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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS

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This issue covers the meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, 30 June to 1 July 1960.

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F O R E W O R D

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I. REPORT BY GEORGES MARCHAIS ON PARTY TASKS

[Following are excerpts from Georges Marchais' report to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party published in L'Humanite (Humanity), Paris, 4 July 1960, page 6]

Finally, the government and management which fear unity of the working class above all are all the more concerned since the practice of unity of action is making progress not only where economic and social objectives are concerned, but also in determining political objectives, and since it is developing particularly between Communists and Socialists.

This is true mainly in the struggle for peace in Algeria, the defense of secular schools, the defense of what remains of freedoms and their extension.

On these bases, joint Communist-Socialist action assumes the most diverse forms.

It is action carried on together by organizations of our two parties; it is the joint activity of our militants in secular associations and in Peace Movement committees, etc.

It is in the General Councils in votes expressing our common desire for peace in Algeria.

From this point of view, the importance of electing a board composed solely of Communists, Socialists, and [members of the] PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifie, Unified Socialist Party] in the General Council of Seine Department must be emphasized.

Thus, despite the efforts of Guy Mollet to oppose joint Communist-Socialist action, it is progressing.

Then Marchais pointed out still different aspects of the progress of a united front, and concluded this point by saying:

Indeed, there are still many obstacles to overcome. This is what the Communists are working on and what they will work on even more, for we are convinced that success depends to a great extent on unity of action of the working class and, in particular, on a Communist-Socialist United Front, the main condition for the rallying of all workers and democratic forces.

Seen in this political context, the economic and social struggles must be developed unceasingly to bring about the failure of the policy of reaction and poverty carried on by the power of the trusts and monopolies.

Strengthening Unity of Action is the Decisive Question

The main characteristic of the present struggles is the important progress in unity of action.

In action, unity is becoming a reality and is being consolidated among the workers themselves.

On this basis, unity is taking shape in agreements reached from below by the most diverse organizations. This is so in almost all cases, and sometimes unity between organizations goes as high as local, departmental, even, sometimes, the national level.

One new fact of great importance is the real rapprochement being effected for joint action among CGT [Confederation Generale du Travail, General Confederation of Labor] and Force Ouvriere [Workers Force] organizations, mainly from below, but also from above, as in the case of the railroad workers, for example.

Indeed, the opposition of some F. O. leaders to unity of action persists, but the real progress made portends great prospects.

The present period brings out a certain reticence among CFTC [Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens, French Federation of Christian Workers] leaders about unity of action, while below, it is often otherwise.

Some leaders of this organization are doubtless bound by irritating political necessities. In any case, for the Christian workers, the policy of poverty and repression followed by the MRP [Mouvement Republicain Populaire, Popular Republican Movement] ministers in the government, particularly Buron and Bacon, Minister of Labor, is not compatible with their aspirations, and they show it.

This is so true that very often the leaders of organizations which are opposed to unity of action are reversed by the workers and their own members, so great is the desire for unity and action to oppose the aggravation of their living conditions and a policy which aims to strangle what is left of workers' and democratic freedoms.

The main task is to consolidate and develop unity of action from below among the workers themselves; that is the only effective way to ensure that action does not have to depend on agreements from above and to protect it from the maneuvers which are always possible on the part of those who would divide the working class.

This way does not preclude the conclusion of agreements from above among organizations; it is the main condition for achieving this and guaranteeing the effectiveness of the agreements concluded.

To proceed ever more resolutely on this just path and with respect for trade union democracy, the Communists will not spare any effort. They will be able to stir up all the necessary efforts to go to the workers, submit the necessary proposals to them, and decide with them the objectives and the means to realize them.

For Powerful Mass Trade Unions

In the present period, the Communists must attach great importance to strengthening the trade unions by referring to point 39 of the theses [of the 15th Congress of the French Communist Party] which says mainly, with respect to mass organizations and movements:

'Each Communist, according to his situation, militates in at least one of them. He tries, by respecting the internal democracy of the organization and by taking into consideration its specific nature, to see to it that a correct orientation prevails within it.'

When the trusts and monopolies hold the reins of power and try by all means to aggravate the lot of the workers, when unity of action is more indispensable than ever, everything must be done to strengthen the trade unions.

Spontaneous movements do not exist, and, in the present period, we can affirm that in the small and medium-sized factories which still have no labor organization, in the shops of the large factories where the organization is weak or non-existent, unity and action are not developing as they should, and the workers are suffering because of it.

We must never neglect the fact that the men in government and management are constantly seeking by any means to stand in the way of free exercise of labor rights and to its expansion as today's living and work conditions demand.

However, these difficulties must be overcome, and there exist enormous possibilities for mass recruiting in the labor movement.

The workers aspire to unity of action to limit the misdeeds of capitalist exploitation.

They recognize in the trade unions and in the CGT militants their real defenders--those who have never hidden the truth from them despite the lies, the slander, the repression--those who are doing everything for the realization of unity of action.

In the professional elections, the CGT is winning everywhere, and its gains are considerable.

However, on several occasions, the directing organizations of the CGT have been forced to state that trade union membership is progressing very slowly and in any case not in proportion to the possibilities and the needs.

What the workers need are powerful mass trade unions--they exist but they must be increased--including the great majority of the workers in factories, shops, and offices, so as to make the unity and action of the working class progress still more boldly in every place and in the forms which are conducive to success.

The Communists must contribute boldly to the battle to advance on this path by always trying to attract the greatest number of non-Communist workers.

It must be understood that the progress being made in the conscience of the workers, the fruit of our fight, poses, in the new conditions, new tasks which must be carried out successfully.

This is true for raising the level of unity and action on all questions; it is true also--since the two questions are closely linked--for strengthening the organization of the workers within their mass organizations, mainly the trade unions.

The objectives, the aims, the principles of organization which are the CGT's, enable the great mass of workers to join.

This is all the more possible since, in the present period, those who had been mistaken are aware of the misdeeds of the trade union split.

In these conditions, Communists must, more than ever, scrupulously see to the democratic operation of the trade unions. This is also one of the necessary conditions for contributing to mass recruitment for the CGT.

These are the questions which have been studied and debated in the CGT groups. The decisions which were made are directed toward the strengthening of the CGT and its effectiveness; Communist trade union members must consider it a duty to apply them.

The Party's Role and Tasks

At a time when struggles are developing in the factories, the shops, the administrations, and public services, when unity of action is progressing, our party can, with legitimate pride, draw up a balance sheet of its activity in the service of the workers, who are, moreover, grateful to the party for it.

In 1955, on the subject of pauperization of the working class, the Central Committee, under the leadership of Maurice Thorez, cautioned the working class against the illusions which some were seeking to impress on it to turn it away from the class struggle, from the necessary struggle against its exploiters.

