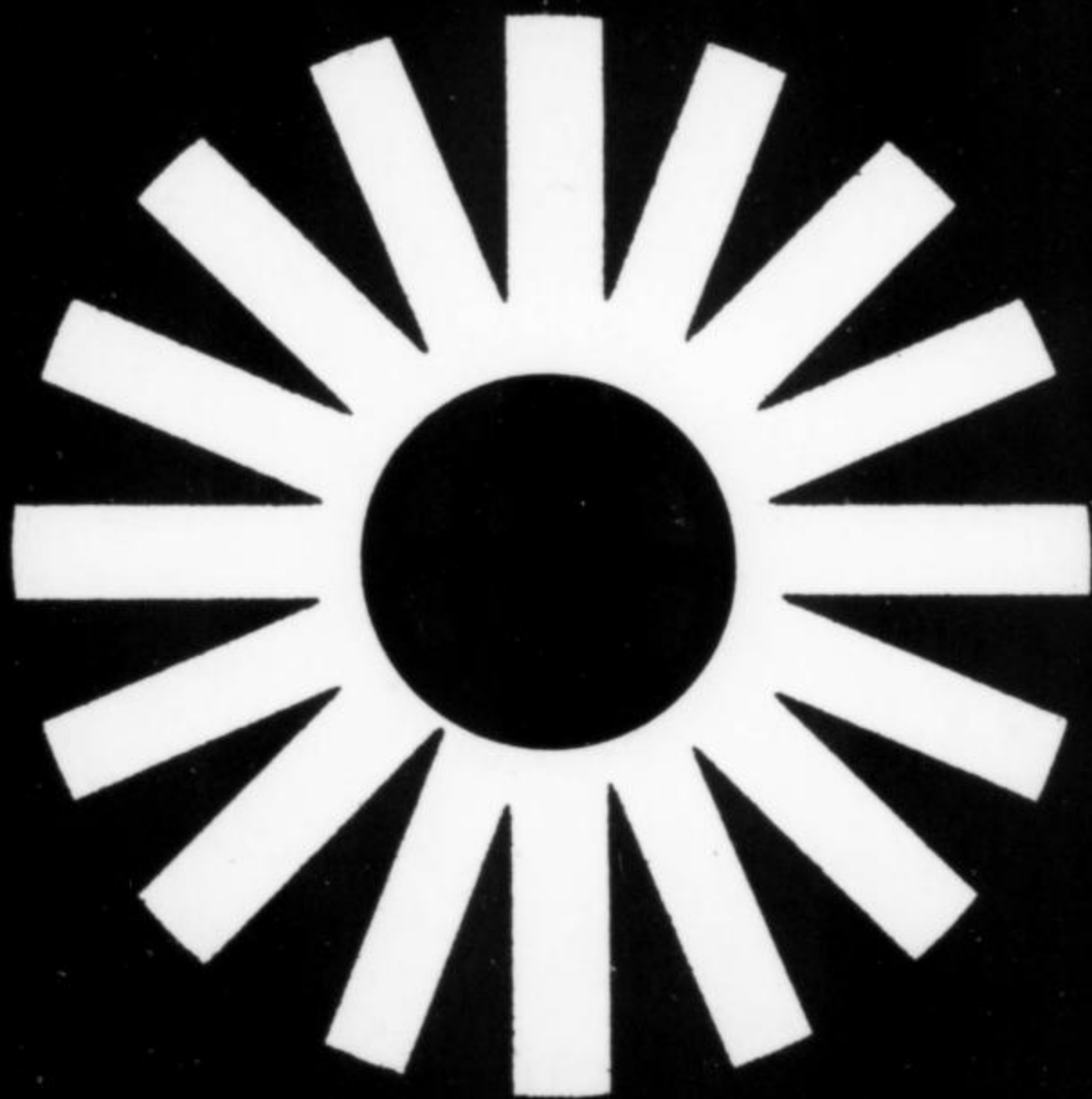




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contents

CONGRESSES

Bulgaria

T. Zhivkov. CC BCP Report	5
Speech by L. I. Brezhnev	24
Program of BCP	30

PLENARY MEETINGS

G D R

16th Plenum of CC SUPG	55
Statement by Walter Ulbricht	56
Profile: Erich Honecker	58
Agenda of 8th SUPG Congress	59

Yugoslavia

LCY Presidium meeting	60
-----------------------	----

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Argentina

CPA Exec. Committee resolution	63
--------------------------------	----

Soviet Union

L. I. Brezhnev. Fifty years of Soviet Georgia	65
--	----

USA

Gus Hall. The seepage of racism	74
---------------------------------	----

BILATERAL MEETINGS 79

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES 85

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TENTH CONGRESS OF BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was held on April 20-25, 1971. On the first day of the deliberations the Congress heard the report of the CC BCP, delivered by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP. Below we publish excerpts from the report.

REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The years since the Ninth Party Congress fill our hearts with feelings of satisfaction over the great achievements scored by our people under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, making it possible to chart new bold and fully realistic plans for the future.

Those were also the years of extensive international activity by the Party in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement, enhancing the authority of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a Marxist-Leninist and un-deviatingly internationalist party.

In these years Bulgaria has taken a new big step in its economic and cultural development; it strengthened and developed its relations and all-round ties with the fraternal socialist countries, extended and deepened the foundation of its existence as an independent and prosperous socialist state—the friendship with the great fraternal Soviet Union. Our country has enhanced its international prestige as an indomitable fighter for universal peace, as a selfless friend of the newly free and developing countries and a good partner of all who champion mutual understanding and cooperation between states on the principles of mutual respect for the interests and will of the peoples.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the 10th jubilee Congress will go down in the history of the Party and country as the congress of the maturity of the Bulgarian Communist movement.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY AND STATE IN THE SPHERE OF FOREIGN POLICY

Comrade Zhivkov stressed that in the period between the two

number 10-11, 1971 5

congresses the socialist countries have made new advances in their development. Their international prestige has grown and so has their influence on the destinies of mankind.

Comrade Zhivkov emphasized that the greatest credit for the successes of the socialist community goes to the imposing achievements of the Soviet Union, which today, too, is the bulwark of world socialism, the struggle for peace, mutual understanding and cooperation.

No unbiased person can fail to realize, he said, that if mankind has not been engulfed in the flames of a new world war, if imperialism cannot crudely impose its will on the newly free countries, if the socialist countries are successfully building a new life, we owe this to the Soviet Union, the Red giant towering on one-sixth of the globe, strong, peace-loving, fraternally generous and ready to come to the assistance of every nation fighting for its freedom and independence, for a better life.

The brilliant report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the speaker pointed out, charted a new magnificent program of the Soviet Union's development and a program of strengthening peace throughout the world, which our Party and people approve and fully support.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the Soviet people, led by their wise and selfless Communist Party, will realize the plans of the 24th Congress for the further building up of the material and spiritual foundations of communist society in their great and unconquerable country and for strengthening peace all over the world.

From the rostrum of the 10th Congress the Bulgarian Communists convey with a feeling of profound fraternal pride wholehearted greetings to the Soviet Communists, workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, to their glorious comrades and brothers and express their heartfelt gratitude to them for their invaluable contribution to the struggle of mankind for peace and progress, for socialism and communism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is building its relations with the fraternal socialist countries on the unshakeable foundation of socialist internationalism. In the period under review we renewed treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. For the first time we signed such a treaty with the German Democratic Republic. We also concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Mongolian People's Republic. We have further developed our relations with Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, extended our bilateral relations with the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Following this course, the Party and the Govern-

ment are striving to normalize inter-state relations with the Chinese People's Republic, in spite of the serious ideological and political disagreements.

In the period under review, the speaker said, the anti-socialist and Right revisionist forces in Czechoslovakia, encouraged and supported by international reaction, tried to make a breach in the socialist world, to tear Czechoslovakia away from the world socialist community. As is known, the People's Republic of Bulgaria fulfilled its internationalist and allied duty. Together with the troops of the allied socialist countries Bulgaria rendered internationalist aid to the Czechoslovak people. We are glad that the Czechoslovak Communists have overcome the ordeals, cleansed their ranks of Right revisionists and rallied their Party under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The hopes of the enemies of socialism collapsed. Czechoslovakia is and will continue to be a firm and unshakeable member of our fraternal camp, it is developing and will continue to develop as a socialist country. Experience shows that we can surmount any obstacles if we are united and rallied, if we constantly strengthen our friendship and cooperation and consistently and unswervingly follow the principles of socialist internationalism. The world socialist system will overcome difficulties, grow stronger and more prosperous, build up its ranks and advance ever more confidently.

