude to this end a non-committal agreement renouncing the use of force. Only he who has entirely different intentions can express readiness for agreement without striving, however, to remove the causes of the threat to peace and security in Europe. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the other socialist countries, including the GDR, could agree to that, for they cherish the interests of peace. By insisting on recognition of the GDR according to international law, as well as on recognition of all the frontiers in Europe resulting from World War II, we want at last to force West German imperialism into renouncing its revanchist policy, which is a menace to all the peoples of Europe. (ADN, February 22.)

SOVIET UNION

February 20. A scientific forum on the theme “V. I. Lenin, Founder and Leader of Soviet Policy in Eastern Countries” was held at the Moscow Institute of Eastern Studies under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. (*Pravda*.)

COSTA RICA

February 21-23. The Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, meeting in San Jose, analyzed the political situation in the country after the latest elections.

In connection with the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth the Central Committee adopted a plan for the celebration of this memorable date. The plan notes, in particular, that the commemoration of the Lenin centenary is an excellent opportunity to rally

all Communists and other revolutionaries around Lenin's ideas and to strengthen and expand the Party and the world revolutionary movement as a whole. The finest forces of the people should unite under Lenin's banner in the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

SOVIET UNION

February 23. The Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society and the Far East Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR held a forum at Friendship House in Moscow on the theme "Lenin and China" dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birthday. (*Pravda.*)

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T. Vecchietti, Political Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, and F. Lami, member of the Party Leadership, visited Moscow as guests of the CC CPSU.

On *February 26* comrades Vecchietti and Lami were received by A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and B. N. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU. In the friendly interview that ensued questions of interest to both parties were discussed. (*Pravda.*)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

February 24. A public meeting of units of the People's Militias, the Czechoslovak People's Army and frontier guards and representatives of the working people of Prague and Central Bohemia dedicated to the 22nd anniversary of the February 1948 victory of the Czechoslovak working people took place in the capital.

Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, addressed the meeting. He pointed to the great similarity between the class political struggles of 1945-1948, which culminated in the February victory, and the struggles of 1968 and 1969. In both cases the points at issue were primarily working-class power, socialist construction and the foreign policy orientation of Czechoslovakia. In 1948 the task of defeating the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie for good, of depriving it of remnants of economic and political power and strengthening working-class power was successfully accomplished. In 1968 and 1969 the enemies of the working class tried to have their revenge for February 1948 by forcing the country off the socialist path.

The January 1970 meeting of the CC CPC decided on a concrete constructive program to solve the economic, political and social problems of the Czechoslovak people. The purpose is fully to restore order in the country, fully re-establish all government agencies and

fighting without compromise against disorder, profiteering and parasitism. The state, Gustav Husak said, had all that it needed to meet the working people's hopes for a better future. The Party wants to develop the state in every respect so that it might not lag behind world standards.

Gustav Husak stressed the outstanding role of Klement Gottwald in the Czechoslovak labor movement, his contribution to the fight for the victory of the Czechoslovak working people over the bourgeoisie and his role in leading the Communist Party in difficult conditions.

"Our Party and our people," said Husak, "will do everything for the slogan 'With the Soviet Union for all time' to remain an inviolable vow for us."

The First Secretary of the CC CPC concluded his address by urging unstinting effort for the further progress of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

ARGENTINA

On February 24, *Nuestra Palabra*, the Argentine Communist newspaper, published a statement by imprisoned Paraguayan Communists made on their behalf by Juan Jose Penayo, with the authorization of the Political Commission of the Paraguayan Communist Party. The statement reads as follows:

"Comrades Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas (members of the Paraguayan Communist Party who for 12 years now have been held behind bars by the Stroessner regime—Ed.) have empowered me to publish this statement on their behalf, hoping that it will help to promote the unity of the Paraguayan Communist Party.

"1. We are as unshakeably loyal as ever to the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism, which is a constant guide to all Communist and Workers' parties in strengthening their unity and increasing mutual assistance in the fight against the common class enemy.