Thus, we have seen in this report that the facts brutally confirm the law of the pauperization of the working class. On this question, party organizations at all echelons must seek permanent inspiration for their work from point 32 of the theses adopted at our 15th Congress, which says on the subject of pauperization:

'Now that events have only verified the correctness of our conclusions, it is fitting to make more profound and bring up to date the studies made, to develop them by taking into consideration the present nature of the monopolies' offensive and the aggravation of the workers' living conditions.'

By unmasking before the workers what some tried to hide behind 'the man of Providence,' by showing the real nature of the Gaullist power, we have, with the help of experience, created the necessary conditions for the development of union and indispensable action.

No one rejoices more than we about the changes which are taking place in the political conscience of the workers who see much better today the real causes of their poverty, that is, capitalist exploitation [which has become] even more aggravated under the Gaullist regime and war policy.

The Success of Socialism in the USSR

From this point of view, moreover, the USSR's constant policy of peace, and the great success achieved by the first country to have built socialism--our objective--exerting growing influence on the working class of our country.

How could it be otherwise when, judging from our own situation, the workers are learning that for the Soviet workers:

--real wages for blue and white collar workers doubled in 1959 with respect to 1940;

- that from 1953 to 1959, the real income of the workers in the cities and country increased by 45 and 64 percent respectively;
- that last 1 April, 16 million workers worked a 6 instead of a 7-hour day and that from now to the end of the year, all will benefit from the same measure;
- that beginning in 1964, the 6 or 5-hour day will be applied without a reduction in wages;
- finally, that the abolition of taxes will begin on 1 October and be completed in 1965.

The workers who greeted in N. Khrushchev the representative of the country of peace at the time of his trip to France, also had many discussions in the factories after his speech on television when he talked, among other things, about the living conditions of the Soviet people.

That is self-explanatory.

Our Program of Restoration and Renovation of Democracy

To clearly see all these changes which are occurring in the consciences of the workers is one indispensable condition for successfully carrying out our tasks.

Certainly there are many difficulties still to be overcome, but we will succeed all the better by relying on the new conditions which exist for our action.

Our objective set by the 15th Congress of our party is to impose the restoration and renovation of democracy in our country.

The way to achieve this is to bring together all the struggles in a single action which will rally the most possible strength to the struggle.

With an eye to helping this mustering of forces, our 15th Congress adopted a program which it proposes and submits for everyone to discuss.

In the present period, it is the duty of all party organizations to propose it for discussion by the workers.

After having established what the bases of a truly democratic regime and the material bases for the independence and grandeur of the country should be, this program provides the following in the social field: increased wages, compensation, retirement, and pensions; a return to the 40-hour work week with no decrease in wages; improvement of social security; a democratic tax system; aid to families and protection of children; mass construction of housing, etc.

We must show the workers that it is only with restored and renovated democracy on the basis of our program that they will really be able to improve their situation in a lasting way.

The resolution adopted by the congress of the Socialist Federation of Finistere Department which proposes a rallying of all leftist forces without exception to elaborate a program of republican defense and action shows that the decision made at our 15th Congress corresponds with the growing concern.

It is in this prospect--proceeding toward the restoration and renovation of democracy--that the Communists must work for the development of the present great economic and social struggles, by acting in the same way for all other struggles elsewhere.

Our Factory Cells

Starting at that point, the role of the Communists and our factory cells does not consist only of taking part in the elaboration of grievances and supporting the struggles. This must be done, but it is not enough.

The economic and social struggles are and will be effective--we have seen this--but they will only limit the effects of the disastrous policy of the trusts and monopolies in power.

On the basis of experience acquired by the workers struggling against the monopolies and trusts, the duty of the cell is to show them continuously the real causes of their situation and the way to bring about the necessary changes in it.

The way is the United Front of Socialists and Communists with the mustering of all workers' and democratic forces to impose the restoration and renovation of democracy.

To go resolutely forward on this path, our factory cells must always be involved in all questions (economic, social, and political) with a view to continuously raising the political conscience of the workers.

The elements are not lacking--we have seen this throughout this report.

Since our 15th Congress, our federations have had greater interest in and a better awareness of the situation of the cells in the factories, mainly the big ones. The newspapers are being published more regularly and with much success in factories such as Peugeot.

However, there is still much work to be done to give our factory cells the political and ideological activity which the present political situation demands.

In the strengthening of the party in the factories, some federations have made appreciable progress.

In the Seine-Ouest Federation, 28 factory cells have been set up this year; 15 in Seine-et-Oise; 12 in Seine-Sud; 9 in Seine-Nord-Est, etc. Some factory cells have recruited with success.

However, the results obtained do not yet correspond with the existing possibilities in view of the increasing authority of the party among the masses, particularly among the working class, and the needs of the party are great for applying ever more effectively its correct policy to the heart of the working class, that is, in the factories.

It is especially indispensable in the present struggles that our federations, sections, and cells devote themselves even more to bringing back into life the decisions of the 15th Congress to strengthen the party.

In the same way, we must watch over L'Humanite which plays such a large role in supporting the workers in their struggle.

To have a party which is ever larger numerically and ideologically is the indispensable condition for leading the workers victoriously to success, not only in their present struggles, but also and especially in the restoration and renovation of democracy.

II. REPORT BY RAYMOND GUYOT ON AFRICAN SITUATION

[Following is a translation of Raymond Guyot's report to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party published in France Nouvelle (New France), Paris, 6 July 1960, pages 13-15]

The development of the situation in Africa confirms the positions constantly defended by the French Communist Party. The demand for national independence has become an irresistible exigency which the imperialists are trying to distort. The solidarity of action of the African peoples, especially those who are French-speaking and have French cultural backgrounds, with the working class of our country presents new tasks. Raymond Guyot's report to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on 30 June-1 July 1960 in Ivry stresses the importance of this. It is this speech which we publish in its entirety.

In a few years, Africa has risen to the front ranks of international political events of the moment. It is taking and being called on to take a more and more important place in the development of the world situation.

Today there is not a single Territory on this continent of more than 250 million persons which escapes the irresistible movement for independence which characterizes our era.

The Struggle of the African Peoples

Events are taking place with an unusual rapidity in this part of the world; 14 countries have already achieved independence. 1960 has correctly been called "The Year of Africa."

After Cameroon, Togoland, Mali, and Madagascar, British Somaliland became independent on 26 June; on 1 July it will be Italian Somaliland's turn; today, 30 June, the Belgian Congo proclaims its independence; Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and still others, without counting the former French colonies of Africa, are preparing to achieve national sovereignty.

At the end of 1960, more than two-thirds of Africa will have been freed from the chains of colonialism. It will be difficult, in such conditions, to hold the other third in slavery for very long. Events in South Africa, those which have taken place in Portuguese Angola, prove that even in the Territories where the most bloody repressive regimes hold sway, the independence movement is developing.