The most important aspect of the development of the international working-class movement in the period between the 9th and 10th congresses of the BCP, Zhivkov continued, was the struggle to restore and strengthen unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the past few years our ties with the fraternal parties, notably the parties of socialist countries, have grown in scope. The international activity of the BCP has become more intensive, purposeful and varied.

At present, our Party maintains contacts with nearly all Communist and Workers' parties in different areas of the world. In 1967-70 315 delegations and workers' groups visited our country to exchange experience, and nearly 250 leaders of Communist and Workers' parties came on various occasions. Three hundred and thirteen delegations and workers' groups from our country were guests of fraternal parties. These ties and contacts promote further development of cooperation between the BCP and fraternal parties and contribute to the struggle for the unity of our movement.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969, Zhivkov said, was undoubtedly one of the major events of recent years not only in the life of our move-

ment, but also in international politics. The documents adopted by the Moscow Meeting are exerting and will continue to exert a strong influence on the entire development of the international situation.

The Chinese leaders have of late used the glorious jubilee of the Paris Commune to resume their slanderous attacks on the international Communist movement, the countries of the socialist community and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party which has uninterruptedly for seven decades been the standard-bearer of the world Communist movement.

The Bulgarian Communist Party resolutely condemns these attacks and slanderous fabrications of the Chinese leaders and their effort to divide our movement, split the ranks of the socialist countries and weaken the anti-imperialist front. Our Party will continue to fight vigorously against Right and "Left" revisionism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism and make its contribution to the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system, the international Communist and working-class movement, the solidarity and unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Then Comrade Zhivkov dwelt in detail on the relations between the BCP and the national liberation movements, on Bulgaria's support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Indochina and the Middle East, the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Comrade Zhivkov emphasized further on that the foreign policy of Bulgaria has been centered in the past few years on the problems of peace and security in Europe. As is known, he said, one of the greatest initiatives on the international arena, the proposal to convene an all-European conference on security and cooperation, has come from the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The favorable response of public opinion in Europe, and of a number of West European governments to our proposal, Zhivkov stressed, shows that the idea of a European security system has a powerful force of attraction. We are convinced that, despite all the efforts of the U.S. and its NATO supporters to the contrary, the all-European conference will materialize, for it is in the best interests of the European peoples and is the demand of the times we are living in.

The Bulgarian government, the speaker then said, continues to apply great efforts to improve the political situation in the Balkans and to develop good-neighbor relations of cooperation between the Balkan states.

We have recently renewed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with our northern neighbor, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, coordinated our plans for the next five-year

period and have made arrangements for a sharp increase in trade. We will continue to expand in every way the relations between our neighbor countries in the interests of the two allied and friendly peoples, in the interests of our common socialist cause.

In its relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia our country is guided by the idea that cooperation between the two socialist states meets the interests of our peoples, the interests of peace and socialism. The Bulgarian Communist Party and Government are directing and will continue to direct their efforts towards further strengthening good-neighbor Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations.

The state of our relations with the People's Republic of Albania does not serve the interests of the two countries. The Albanian leaders have bogged down in the quagmire of opportunism and anti-Sovietism and constantly set Albania in opposition to its natural allies. Despite this, we have sincerely made and will continue to make efforts to normalize and improve relations between our two Balkan countries.

Comrade Zhivkov pointed out that there has been marked progress in recent years in relations with Turkey. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue efforts to promote this positive process in Bulgarian-Turkish relations.

Following the signing of a number of bilateral agreements in 1964, the speaker went on, the relations with Greece have been normalized. Bulgaria will continue to maintain good-neighbor relations with Greece in the interests of peace in the Balkans and all over the world.

Friendly relations have existed between our country and the Republic of Cyprus from the first days of its existence. We fully support the legitimate striving of the Cypriot people to preserve the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of their country.

While developing bilateral relations with the neighboring countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to support and actively participate in all multilateral measures in the Balkans aimed at expanding economic, political and cultural ties between the Balkan countries and turning the Balkan Peninsula into a zone of lasting peace and stability, mutual understanding and cooperation.