"We share Comrade Maidana's and Rojas's opinion. We consider that the Paraguayan CP has a glorious tradition of boundless loyalty to proletarian internationalism, a tradition which should be consistently fostered to strengthen the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement on Marxist-Leninist lines. This is why we emphatically condemn the behavior of Kreidt, who has abandoned this principle and chosen the path of attacks and provocations against the world Communist movement and, first of all, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders, whom he calls 'revisionists.'

"2. We consider that the policy of peaceful coexistence being followed by the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at its head

meets the fundamental interests of the international working class, of all peoples, of the whole of mankind. The fight for peace and peaceful coexistence is still an important task of all Communist and Workers' parties and the progressive forces of all countries.

"Peaceful coexistence does not imply class conciliation, coexistence of ideologies, nor renunciation of the national liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. On the contrary, consistent adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence provides the most favorable conditions for the development and victory of the liberation struggle of the working class and all peoples.

"Together with Comrades Maidana and Rojas we declare that we are as loyal as ever to the document adopted by the Central Committee in 1963 under the title 'The Point of View of the Paraguayan Communist Party on the Theoretical and Practical Attitude of the Communist Party of China,' which emphatically condemns the revisionist 'Left'-wing platform and divisive activity of Mao Tse-tung and his group.

"3. We emphatically refute the calumnies and vicious attacks on the CPSU, primarily the slanderous allegation that the CPSU interferes in the internal affairs of the Paraguayan Communist Party.

"By spreading this slander, Kreidt is trying to conceal the fact that he has fallen away from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"This rabid anti-Soviet campaign of Kreidt plays into the hands of imperialism and the Stroessner dictatorship by repeating the well-known slanderous contention that the CPSU interferes in the internal affairs of Communist and Workers' parties. These provocations are plainly intended to cause confusion among the working class and the people and to prevent the Paraguayan Communist Party from playing its leading role and from accomplishing the task of mobilizing, organizing and uniting all democratic and revolutionary forces in a wide front that could end Stroessner's anti-national military and police regime and replace it by a provisional democratic government.

"Comrades Maidana and Rojas can no longer allow Kreidt to take advantage of difficulties complicating these comrades' contact with the Party to go on making statements on their behalf, attributing to Comrades Maidana and Rojas views contrary to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, trying to discredit them politically in the eyes of the Party, the working class and the people of Paraguay, in the eyes of the international Communist and working-class movement.

"4. In view of these circumstances, Comrades Antonio Maidana and Julio Rojas have decided to state publicly that they are severing all political ties with the provocateur Kreidt and to identify themselves without qualification, like the author of this statement, with

the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party elected by the National Conference in 1967 and to uphold Marxism-Leninism and the principles of our Party."

ITALY

As of *February 25, 1970*, the Italian Communist Party had 1,258,000 members, 63,130 of whom joined the Party in 1970. (*Unita.*)

* * *

The supplement to the weekly *Rinascita* which appeared on *February 26* is entirely dedicated to the Lenin centenary. Under the headline "Lenin Today" the supplement carries articles and notes by Luciano Gruppi, Giuseppe Vacca, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Paolo Santi, Achille Occhetto, Vittorio Strada and Ignazio Ambrogio and an article by N. K. Krupskaya entitled "Who Is Vladimir Ilyich Lenin?" The preface to the supplement stresses that "from this issue on we will publish a series of items on Lenin, on his activity and teachings, in connection with the 100th anniversary of his birth, without laying claim to systematizing the wide range of theoretical, historical and other problems involved."

February 27. The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party published a statement in view of the protracted government crisis in Italy. The ICP considers that consultations have already revealed that it was impossible to form a serious government on a four-party basis meeting the expectations and demands of the working people and the whole country. An end should be put to these fruitless and absurd consultations. Italy needed a change of policy. The scope of the working people's action, the result achieved, progress towards trade union unity and other facts attesting to growing cohesion showed how strong the forces of democracy and political and social progress were in Italy today. This made it possible even now to form a government that would embark on a new course in the sphere of relations between the state and the masses, recognize fully and without discrimination the powers and prerogatives of parliament, and the autonomy of local elected bodies and see, in strict accordance with legal standards, that communal, provincial and regional elections were held in spring.