Since the First Conference of African Peoples in Accra in December 1958, African solidarity has continued to develop.

The independent states of Africa again met in Addis Ababa last 14 June to study a certain number of problems they have in common. Today the problems are no longer posed in isolated Territories; more and more they tend to be posed throughout Africa. The

imperialists no longer have to deal only with the people they oppress directly, but they must face the entire African movement. This is true for Algeria; it is true for the atomic explosions in the Sahara; it is true about the repression in individual Territories.

This struggle by the peoples of Africa deepens the crisis of the colonial system; it weakens the imperialist camp and goes along with the peaceful and democratic forces of the world.

Neo-Colonialist Attempts

This situation, one sees, worries the colonialist powers. This is all the more true as the prestige of the Soviet Union, China, and the countries of the socialist camp grows, and as the ideas of communism spread.

The imperialists, in great part chased out of Asia, are desperately clinging to Africa, to its wealth, to the important strategic position it represents. They are using all means to try to slow down this powerful emancipation movement to hold on to their privileges and prevent the democratic and peaceful evolution of the African continent. They have not abandoned the use of violence where they still are able to use it. The continuation of the war in Algeria is sad proof of this. But, more and more, they are forced to resort to new, more supple forms of domination which will, they think, enable them to maintain their hold on the economy, and, consequently, to continue to set the political course of the newly freed countries.

To contain the forward thrust of the African peoples, the imperialists are trying to concert their efforts. This is the meaning of their "aid to underdeveloped countries" plan. But these attempts are meeting with difficulties because of contradictions between them, each one more avid than the other. The US in particular is trying to exploit, for its own profit, the new situation in Africa created by the young states' achievement of independence and whose needs for leaders and equipment are immense.

They encourage the realization of Eurafrikan objectives which were never abandoned, the incorporation of the African states into the Common Market, which would result in placing them under their rod and that of the European colonialist powers.

But the peoples of Africa who aspire to real independence denounce this neo-colonialism and the imperialists' pacts of domination. The Afro-Asian Conference held in Conakry last April emphasized these questions which were debated again at length at the Conference of Independent States in Addis Ababa.

The young states which are achieving national sovereignty are placing the struggle for their economic independence first among their considerations. In this struggle, they are having great success, thanks to the disinterested aid which the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp are in a position to give them today

Barriers Removed

The deepening of the crisis of the colonial system affects the French bourgeoisie particularly. The former French colonies in Africa are participating in this "movement which is sweeping through the peoples of the earth," as De Gaulle says so well.

The bloody repression which the French colonialists carried on in Madagascar, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, and in other Territories did not succeed in holding back this irresistible movement.

All the successive barriers which were raised throughout its spread have been successfully removed, one after another.

The overseas development law (loi-cadre) of 1956 which represented a timid step toward some autonomy was considered by the French bourgeoisie as the greatest concession possible a result to which it resigned itself. What a path has been trod since!

Not only was the loi-cadre outmoded before it was applied, but the Gaullist Community, conceived in the same spirit as the loi-cadre, was in turn swept away in less than 18 months. The appraisal made by our 15th Congress, "the Community envisaged by the Gaullist Constitution is outmoded even before being applied" has been fully confirmed.

Guinea's choice in September 1958, deciding on independence by answering NO in the referendum struck a mortal blow at the Gaullist structure from the beginning. It showed the way to all the other peoples being kept in the iron collar of the Community.

In turn, Mali (Senegal-Sudan), taking a different road than that taken by Guinea, demanded the transfer to itself of municipal powers. After much hesitation, first of all in order to recognize Mali as a state, the authorities, who are not wavering, had to recognize the "international sovereignty" of the new state. Mali's example was to be followed immediately by Madagascar, then by Mauritania, and the states of former Equatorial Africa.

It was in these conditions that the Gaullist power was forced to revise the Constitution so as to enable the states achieving independence to stay in the Community, and to begin negotiations with Mali and Madagascar.

The Agreements with Mali and Madagascar

The government is trying to attribute to the General's liberalism these successive retreats imposed by the facts. But no one is fooled. "It was to avoid a second Guinea that the government negotiated with Mali," Foyer, Secretary of State for Relations with Members of the Community, was to say during the constitutional revision debate.

Actually, it was not with joy that the Gaullist leaders, who, in the past, always opposed any evolution in Africa, and who voted for the loi-cadre, were forced to take a second look at their concept of relations with members of the Community. If they are trying to catch up with events in Africa, it is, above all, to try to save

what they hope they can still save: "First of all," said Debre, "to safeguard for our country its political interests, its strategic interests, its intellectual influence, and its economic possibilities." To do so, he added, "it is necessary to know not only how to change, but first and foremost, how to lead this evolution."

The way? Still, according to Debre: "Set up a community, a group of states around France where France's authority will be manifest through the continuation of its influence, through the continuation of its aid and unique cooperation."

Thus, forced to fall back in the face of the forward thrust of the African masses, the government, under cover of a "renovated" Community, wants to forge new bonds so as to "keep hold of the main feature" of its colonialist privileges in Africa.

This is the course that the agreements signed with Mali and Madagascar reflect. They prove the reservations of French imperialism with respect to the right of these states to independence which it had to recognize. The formulae for equality and reciprocity contained in these agreements poorly camouflage the actual inequalities they authorize.

May we say first of all that the negotiations were not carried on by equal partners; the representatives of Mali and Madagascar, speaking in the name of states with no sovereignty, of necessity found themselves placed in an inferior position. What is more, by demanding the simultaneous signing of agreements on the transfer of authority and agreements for cooperation, the French government had at its disposal a means of pressure which was incompatible with really equal negotiations.

Full and Complete Independence

Actually, only unconditional recognition first of the conditions of independence could lead to the later conclusion, on a basis of absolute equality, of the special agreements on cooperation.

Moreover, this was the position that our party defended in presenting the following amendment during the constitutional revision debate: "A state which is a member of the Community can become independent by a decision of its legislative assembly. It may, under the terms of the agreements, continue to belong to the Community."

The decision made several days later by the countries of the Conseil d'Entente confirmed the correctness of our position. Actually, it represented almost word for word the text of our amendment which was rejected by the government.

At the time of the ratification of the Mali and Madagascar agreements, we said what must be thought of the numerous restrictions imposed on the sovereignty of Mali and Madagascar, of these agreements which now permit the colonialists of Paris, Washington, and Bonn to maintain their military bases and to continue to exploit as before the wealth and people of these countries.

We expressed all the reservations which were to be expressed about these agreements, but we voted for them nonetheless because undeniably they represented some progress with respect to the Gaullist Community of 1958. The agreements give new possibilities to the people of Mali and Madagascar. Mainly, they can be represented in the UN, where they can make their voices heard; they can have diplomatic representation in some countries; they can sign trade agreements with other countries within the framework of the restrictions imposed by the cooperation agreements in this field; they can have a tiny national army, etc.