The First Secretary of the CC BCP pointed out that friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the granite bedrock of Bulgaria's foreign policy. We can state with deep satisfaction and a feeling of sincere pleasure that we are successfully fulfilling the task set by the Ninth BCP Congress, that of further developing fraternal relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, of ever closer relations between the economy and culture of the two countries. The economic and scientific-technical cooperation is being raised to a higher level, cultural ties are grow-

ing and direct intercourse between the working people of the two countries is becoming more active.

Our Party and country, the Bulgarian people, follow and will always follow the behest of Georgi Dimitrov to strengthen the sacred Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, extend and deepen our relations with the great country building communism.

Allow me to assure the CPSU delegation led by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and, through it, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people that we shall always, under any circumstances, follow this behest which is so vital for the destiny of socialist Bulgaria. Expressing the innermost thoughts and feelings of Bulgarian Communists and the entire people, our Party has solemnly inscribed these memorable words into its Program:

For the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people Bulgaro-Soviet friendship is what sunshine and air are for every living being; it is a friendship going back in the centuries and a friendship for centuries to come; it is one of the chief motive forces of our development, a condition for and a guarantee of the future progress of our socialist motherland, of its morrow.

Our foreign policy, Zhivkov stressed, is based not on considerations of the moment, but on the long-term interests of our people, the socialist community and the international revolutionary movement. Its prime objective is to do the maximum possible to provide favorable international conditions for the building of socialist society in our country, to contribute to the strengthening of the positions of socialism and to promote peace and progress throughout the world.

Loyalty to the internationalist traditions of Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov has earned the BCP high prestige in the international Communist movement. For us Bulgarian Communists, Zhivkov stressed, nothing is more valued than the respect and trust of fraternal parties, and we shall cherish and preserve them with our lives, our work, our struggle for the triumph of communism, our great common cause!

II

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY FOR BUILDING THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF SOCIALISM, FOR ECONOMIC INTENSIFICATION

The main socio-economic task of the sixth five-year plan is to ensure the all-round and still fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people and to raise their socialist consciousness through comprehensive utilization of the

results of the scientific-technical revolution, greater social productivity of labor and rapid economic upsurge.

The present level of the productive forces and relations of production reached since the Ninth BCP Congress is a good basis for fulfilling this task. During this period the basic production assets increased by 69 per cent and the national income 52 per cent as compared with 1965, with 97.5 per cent of its increase being accounted for by higher productivity of labor.

Comrade Zhivkov pointed out the main aspects of the Directives for the new five-year plan. These are the all-round intensification of the economy and its higher effectiveness; acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the development and perfection of the structure of social production and of separate branches of the economy; a consistent line of building up a modern, proportionately developed and highly effective social production. The basic funds of the country will increase by 50 per cent and the national income 47-50 per cent. The share of industry will grow from 48.8 per cent in 1970 to 54.6 per cent in 1975.

Other important aspects of the Directives are the increased role of international socialist integration and all-round rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, further consolidation of the political and material basis of the worker-peasant alliance and enhanced ideological unity of the people.

Comrade Zhivkov said that accelerated industrialization of the country, consistent introduction of new industrial technologies and methods in all branches of the economy are now the main direction of economic development, the essential condition and prerequisite for achieving the immediate historical task of the Party, the task of building a mature socialist society.

The First Secretary of the CC BCP devoted much attention to Bulgaria's participation in international socialist integration. Our tasks in the next five years, he said, derive above all from the decisions of the 23rd special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which envisage an elaboration of a comprehensive program of socialist economic integration. The integration processes will more and more concern the coordination of planning, prognostication and the channeling of basic material resources, automatic control systems, unification of the computer technology. The major task here is to ensure commitments in coordinating Bulgaria's plans with those of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Bulgaria has undertaken responsible obligations with regard to specialization and coordination and the export of a large share (in terms of total output) of the products of engineering, electronics, instrument-making industry, chemicals, light and food industries and agriculture.

The efforts in foreign trade are concentrated on drastically im-

proving the structures of export and increasing the effectiveness of foreign trade, making maximum use of the favorable opportunities opening up before Bulgaria on several main international markets and increasing the economic effect of foreign trade so as to set up an optimal structure of production and secure high quality of goods.

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The speaker described the years after the Ninth Congress of the Party as a period of continued growth of the cultural standards of the working people of town and country.