GUYANA

On *February 27* the People's Progressive Party of Guayana published a statement about the recent incidents on the Guyana-Venezuela border. The statement welcomes the fact that the Guyanese government has submitted to the UN Security Council the case of the violation of Guyana's territorial integrity by Venezuela. It should

be clear to most people, the statement says, that governments whose attitude to the People's National Congress of Guyana is friendly have done nothing to help the new state. It is perfectly clear that the silence of these friends—chiefly the United States and United Kingdom—has encouraged the gradual escalation of acts of provocation by Venezuela and that the two Anglo-Saxon imperialist powers, which have large investments in neighboring Venezuela, a country rich in oil, have no intention of telling that country to keep its hands off Guyana.

The People's Progressive Party has repeatedly declared that the government should strive for friendly relations with the socialist countries. Recent history has shown that only the socialist countries have rendered effective assistance to the countries of the Third World when these were attacked by imperialism. Cases in point are Vietnam, the Middle East and Cuba.

PANAMA

Siglo, February 27. The Political Bureau of the CC of the People's Party of Panama published a statement on the situation in the country. The statement condemns the national oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, which at the end of last year tried to carry out a coup and reduce the country to a state of chaos. These forces had made anti-communism their banner. They had planned to press forward their drive against the people's gains and to persecute the democratic organizations of the country. The Political Bureau noted that a regrouping of democratic and revolutionary forces was now taking place in Panama with the object of exerting decisive influence on developments at home.

FINLAND

The Political Bureau of the CC CPF on *February 28* published a statement in *Kansan Uutiset*, the Finnish Communist newspaper, about rightist attempts to foment anti-Soviet sentiment in Finland on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the end of the so-called "winter war."

"Finland's foreign policy of peace, in particular its initiative for holding the European security conference in Helsinki," says the statement, "was an encouragement to the peace forces in Europe and provided the opportunity to ease international tension and strengthen security in our part of the world. This policy is a result of vigorous activity by the peace-loving masses and meets the interests of our people. It has led to closer friendship and stronger confidence between the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union. This policy is in keeping with Finnish neutrality, of which the

Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union likewise speaks.

"On the other hand, the Rightists have become more active in our country. This is due in part to the intensification of military measures by NATO in Norway, a country to which the strategic plans of NATO assign the role of a springboard for attack on the Soviet Union across Finnish territory. The Right-wing forces in Finland allege that the mutual consultations envisaged by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance as a means of ascertaining the existence of a threat of attack depend entirely on the initiative of the Finnish government. This interpretation puts the other side in an unequal position and hence is out of keeping with both the spirit and letter of the Treaty. The same forces try to make believe that Finland may be threatened with Soviet attack. By falsifying historical events and the real aspirations of the Soviet Union, the Right-wing forces suggest that the Soviet Union had wanted to abolish Finnish independence and that the latter is still threatened by the Soviet Union. The Rightists, by inviting members of organizations whose activity was stopped as fascist, specifically the security units and the Lotta organization, to observe the anniversary of the winter war, are trying to resuscitate 'ideals' which led to an anti-Soviet policy, bad foreign policy mistakes, loss of life in war and a military alliance with Hitler Germany. Certain other signs, in particular the increased output of anti-Soviet literature, speak of consolidation of the Right-wing forces.

"The Communist Party of Finland resolutely condemns these developments, which are dangerous from the standpoint of the fundamental interests and democratic development of our country, and will do all in its power to frustrate the Rightists' attempt to bring about a swing to the right in the policy of our country.

"The CPF calls on all the peace-loving and progressive forces of the people wanting to contribute to the steady progress of relations between Finland and the Soviet Union and to the maintenance of friendship and confidence, to come out against the adventurist policy of the Right. Maintaining peace and strengthening European security and friendly Finnish-Soviet relations are the cornerstone of our policy of neutrality and independence."

LUXEMBOURG

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg will meet in Differdange on March 29 and 30, *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek* reported on February 25.