Moreover, the relationships within the so-called "renovated" Community are more flexible than they were before. They have a contractual nature which did not heretofore exist.

The decision made by the states in the Entente shows, moreover, how useless it is to want to delay the accession of the African peoples to full and complete sovereignty through maneuvers and pressures of an era henceforth ended.

The peoples of Africa will, in the end, obtain this full and complete independence. No one can keep them from it. All the reservations, the cunning, the obstacles which the imperialists are trying to use against their irresistible march forward will eventually be swept aside.

Correctness of the Communist Party Theses

The change in the situation in this part of "French-speaking" Africa confirms the correctness of the positions consistently defended by our party for a real independence for the countries of Africa as for all other colonial and dependent countries.

It confirms the evaluation formulated by the theses of our 15th Congress which affirmed that "the only solution to the problems posed by the irresistible liberation movement of the colonial peoples rests in the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations to national independence and in negotiation with their qualified representatives."

The unreserved recognition of complete independence for the peoples of Africa is the condition for the establishment of mutually profitable political, economic, and cultural relations between their countries and ours. History, culture, and economics have had a certain number of points in common between the African, Madagascan, and French peoples, enabling and making desirable the establishment of new relations. These relations must be decided freely and on a basis of absolute equality.

Such a policy is the only one which confirms to reality, to the spirit of our time, and to the mutual interest of the peoples of Africa and France at the same time.

The national interest and grandeur of France have nothing to do with the defense of colonial companies or the continuation of military bases in Africa. They lie in the total and final repudiation of all relations tainted with colonialism, in friendly and disinterested aid to the young African states for their independent economic development.

By pursuing an irremediably damned policy, by continuing the war against the Algerian people, by participating in the repression against the Camerooneese people, the Gaullist authorities run the risk of alienating France from the friendship of the peoples of Africa; they are compromising the possibility of fruitful exchanges with them, are committing an offense against the prestige of our country in the world, and playing the game of the other imperialist powers, mainly the US, which dream of renewing in Africa tomorrow what they succeeded in doing yesterday in Vietnam.

To Strengthen our Solidarity

In the face of the development of this new situation in Africa and the Gaullist policy, our party must strengthen its solidarity with the African and Madagascan peoples with respect to parties, organization, and personalities that represent the peoples of these countries, in conformity with the principles of internationalism on which our party has never yielded. It must help the development of solidarity of the French working class and democrats.

To accomplish this, first of all it is important to make known through our various publications the problems which this situation poses, and the legitimate nature of the struggle of the Africans and Madagascans which corresponds to our own struggle against the same exploiters and oppressors, to throw light on and denounce the attempts of the officials of the present regime to delay the emancipation of these peoples with all the consequences which such a policy engenders for our country.

Moreover, in these new conditions, we must work to develop our relations, mainly human relations, with the peoples of Africa-- with the parties, organizations, and persons who represent them-- who must be assured that they can count on the active solidarity of the working class and its party in their struggle.

This support which we must give the people of Africa and Madagascar does not mean that we must be silent about the policy carried on by some African leaders which we believe is contrary to the interests of the people of Africa and France.

Actually, we are convinced that the anti-democratic and arbitrary policy practiced by some African governments which are carrying on an anti-Communist attack is contrary to the real national interests of their countries and to the struggle of the peoples in general.

This is the case mainly with the Congolese government directed by Abbe Fulbert Youlou, who, advised by the Petainist police official Delarue, has just manufactured a so-called Communist plot and imprisoned all labor, youth, and Peace Movement leaders on this pretext. It is also true in Gabon, where the government has just had the leader of Gabon's trade unions arrested. It is also true in other Territories where, under the pretext of providing against the Communist danger, exceptional measures have been voted, directed against the best patriots.

We have the duty of saying that such facts do not serve the interests of the African people, that it is not possible to prohibit the independence of a country to those who have been and remain its best artisans, while the imperialist intrigues are increasing.

If anti-communism has always been the weapon used everywhere by the reactionaries against the workers for the defense of their own interests, it is equally true in Africa.

Progress of Communist Ideas in the World

Not only do the ideas of communism not run counter to the interests of Africa and the African peoples, but we are firmly convinced that communism would contribute the final solution to the questions which are posed to the people of Africa as elsewhere.

The lies, the slander, and the repression are shown to be incapable of preventing the spread of the ideas of communism in the world because these ideas correspond with the hopes of peace and happiness of all progressive humanity. They will triumph in the end, in Africa also, where they are spreading, because they provide the prospect of a future of happiness for all Africans in a free and prosperous Africa.

To help the spread of Communist ideas in the countries of Africa is a duty for our party and a task which it must set for itself. We must see that the elements of our doctrine are spread as widely as possible in these countries. With this in mind, we think that the Editions Sociales [publishing house] should plan to publish a collection of the main basic texts and other works concerning Africa in particular which can be distributed extensively in the different Territories. Democratie Nouvelle, which already has wide circulation there, can play a big role in making known our ideas on the African continent. Consequently, the directors should plan what measures to take so that the journal can play this role from an editorial point of view as well as from the point of view of expanding its influence.

We must give aid to the Marxist groups which are being set up in Africa in the task of education which they are undertaking, and contribute, when the conditions are right, to the formation of parties which are developing great activity in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Class relationships exist in these countries even if, in most of them, the percentage of white collar workers is still very small, except for Senegal and the Ivory Coast where it is a little higher.

Moreover, are not the repressive measures taken by some African governments not class measures?

These are some of our tasks with respect to the development of the situation in Africa. We will try to accomplish them, to take our rightful place on this front of struggle as on all others, firstly, in Algeria.

III. RESOLUTION ON ALGERIA

[Following is a translation of a Resolution on Algeria passed at the Central Committee meeting and published in L'Humanite (Humanity), Paris, 1 July 1960, page 6]

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party, meeting in Ivry on 30 June-1 July, approves the report on Algeria presented by comrade Raymond Guyot. It hails the talks begun by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic as a great event conforming with the interest of the people and the entire nation.

After having continued for 6 years a war from which Algeria and its people are suffering terribly, which is doing such harm to France and its youth, which imposes such a heavy financial burden on the workers, impedes a social policy, and leads to the abolition of freedoms, the French bourgeoisie has finally been forced to turn to negotiation.

For years the national nature of the war fought by the Algerian people, as well as the representative nature of those who directed their fight, was denied.

For years, with the active support of the Socialist Party leaders such as Guy Mollet and Lacoste, "pacification," that is, the military crushing of the combatants, like the terrible repression of the civilians, was presented as the only possible solution to the conflict.

It was only in September 1959 that the government was forced to recognize, at least in words, the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, that is, to recognize implicitly that Algeria is not France. It was only in June 1960 that the first peace talks were officially begun.