Today Bulgaria has a rather powerful (in terms of its conditions and possibilities) scientific potential, comprising 111 institutes and scientific centers of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 26 institutions of higher learning, 49 research institutes and designing bureaus, more than 40 departmental institutes and technical development bases. At present some 55,000 people are engaged in scientific activity, including 13,000 researchers.

The speaker also pointed to the rapid growth of allocations for science. Scientific cadres in industry, with 72 per cent of them active in engineering, occupy a leading place in the economy.

Touching on the development of the social sciences, the speaker emphasized their importance as a solid scientific basis for socialist management and ideological-educational work, for struggle against bourgeois ideology. Speaking of the concern shown by the Party for the promotion of science, Zhivkov underlined the significance of the July 1968 and September 1969 Plenums of the Central Committee, which evolved new concepts for the organization and direction of scientific activity.

In connection with the tasks ahead in this field, Comrade Zhivkov said: the Bulgarian Communist Party, as the draft Program points out, sets the aim of raising science to a level making it possible to put the entire activity in Bulgaria—political, economic, ideological, educational, managerial, etc.—on a scientific basis in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist theory and the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

Concerning the question of a fundamental reshaping and further development of the socialist education system, the CC BCP considers the implementation of obligatory schooling of all children under the age of 16 to be a big success. In a historically short period of time large contingents of specialists have been trained in all spheres of knowledge. During the fifth five-year plan period

alone the country's educational establishments trained 410,305 specialists as compared with 269,666 trained during the previous five-year plan period, including 59,273 specialists with a higher education.

In the sphere of education the Party is confronted with an especially urgent task of reducing the differences in the educational standards of different classes and social groups at a fast rate through the introduction of universal secondary education, on the one hand, and, on the other, drastically improving the structure, content and methods of education to keep abreast of the requirements of the times.

Universal secondary education will be introduced in the current five-year plan period. Another main task of the five-year plan is to provide scientific, educational-methodological, economic, organizational and personnel prerequisites for carrying out a reform of the entire system of education.

Introduction of full and partial boarding school education continues. Provisions are being made for deep-going quantitative and qualitative changes in higher education. In the next five years the institutions of higher learning will train nearly 65,000 specialists, including 26,000 engineers.

The BCP, Comrade Zhivkov continued, has always regarded literature and art as an important component part of Party work. For their part, the finest representatives of the creative intelligentsia have been for several decades now following the Party, treating their work as a Party, Communist cause. The speaker emphasized that the general trend of Bulgarian art is an organic link of the artist with the Party, with the struggle for the triumph of communism. He noted that there are now functioning in the Republic over 19,000 cultural institutions—reading clubs, houses of culture, theatres, libraries and museums. There are 13,000 amateur art groups, involving more than 400,000 people, mainly young people. Last year alone, amateur choirs won twelve gold medals at international competitions.

We can report to the Congress with a feeling of pride, Zhivkov said, that today Bulgaria has many talented and highly competent people in science and the creative arts, devoted to communist ideas, closely rallied around the policy of the BCP. The Party highly appraises their contribution, their unremitting efforts, their boundless fidelity to the socialist motherland, to the cause of communism. From this rostrum the Party calls scientists, teachers, writers and artists for new creative quests in order to raise the education, science and culture of the Bulgarian people to a new level and to further enhance the role of the Party as the guiding and leading force.

IV

IMPROVING SOCIAL MANAGEMENT AND PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

A central aspect of the Party's effort to improve the leadership of society is to foster the socialist state by bringing its functions and structure into line with the social, class and political changes and by promoting its democratic character. While retaining its main features and functions as the power of the working class, the state will increasingly become a political organization of the whole people.

Very important in heightening the role of people's councils were the decisions of the November 1968 meeting of the Central Committee. Much more effort will be required to make people's councils full-fledged organs of popular self-government which must, first of all, meet all of the working people's requirements and enlist their active participation in government.

Then Zhivkov spoke of the role of public organizations in social management.

Increasing the role of mass organizations is the main line along which to develop socialist democracy. The Party does much to reshape and enrich the content of the activity of the Fatherland Front. The socio-political functions of the Front have been extending, particularly ever since it was vested with extensive public control powers. Its role in managing the country's affairs as a socio-political organization of the whole people is growing.