The items on the Congress agenda will be: 1. Report of the CC CPL (rapporteur, D. Urbany, Chairman of the Party). 2. Report on financial matters (A. Useldinger, member of the Political Bureau

of the CC). 3. Debate on the reports. 4. Motions and resolutions. 5. Election of the leading committees of the Party.

BRITAIN

March 1. At a public meeting on the 40th anniversary of the *Morning Star* John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, warned that the struggle of the labor movement against the monopoly employers would gain in bitterness if Britain joined the EEC. One of the great achievements of 1969 to which the *Morning Star* contributed in outstanding measure was the rejection of anti-trade union legislation. The important wage increases won by the British working people were evidence of their strength and, moreover, showed that Britain had been a low-paid country.

SOVIET UNION

Late February. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU held an international theoretical forum on the theme "Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process" in connection with the Lenin centenary.

ITALY

Milan, March 1. The Fifth National Conference of worker Communists concluded its deliberations. Addressing the 6,000 delegates who had come to Milan from all over the country, Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, stressed that the "hot autumn" of 1969 had seen the Italian working class score big gains in its struggle against the monopolies. The important thing in these conditions was, first of all, unity of the trade union movement.

It was also essential to fight unrelentingly for the democratization of every sphere of national life and for freeing Italy from the chains linking it to the United States, to imperialism.

Italy's workers were supported in their struggle ideologically and politically by the socialist countries and the countries fighting for national independence, as well as by the Communists of the capitalist countries.

BULGARIA

March 3. The CC BCP discussed the main lines of the territorial distribution of Bulgaria's productive forces for the next 15 to 20 years.

The meeting was opened by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC. S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC, presented the main report. (BTA)

FINLAND

Early March. A delegation of the CPSU led by A. J. Pelse, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, visited Finland.

AUSTRIA

March 3. *Volksstimme* published an interview with Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, assessing the March elections to the National Council of Austria.

The main aspect of the election campaign was the duel between the country's two big parties, APP and SPA.

The SPA succeeded in persuading the electorate that it was not only an opposition party but an alternative to the APP government.

In these conditions many voters found it hard to believe that votes cast for the CPA—which had been unable to clear the hurdle of an unfair electoral system—would count at all. They had therefore voted for the SPA.

The election campaign was "the most difficult since 1945." The fact that the CPA only polled 46,000 votes was due to "the crisis in the Party, which intensified after the 20th Congress."

Not until after the CPA conference on January 10 last did the Party succeed in concentrating on the election campaign.

Muhri stressed the role of the mass media in the campaign, saying that they had been used for gross attacks on the CPA. Communists had hardly had any opportunity of using radio and television.

The main result of the elections was the fact that for the first time in the history of the Second Republic the SPA had won a relative majority of seats. This meant a grand coalition under a Socialist Chancellor.

"The main responsibility for the future policy of the government now rests on the SPA," Muhri said.

The promises and demands of the Socialists, who at the close of the election campaign that "borrowed some important demands of the Communists," should find reflection in the future government program and should be put promptly into effect.

Pointing to the strong positions held by the SPA, Franz Muhri said "the decisive thing now is whether the SPA will really use these positions to meet the working people's demands." Kreisky's policy is "to back capitalism" and this means that "in the new political situation there is a need for a genuinely Left-wing party,

for a Left-wing opposition." The role of this opposition would be played by the CPA.

The task of the CPA now is "to restore the Party's political and ideological unity and improve its organizing work."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A delegation of the Communist Party of Germany stayed in Czechoslovakia from March 4 to 6 at the invitation of the CC CPC. The talks between the two delegations revealed agreement on the points discussed.

The CPG voiced its full support for the effort of the CPC to consolidate the situation in the CSSR. The CPC declared for the abolition of the unlawful prohibition of the CPG.

The two parties, says the communique, set great store by the role and policy of the Soviet Union and the CPSU in the fight against imperialism, for a peaceful settlement of disputes.

During the talks it was noted that the two parties fully support the conclusions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and the effort to promote in every respect the cohesion of the socialist countries and the unity of action of the world Communist movement.

LENIN CENTENARY

SPECIALS

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is dedicating its April and May 1970 issues to the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, outstanding theoretician and leader of the world Communist movement.

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