These first results toward the solution of the Algerian problem are due to the heroic struggle carried on by the Algerian people at the price of so much blood and suffering, to the increased opposition of the French people to an unjust war, to the reality of the present international situation which is characterized by a beginning of international relaxation, by the rapid and widespread accession of all colonized peoples to independence, and the support they are receiving from the peoples of the world and numerous states.

The first talks between the representatives of the French government and those of the Provisional Algerian Government have aroused great hope among the French people.

However, nothing would be more dangerous than to consider the rapid end to the war in Algeria as already achieved.

The ambiguities, the contradictions of De Gaulle, the recent speeches of several of his ministers confirm the fact that although the big monopolies are forced to face reality, they do not seem very inclined to allow the Algerian people to freely exercise their right to determine their own future.

To pretend to end the fighting, to determine the final disposition of the weapons and the fate of the combatants without studying the conditions of consultation would be to make successful negotiation impossible.

The banning of all meetings or demonstrations of the Partisans of Peace in Algeria, when the meetings and activities of fascists and other partisans of war are tolerated, even encouraged shows both the contempt of the personal power regime for public opinion and its will to maneuver outside of all control of the people.

The profiteers of colonialism, those who hope, through the continuation of the war, to liquidate what is left of freedom in France and to install fascism, have not thrown down their weapons. Made more cautious by the power of the people's riposte which caused the failure of their riot in January and February, they are still organizing and are acting to cause the failure of the negotiations and, finally to try new measures of force. They are all the more dangerous because they now have the benefit of complacency, support, and complicity from official circles, civilian and military.

This is why, more than ever, the vigilance of and pressure by the people are indispensable.

The end of the Algerian war is possible.

To achieve this, the men and women of France cannot pass it off on anyone. It is an affair which concerns them all because it is a question both of their future and that of their children and country.

For the youth of France, peace in Algeria would mean the end of a nightmare, a return to the legal 18 months of military service and finally, to one year.

It would enable the use of the immense wealth poured into the war every day for works of social progress. It would be a significant blow to the fascist plotters. It would make the struggle for the renovation and restoration of democracy easier.

Finally, in a newly found peace, for the first time, new relations could be established between France and the Algerian people, as with the heretofore oppressed peoples, relations infinitely closer than the former ties of submission because they would be based on equality, free consent, mutual collaboration and interest.

The stands taken by the most diverse organizations are more and more numerous; the day of 28 June, despite the government's ban, was a big success; joint activities have been carried on, sparked mainly by the Peace Movement.

In the factories, in many towns, Socialist Party militants and organizations have participated in the struggle. All these facts confirm that the majority of the French people desire successful negotiation.

To foil the die-hards, to impose a loyal application of the right of self-determination, the pressure of the people and their organizations must be exerted.

The French Communist Party which, since its formation, has never ceased struggling for the right of peoples to self-disposition and which, since 1939, has recognized in Algeria the existence of a nation in formation, has, for 6 years, carried on a tenacious difficult fight against the dirty war in Algeria.

From the beginning of the war on 8 November 1954, the French Communist Party has been recalling that the "bases of the demands of the Algerian people must be recognized, that these demands must be discussed with the qualified representatives of the Algerian people."

In July 1959, the 15th Party Congress declared: "It is not the French government but the Algerian people who can determine Algeria's future."

The present evolution shows once again that the Communists were the first to defend both the real national interest and internationalism.

At a time when the negotiations they have always urged are in sight, they will redouble their efforts for the development of union and action of the people of France so that this negotiation will result in peace in Algeria.

IV. RESOLUTION ON AFRICA

[Following is a translation of a Resolution on Africa passed at the Central Committee meeting and published in L'Humanite (Humanity), Paris, 1 July 1960, page 6]

In a few years, Africa has risen to the front ranks of current international political affairs. It is taking and being called on to take a more and more important place in the development of the world situation.

Today, there is not a single Territory on this continent of more than 250 million people which is escaping the immense movement for independence which is characteristic of our era. A large number of countries have already achieved their independence. This struggle of the peoples of Africa is weakening world imperialism and goes hand in hand with the fight of peaceful and democratic forces.

The imperialists, chased in great part out of Asia, are grasping desperately at Africa, at its wealth and its important strategic position. They are using every means to try to impede this powerful emancipation movement in order to retain their enormous privileges and try to prevent the democratic and peaceful evolution of the African continent. They have not renounced the use of violence where they can still use it. But more and more they are being forced to resort to new, more flexible forms of political domination which will, they think, enable them to maintain their hold on the economy of the newly liberated countries. In particular, the US is trying to exploit the new situation for its own profit.

The peoples of Africa who aspire to real independence denounce this neo-colonialism, the pacts, and the new imperialist ambitions, the continuation or establishment of military bases on their territory.

The young states which have achieved national sovereignty rank the struggle for their economic independence first in their concerns. They oppose, with reason, the atomic experiments.

The peoples of the former French colonies in Africa have participated in this irresistible movement of emancipation. Repression in Madagascar, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon and the other Territories has not succeeded in deterring them. The barriers raised against development have been swept away one after another. The Gaullist Community of 1958 has suffered the fate of the 1956 loi-cadre.

The Gaullist administration, forced to sustain new withdrawals, has tried to make a virtue of necessity, to attribute to liberalism what was imposed on it by the facts. Its attitude toward Guinea, the important restrictions imposed on Mali's and Madagascar's national sovereignty by the recently signed agreements, prove the reluctance of the authorities in office to settle at the proper time and in a new spirit the questions posed by the reality of our time.

The decision of the states of the Entente to demand their independence before any negotiation of cooperation agreements with the French government shows how useless it is to want to delay the accession of the African peoples to full sovereignty through maneuvers and pressures which are part of an era now ended. Moreover, it is also useless to want to continue to refuse to Algeria what can no longer be refused to the other countries of Africa.

The change in the situation in this part of Africa confirms the correctness of the positions continuously defended by our party in favor of a real independence, without restrictions of any kind, for the countries of Africa, as for all the other colonial and dependent countries. The theses of our 15th Congress reaffirmed that "the only solution of the problems posed by the irresistible liberation movement of the colonial peoples rests in the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations to national independence and in negotiation with their qualified representatives."

The unreserved, unhesitating recognition of the full and complete independence for these peoples is the condition for the establishment of mutually profitable political, economic, and cultural relations between their countries and ours. History, culture, use of the French language, and economics have created between the African and Madagascan and French peoples a certain number of common points which permit and make desirable the establishment of new relations. These relations must be freely decided and established in equality.

Such a policy is the only one which conforms to reality, to the spirit of our time, and to the common interest of the peoples of Africa and France.