The trade unions play an ever more important role in social management. Their main task is skilfully to combine efforts for the fulfilment of tasks facing the whole people and of economic plans with work as the main exponent and defender of the personal and collective interests of the working people.

As regards the Dimitrov Young Communist League, now over one million strong, results show, Zhivkov said, that it was right to enhance the role of this organization as the vanguard of the younger generation and as the Party's foremost assistant and reserve and its powerful associate in building socialism. Youth are the people's future and hope. Our duty is to pass on our political and economic experience to new generations so that they may grow up and develop as worthy continuators of our great cause.

From this rostrum the Party expresses its satisfaction over the state of our cooperation with the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union (BAPU), over the Union's contribution to socialist development, especially in farming, and over its international activity. In the future as in the past, the Party will work shoulder to shoulder

with its loyal ally and active fellow-fighter for the happiness of the people, the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union. The draft Party Program underlines that this fraternal organization plays, and will continue to play, a big role in promoting socialist society and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and the socio-political and ideological unity of the Bulgarian people. Further socialist development will make the links between the BCP and BAPU closer still. It will impart a deeper and richer content to cooperation between the two organizations and lead to their gradually drawing closer together in a common effort and work for common objectives, for the triumph of their common ideal.

This section of the CC report also deals with the draft of the new Bulgarian Constitution, to be approved through a referendum after nationwide discussion.

The new Constitution, T. Zhivkov said, embodies and expresses the real humanism and democracy of socialist society. It constitutes the legal basis for the development of state power and its organs, civil rights and freedoms, and socialist democracy. It is the Constitution of a state building a developed socialist society.

V

CARE OF MAN, THE PARTY'S MAIN CONCERN

All of the Party's plans and undertakings are prompted by the one desire to take care of man, to meet the people's material and spiritual requirements ever more fully. The Bulgarian people's life has radically changed under socialist power. Poverty, illiteracy, fear for the future are gone never to return, and the life of the masses is changing fast as their material and cultural standards improve.

Maintaining correct proportions between accumulation and consumption funds, the Party in the period under review has ensured a rapid rise in the standard of life. Real per capita income has increased 33.5 per cent in five years. Nor is this a percentage growth only but also in absolute value, for whereas under the second five-year plan an increase of 41 per cent equalled roughly 140 leva, a 30 per cent growth under the sixth five-year plan will equal almost 270 leva.

The current five-year plan gives priority to increasing the pay of workers operating new machinery and apparatus, as well as that of research and educational personnel. Minimum pay will rise and the proportion of low-paid blue and white-collar workers will diminish simultaneously. The trend towards bringing real incomes of the working people of town and country closer together will continue.

The Party has always done much to solve social problems in time. Bulgaria is a country using one of the world's most progressive systems of social maintenance. In this field, too, there are some unsolved problems which may be listed as follows: raising minimum pensions, proceeding to reduce distinctions in pensioning conditions for members of diverse social groups, introducing social pensions for those disabled from birth and old people having no income, periodically bringing pensions into line with changes in the incomes of the gainfully employed population with the object of equalizing old and new pensions, and increasing temporary invalidity allowances for blue and white-collar workers with a short service record.

These vitally important problems require substantial spending. Nevertheless, our socialist society is making their solution the order of the day and will solve them in the next few years, in step with increasing financial possibilities.

In solving problems of the standard of life, the Party follows a policy of stable retail prices and creates the prerequisites for reducing them. Consumption is to increase considerably under the sixth five-year plan: meat and meat products 29 per cent, milk and other dairy products 33, eggs 33, vegetables 26 and fruit 44 per cent. The pattern of the people's diet will change, with the proportion of foodstuffs whose consumption has reached or exceeded scientifically rational standards, such as bread and other bakery products, sugar and confectionery, vegetable oil, and so on, decreasing or staying at the same level.

There is still a discrepancy between the growing purchasing power of the population and the supply of goods and services as regards structure and choice. A target of the current five-year plan is to begin eliminating this discrepancy, and a number of programs for various groups of consumer goods are in preparation. At the same time production will be integrated ever more fully and trade in consumer goods with other socialist countries will steadily expand. As a result, retail trade is expected to increase by 38 to 40 per cent.