By continuing on an irremediably damned path, by continuing the war against the Algerian people, by participating in repression the Gaullist leaders run the risk of alienating France from the friendship of the peoples of Africa, compromising the possibility of fruitful exchanges with them, striking a blow at the prestige of our country in the world, and playing the game of the other imperialist powers, mainly the US, which dream of repeating in Africa tomorrow what they succeeded in doing in Vietnam yesterday.

The French Communist Party, which has always done its internationalist duty toward the oppressed, hails the accession of the African and Madagascan peoples to independence, and expresses to them its warm congratulations. It assures them of its complete solidarity in their action for the consolidation of their independence; it thanks the Africans and Madagascans for the numerous expressions of fellowship which have been sent to it.

The French Communist Party renews to the workers, to all the African patriots, to the African students in France, the fraternal solidarity of the French working class, solidarity which was born and has developed in a common struggle against the same exploiters and the same oppressors. The French Communist Party will do the most in the new conditions so that the friendly relations with the parties, organizations, and representative personalities of the African and Madagascan peoples will be strengthened.

Everywhere in the world, the ideas of national emancipation are being imposed, the ideas of Communism are progressing, despite the lies, the slander, and the repression, for they correspond to the needs of peace and happiness of all progressive humanity.

V. CLOSING SPEECH BY MAURICE THOREZ

[Following are excerpts from the closing speech by Maurice Thorez to the Central Committee published by L'Humanite (Humanity), Paris, 5 July 1960, pages 5-6]

A year ago, we exposed the adventurist foreign policy orientation of those in power, their intrigues against peace, their eager entry into the Atlantic Pact and support of German militarism. The government of monopolistic capital has continued on this path.

Without doubt, the French monopolies are trying to obtain a bigger place in the international cartels, for example, in petroleum. Concurrently, the government is trying to play a bigger role in the political and military organizations of the imperialist camp. But with all that, it remains determinedly in the Atlantic Pact and in Adenauer's Europe. Following the US, it persists in refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China and in participating in the activities of SEATO, the aggressive pact which plays the same role in the Far East that the Atlantic Pact plays in the West.

It would be committing a dangerous error to attribute authentic national concerns to big monopolistic capital or to the government which expresses its views. Although there are members of the bourgeoisie who still are concerned with national interest and with whom the workers may have a common point of view in this field, these elements are in the middle segment that is exposed to the economic attack of the trusts and are struggling against them.

Of course, the solidarity of the monopolies in the imperialist camp in no way prevents rivalries and conflicts between different groups and contradictions between states. The capitalist world is subject to the law of unequal development, and the more inequality develops between super-monopolies, between states, the more the contradictions are affirmed.

A state which benefits at a given moment from an economic advance with respect to the other states asks that the distribution of power accepted until then be revamped. Imperialism is incapable of organizing itself harmoniously; it is torn by contradictions. I would like to point out here the correction made by comrade Pronteau in his last editorial in Economie et Politique of the erroneous thesis formulated in a preceding issue of that journal. Our Central Committee had pointed out the error.

I do it all the more willingly since Pronteau, at our last session, while denouncing this "gross error" (the expression is his) had left a doubt about his agreement on the basis of the questions under discussion.

Please recall that it was first of all a question of the relative progress of French economy with respect to that of the US. It is necessary to remember this fact, but without forgetting another fact: the increase of American investments in France. For, as Lenin taught us, what is essential to the imperialist era is the export of capital, which, moreover, results in the increasing of production in the countries where the capital is placed.

Following that was the question of the contradictions which arise and develop in the new conditions.

I have just pointed out the issue in these external contradictions: the super-monopoly, the international cartel, does not prevent the development of competition and struggle, at a certain moment, for a new distribution of shares.

Internal contradictions must also be revealed, and we must know how to profit from them to successfully lead the struggle of the masses against the monopolies.

But we must be careful not to judge subjectively by putting into opposition, as has been done, on the one hand the "national" tendencies of big capital and the "cosmopolitan" tendencies on the other.

The objective reality is that the monopolies are, by definition, cosmopolitan, and they remain so, even when they use the positions they hold in their countries to demand from their rivals in other imperialist countries a greater place on the world market and in the distribution of surplus profits. The monopolies remain cosmopolitan even and especially when their representatives speculate on the national feelings of the people to make their policy prevail.

What especially weakens imperialism is the rising up of the people against it. Following the events in Korea and Turkey, Japan has made its move. The resolute action of the workers and students against the ratification of the military treaty with the US and the mass political strike resulted in the cancellation of Eisenhower's trip to that country, a crushing blow to the prestige of American imperialism.

The events in Tokyo prove that the dollar magnates are losing ground even in the countries where they thought their domination was the most solidly entrenched. The policy of militarization, espionage, and cold war is meeting with an ever increasing resistance throughout the world.

The people of France, too, have played their part in the common effort for peace. An enthusiastic welcome was accorded comrade Khrushchev in our country, Khrushchev, the good architect of international relaxation. It was not the Communists alone who acclaimed him in so many moving meetings. He was hailed by the largest masses, millions of French who, without becoming Communists, showed their eagerness for world peace, which depends mainly on the state of relations between the capitalist camp and the great country of socialism.

The torpedoing of the Summit Conference by the Americans with the aid of General De Gaulle and Macmillan struck a blow at the positive development of co-existence, but the aggression committed by the US could not alter the main factors of international relations.

The dominant conditions in the world have remained the same. The relationship of forces between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp has not been changed, or, if there has been a change, it has been toward a weakening of imperialism's positions. The American policy of adventure and provocation has been unmasked; the authority of its leaders has been seriously affected.

The Soviet disarmament proposals which were presented on 2 June and which on the main points, correspond with France's previous theses, constitute a major contribution to relaxation. They show once again that in international affairs the peaceful forces still have the initiative.

This plan has received the approval of all the states of the socialist camp and the support of the masses of all the countries. At the Eleventh Session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions which took place early in June in Peiping, the representatives of 100 million trade union members hailed the new effort for peace.

Unfortunately, at the Ten Nation Disarmament Commission, the western delegates refused to accept the Soviet plan. Jules Moch did not hesitate to disavow his own theses as soon as they were taken up by the USSR, which shows that they had never been more than propaganda themes for him and his government.

The western delegates found no valid argument to oppose the plan that was submitted to them. Now the discussion will be moved to the UN. The People's Republic of China must take part in it. The task which remains essential is to make the imperialist governments yield to this unanimous demand of the peoples: "Disarm!"

Peaceful co-existence between the two systems between which the world is divided was foreseen and urged by Lenin himself. His ideas were developed most productively by the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, which concluded that in our era, war has ceased to be inevitable. We ourselves affirmed similar ideas ten years ago, and our congress last year reiterated and emphasized them.

Indeed, imperialism is by nature aggressive, but one must not dogmatically consider this one aspect of the question. The decisive factors which oppose a new conflict must be taken into consideration: existence of a powerful world camp of socialism, foundering of the colonial system, appearance of a vast peace zone, increase of forces which are hostile to war in the imperialist states themselves, strengthening of the positions of the working class, and development of the Peace Movement.