T. Zhivkov next spoke of the Party's efforts to solve the housing problem. The current five-year plan calls for 250,000 flats to be built at the expense of the state and the cooperatives (as against 130,000 under the fifth five-year plan). Twice as much will be spent on housing as in the previous five years. Appropriations to build nurseries and kindergartens will increase sharply—from 26 million leva in the previous five year to 110 million leva. Children's institutions will be built mostly in those areas where the proportion of female labor is high.

In connection with the problem of raising the birth rate, the speaker pointed out the positive results achieved through approp-

riate measures. To solve the problem on a comprehensive basis, it is essential to increase allowances for children, especially for the second child, and to put the cooperative peasants on an equal footing in this respect with blue and white-collar workers.

Medical care is admittedly indispensable to improving the standard of life. In terms of medical personnel and hospital beds, Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries of the world.

Zhivkov also touched on the problem of the working people making proper use of their leisure hours. The time has come to work out a comprehensive program for solving the problem of man and his environment.

VI

FURTHER GROWTH OF PARTY'S ROLE AS A LEADING AND GUIDING FORCE

The July 1968 CC meeting, which, on the basis of the Leninist principles and norms of Party life and in keeping with the new conditions, elaborated important theoretical and practical problems of Party building and formulated the principal tasks of further enhancing the Party's leading role, was an important stage of the development of the Party after the 9th Congress.

During this period the Party CC operated as a collective body. The most important problems facing the Party and the country were discussed and decided at CC plenums on a broad democratic basis. There were 26 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, and 12 national conferences of the Party, state and economic management activ were convened.

The BCP is coming to its 10th Congress united and consolidated, with its composition improved in terms of quantity and quality, enabling the Party to fulfil its guiding role in a worthy manner, noted T. Zhivkov. As of April 1, 1971, the Party numbered 699,476 members in more than 24,000 primary organizations. This is 80,800 more than at the time of the Ninth Congress. Every ninth adult in the country is ideologically and organizationally connected with Party activities. Workers comprise 40.1 per cent of the Party membership, cooperative peasants 26.06 per cent and employees 28.19 per cent. There have also been positive changes in the age composition of Party members, a greater number of members being under 30. Nearly three-fourths of the new members admitted after the Ninth Congress are young people, mainly Komsomol members. The qualitative composition reflects the Party's policy to strengthen the worker nucleus and to include all generations and sections of the working people. This policy, corresponding to the position

and guiding role of the working class in socialist society, must be continued in the future.

The best representatives of the working class, the co-operative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia should join the Party, said T. Zhivkov. Naturally, Party composition should constantly be rejuvenated by admitting primarily the more active Komsomol members. The Party must be firm in ridding itself of members who do not possess or who have lost the qualities of a Communist, who display ideological instability, commit anti-Party actions and utilize Party membership to their own advantage. Concern for the purity of Party ranks and improvement of the qualitative composition of the Party is and should be a law for all Party organs and organizations.

T. Zhivkov dwelt on certain basic organizational and ideological problems of Party work. Equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the BCP is drafting its policy on the basis of a detailed study of concrete historical processes in the country and the world. It is making its creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the international Communist and workers' movement. A scientific approach to problems of social life comprises its essence as a guiding force.

In order to further improve the scientific level of Party organizational activities, the BCP intends to exert still greater efforts to increase the role of Party organs as organs of the political leadership of the people, to overcome narrow practicalism in their activities and to acquire fresh knowledge and the complex art of political leadership. As a guiding force, the Party must provide unity of action of the various organs of social management, develop their initiative and enhance their responsibility for the attainment of common goals.

Speaking of the Party's ties with the masses and improvement of Party work with cadres, T. Zhivkov said that the correct functioning of the entire system of socialist society depends decisively on the nature and content of the relationship: the leaders—the Party—the working class—the people.

The main goal of Party work among non-Party members, he said, is to raise their political awareness and labor activity. The guiding role of the Party means that, while developing its ties with the working people in every way, taking heed of their opinions and proposals, it must educate the people and convince them of the correctness of its policy, give them its conception of various phenomena and trends in social development and confidently lead the people forward.

Our Party has one code of rules, one code of morals and one discipline, equally obligatory for all Party members, Zhivkov said. A rank-and-file worker and a director-general in the system of state

leadership have differing rights but in the Party organization they are equal members. It is not at all rare when the word of a Communist from the factory floor carries more weight than the word of a Communist authority.