The sole Leninist attitude consists in evaluating all the elements of the situation. To simply repeat the basic theses on imperialism without seeing the new [elements] which are appearing in the world would result in a retrograde position.

What remains true is that peaceful co-existence does not mean a lessening of the class struggle. On the contrary, experience teaches that the movement of the people is growing in the conditions of relaxation; the action of the peoples' movement contributes to the relaxation, and, in return, relaxation encourages its expansion.

Co-existence demands from us a special effort in ideology and politics to counter the campaigns of imperialism's spokesmen, to unmask the activities of its leaders, to alert the peoples whose action remains decisive in the prevention of war.

On this subject, it was well that the Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist countries meeting in Bucharest, reaffirmed the principles contained in the Declaration of November 1957, and also that our Central Committee, unanimously, after hearing the report by Leo Figueres, gave its unreserved approval to the Bucharest Declaration.

Ideological and political unity, the cohesion of the Communist and Workers Parties of all countries, is the condition and assurance of a victorious struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

The cause of peace has--we know it well--many enemies. They are the American leaders, representatives of monopolistic capitalism, who keep their occupation troops in France. They are the German revenge-seekers who, too, are preparing to establish their bases on our soil. They are the militaristic forces of our own country.

We will not conclude from this that peace cannot be guaranteed. Faithful to our consistent policy, and particularly to the theses which our party made its charter last year we shall work with confidence to develop even more the action of our people for relaxation, for disarmament, for peaceful co-existence.

We shall work for this in a spirit of faithfulness to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism. Thus, we approved the joint declaration of the Communist Parties of Spain and France and the report presented by Jeannette Vermeersch.

The workers and people of Spain are close to our heart. We will not forget their heroic struggle against Franco, against Hitler and Mussolini and also, alas, against non-intervention. We will not forget the effort of our working class to support Republican Spain.

And we want to restate our feelings of fraternity and solidarity with the Spanish Communist Party, which is engaged in a bold and fruitful policy of national reconciliation in the face of retrograde Francoism.

The Possibilities of Peaceful Transition to Socialism

The progress of relaxation and co-existence favors the democratic forces. This is demonstrated by the crumbling of the puppet governments which imperialism had installed in South Korea, in Turkey, and in Latin America, and by the deep trouble in Japan.

By the same token, future socialist transformations will be facilitated. The Central Committee report to the 15th Congress showed how the direction of the democratic struggle of the people by the working class, which is so evident today, tends to bring closer together and weld the two stages: democratic transformation and socialist transformation. It showed that democracy, a continuous creation, will terminate in socialism.

As the crisis of imperialism is aggravated, the geographic foundation of the socialist revolution expands, and the prestige of socialism grows, the possibility of a peaceful proletarian revolution becomes more clear.

This idea is not an arbitrary hypothesis, a figment of the imagination. We have been formulating it since 1946 by considering the new events of the day.

It was not by chance either that it was gone into deeply and emphasized at the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU. The position at these congresses was dictated by a Marxist analysis of the relationship of forces as it exists today.

As we said last year, the change in the situation makes the struggle for socialism easier for us. But we do not have the right to forget that the methods of revolution also depend on the behavior of the adversary, on the degree of resistance of the exploiters to the will of the people, on the manner of struggle they use.

In working for the peaceful transition to socialism, one must not ignore the fact that there can be cases where more violent forms of revolution are inevitable.

Progress of Unity

Our 15th Congress noted that "the unitary trend is developing" in the working class with the very development of the struggle of the defense of economic demands, freedoms, and peace. Since this observation was made, the practice of unity has greatly expanded.

Today we see how right the Central Committee, meeting in Arcueil on 22 October 1958, one month after the referendum, was to direct itself firmly toward a united front, toward an understanding between Socialist and Communist workers. The letter to the Socialist workers, which was approved at that time, contained a vibrant appeal for joint action. This appeal, we see, has had repercussions.

Socialist and Communist workers are together in the present battle for satisfaction of demands. The FO workers, that is those who are basically Socialists, are participating in the fight shoulder

to shoulder with their CGT comrades. There are numerous joint appeals issued by departmental and local organizations of the CGT, the FO, and the Autonomous Teaching Federation.

Joint action is also increasing for peace in Algeria. Socialist militants and organizations from 37 departments gave varied support to preparations for the Pleyel Congress which would have been held on 12 June if it had not been for a police ban and which was replaced by a fruitful rally of delegates. Their support was no less significant for the Day of Action of the 28th [of June]. Agreements for peace in Algeria have been concluded between the CGT and other labor organizations in more than 40 departments.

The National Peace Movement played a big role in preparing for the Pleyel movement and the action of 28 June. It comprises many men and women of all opinions. It is strengthening itself with new committees, and is extending its influence.

Socialists and Communists are participating together in the secular campaign. In many departments, representatives of our party, the SFIO, and other groups are meeting together in a Committee for Secular Action at the municipal and cantonal level. There is no doubt that if people were more concerned with accomplishing complete unity throughout the entire movement, the battle against obscurantism could but profit from it.

In Seine Department, an important blow was struck against the reactionaries by the election of the General Council's bureau composed solely of Communists and SFIO Socialists with one PSU member. As we have always said, it is essential to unite the Socialist and Communist forces; in this way the conditions for a greater rallying of forces, which is necessary for beating the enemies of democracy, are facilitated.

On 12 June, the SFIO Federation of Finistere Department adopted a very significant motion. It called for "the meeting of a French leftist Round Table where a social and political program and precise objectives for defense and republican action would be studied." This is precisely the method we have always urged, the method which can lead to success.

Guy Mollet's new attempt, after so many inglorious failures, to establish a "third force" excluding the working class and its organizations (the CGT and our Communist Party) will not cause the masses marching toward unity to fall back. This diversion will remain useless. All democrats are aware that where the essential force, the workers, is absent, there is no chance for freedom, for the Republic. This morning, Gazier told the Socialist Congress that his party stands apart from all movements which are transforming the world.

In adopting its program of renovation of republican institutions and national life, our Congress explained to the other democratic parties that it was not a question of a specific text, but of a plan to serve as a basis for discussion with our possible allies. We are

ready to begin this discussion any time with the one desire of reaching the fastest and the most extensive understanding.

Our program helps to put into movement the ever more numerous masses, including those who, at the moment, sometimes seem far removed from us, influenced by tendencies which are hostile to us. Experience shows the possibility of great changes in the disposition of forces.

The workers who belong to church-affiliated trade unions, too, are finding themselves participating in the struggles for demands at the side of their brothers in poverty. They have the same interest in the defense of peace, in the end of the Algerian war, in the safeguarding of freedoms. We have continued to extend a fraternal hand to them.

At the Central Committee meeting in February, we addressed ourselves to former Resistance fighters who called themselves Gaullists during the war and who have been deceived and separated from us since, when the division occurred, but who today are suffering with the re-appearance of the Munichists and Petainists, and the rebirth of fascist groups. We called on them to work with us for the grandeur of France and the building of a renovated democracy which the program of the National Resistance Council called for.

The change in the situation since February is not of a nature to estrange our former comrades in struggle. The contrary is true. They have their place in the extensive grouping we urge.

Youth in the Struggle

In today's social life, youth is giving proof of remarkable activity. It has the entire support of our party, whose 15th Congress stated that the future of young people must "be ranked first in the concerns of the authorities."

All the weight of the practical and moral consequences of the Algerian war is on the young people. Not only are they refused happiness, but the simple right to live.

The young people are assured neither of work and wages, nor leisure and sports. Many are without employment and without prospects for the future.

One cannot therefore be astonished at the great movement which stirs up the new generation. This movement is distinguished by its unity. No fewer than 53 organizations representing all of youth in its diversity have joined their efforts to demand peace in Algeria through negotiation.

Even though the young workers lack apprenticeship centers, and the students lack laboratories and classrooms, they have continued and strengthened their organization despite the efforts of the authorities to hinder it.

The attempt of the authoritarian state to establish a youth movement favorable to itself has failed. Never has the government seen the growing generation turn away from it as much as it sees it today. The government is isolated from all strata of youth.

The Union of Communist Youth plays an active role in this great movement. It has a part in the results achieved.

Our whole party shows understanding of and solicitude toward the action of the young people for their rights, for peace, for a happy future. In encouraging them to develop more and more activity, it is calling on them to show vigilance toward the bad shepherds who could mislead some of them.

Erroneous concepts proclaimed by acts with no collective characteristics have sometimes been propagated in the struggle against the Algerian war. A representative of the PSU has just admitted the danger of "certain types of action which...encourage police provocations." Were we not right to formulate these warnings a long time ago?

Some Lessons of Mass Action

"On the basis of the program," we said last year, "the movement of the masses, the only way to win a victory over the authoritarian regime and the reactionaries, can be developed extensively and with assurance." We have always thought that the decisive factor was this political action by the masses, prepared and led openly.

Everything that has happened in a year proves the correctness of the proletarian and national line defined for all fields by our Congress. More than ever the working class appears as the great force which defends the fundamental interests of the country, which works for its true grandeur, inseparable from the profound reorganization of the economy, democratic renovation, friendship with the former colonial peoples, and international peace.

Those who speak on this subject, as an editor of Tribune Socialiste has done, on "jacobin chauvinism," merely prove that they do not understand the historical situation of our era. The concrete idea of the weakness of the bourgeoisie as a ruling class escapes them, as does the concept of a grandiose mission which the proletariat must take on itself by waving the flag of national interest which it [the bourgeoisie] has abandoned.

A few more words on another lesson of action by the masses. Its vigor is a beautiful contradiction of all who chattered about the "apathy" of the people and the working class. Since 4 October 1958 we have been protesting such slander.

The truth is that the fight was and remains difficult; our 15th Congress stressed this. It pointed out the "hard and long struggle which will be necessary to regroup the forces, lead them to battle, and win a victory over an authoritarian regime which has complete power."

The working class has looked for forms of action, and now it is exerting its energy on a mass and democratic basis. We are witnessing an increase in initiatives from below. With the aid of our party, the people are throwing themselves into the battle with all the more determination since they know that the Parliament without power is incapable of satisfying their aspirations.

Instead of accusing the working class, would it not have been better to think of the effects of division? On 4 October, the Central Committee stated that this division of the workers and democrats had meant much to De Gaulle's success.

Lack of unity was rampant not only at the time between those who voted YES and those who voted NO. It even existed among those who voted NO, since a few of them refused to subscribe to what was then called the NO contract. Thus, a democratic prospect was choked off, and personal power had its chance.

We are Ready to Discuss and Come to an Understanding

The ideas we put forth--common program, widespread unity, action of the masses--are now making headway. It is necessary to push ahead on this path.

We repeat that, in the presence of the action of the masses which is developing, we are ready to discuss and come to an understanding with the other democratic organizations.

The bases of agreement which we propose are simple and clear: return of supreme power in a republican state to the representatives of the people, elected by universal direct and proportional suffrage and forming a single National Assembly, with the government emanating from this Assembly and responsible to it; revokability of those elected; purge of the police and abolition of the career army; re-establishment and extension of local freedoms; real secular education; measures guaranteeing the material bases of the independence and grandeur of the country and providing for the development of a modern economy; nationalization of the de facto monopolies; raising of the standard of living of the workers; democratic reform of education. These phrases, and all those included with them in our program are not, once again, cut and dried but suggestions to be discussed and applied together.

This is not the time for excuses, quarrels, and exclusions. The people expect that those who hope to win their confidence and the management of matters, will be able to overcome secondary differences and be concerned only with the essentials--the need for unity and action to attain the great goal--the rebirth of a better and stronger Republic.

The Party

The strengthening of the party, its unity, and the cohesion of its ranks is indispensable for the accomplishment of the tasks which are imposed on us.

Since the Congress, our party has taken its place well in the life of the country. We can say this without any presumption.

The health of the party is due first of all to the firmness it showed in the defense of its line and its principles. It is struggling with vigilance on two fronts: against revisionism, which constitutes the main danger, and against dogmatism, secretarian narrowness, which hinders a confident approach to the masses and prevents all the initiatives which are necessary in the new situations.

The party must increase its contacts with the masses. It must try to better understand what is in the minds and hearts of the workers, farmers, intellectuals, and all the humble people. It must truly be, as Lenin wanted, the voice of the people.

The party has never sworn in words to be more to the left than anyone else. Its only concern is that the masses are in movement on clear objectives, objectives which serve the progress of society, the cause of democracy, peace, and socialism.

At a time when the party's tenacity, patience, and courage in this period are bearing the first fruit, we call on all militants to go boldly to the mass of workers, to all those who are troubled and are seeking an out, to help them organize and act. We call on them to plunge confidently into the ranks of the people, into the crowd of men and women who do not think as we do on all points, but whom we can and must win over.

All the conditions exist for extensive recruitment, the strengthening of the party's ranks, the consolidation and extension of its organizations. The workers are waiting for us. Open wide the doors of the party to them!

One year after the 15th Congress, everything confirms that its conclusions were correct and that it directed the party on a good path. It gave us a clear outlook, that of the rallying of all workers and democratic forces.

We shall spare no effort for this prospect to become a reality. Let all the workers, all those whom the monopolies and their governments are crushing hear the appeal which we reiterate with all our strength and all our heart: unity of the working class, unity of republicans to hasten the hour of the re-establishment and the renovation of democracy!