During the period under review, the report continues, greater trust and respect have been shown for cadres, greater cohesion around Party policy by functionaries of all generations.

Every generation, continued T. Zhivkov, enjoys certain advantages over other generations and a correct cadres policy is the one skilfully combining wisdom and youth, experience and a feeling for the new, knowledge and enthusiasm. This policy alone is capable of avoiding a clash of generations and fostering mutual respect and trust between cadres, sincere, comradely relations between people who have common ideals and who work for a common cause.

Party and other bodies of social management were re-enforced by a new contingent of competent cadres.

The Party's cadres policy is invariably guided by the principle of promoting to managerial posts people from the working class.

At the present stage of the country's development special attention should be paid to the advancement of non-Party cadres. The Party promotes such personnel to higher posts and should do so in future more boldly.

Touching on the Party's ideological work, T. Zhivkov said that the Party could be proud of the fact that in Bulgaria Marxism-Leninism has become a great material force, that both its theory and practice have a powerful influence on the consciousness of the masses.

At the same time, the demands made on ideological work are growing. One of the reasons is the sharpening of the international class struggle. All this creates new conditions dictating the necessity to complete the re-shaping of the ideological front, change the approach to educational work, taking more into account the influence of the social environment, closely coordinating ideological work with the problems posed in everyday life before the Party and country, applying modern highly effective methods of organization and management of the ideological process.

Greater attention should be given to the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, the intelligentsia, the working class and the youth. The CC BCP stresses the role of the system of Party education, which at present encompasses more than 750,000 Communists and non-Party activists and the 30 thousand-strong army of propaganda workers, tirelessly disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism. Aside from the significance of political and mass work, the report underscores the role of the mass media of information and propa-

ganda whose role as militant centers of the ideological front will continue to be developed.

Many of the tasks facing our ideological front coincide with the tasks being solved by the fraternal Communist parties in other socialist countries. That is why the BCP is an active supporter of the policy of greater socialist integration in ideological work, said T. Zhivkov. The problem of class Party education of the youth is becoming extremely important in the present conditions of a bitter class struggle between the forces of socialism and the forces of imperialism on a world scale. The experience of the BCP shows that the people can be educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism only from consistent class and Party positions.

The CC BCP has proposed certain changes in the Party Rules. For instance, it is believed to be expedient to hold Party congresses every five years. In this way the convocation of congresses will coincide with the approval of the directives on the five-year plans for the country's socio-economic development and precede elections to the People's Assembly.

VII

ON THE NEW PARTY PROGRAM

One of the important features of the 10th Congress, one that imparts it historic significance, said T. Zhivkov, is that it is to discuss and approve a new Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In all our activities we proceed from and are guided by the fundamental tenets of Marxist-Leninist theory. But historical experience has shown that our theory must be applied creatively, giving it concrete expression and developing it further, first, in accordance with the concrete conditions in each country and its stage of development and, secondly, in accordance with the changes in the international situation, in the development of the world revolutionary process and the international balance of forces. The BCP program documents adopted so far have been fulfilled long ago. This requires that a new Program be adopted by the Party, which would theoretically generalize and interpret the historical experience of the past and present, disclose the future trends in the country's development and creatively apply and develop Marxism-Leninism in line with the requirements of the new stage, a program which would define and scientifically substantiate the Party's immediate historical task and the main directions, ways and means of fulfilling it.

The main feature of the BCP Program is that it is a program for the building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

In drafting the BCP Program we were aided greatly by the CPSU Program, its theoretical wealth, the laws and perspectives of society's advance towards communism contained in it, Zhivkov said.

Such an approach is only natural, first, because our Party is a Marxist-Leninist internationalist Party and, second, because the process of building socialism in Bulgaria is part of the single world revolutionary process following objective laws valid for all countries and peoples. In planning the next stage of development we attempted to organically combine the Party's international and national tasks, the general and the particular. We tried to ensure that in form and content the Program should have a Bulgarian identity, that it should reflect not only what is true of all countries and peoples but the specific and concrete conditions and tasks facing our Party and people. We are also guided by the Marxist-Leninist requirement for a program to be drawn up on a scientific basis, that is be realistic to the maximum and that it fully correspond to the concrete conditions and level of development in our country.

The discussion of the Program has vividly demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks, unity and cohesion of all the people around the Party's general line, the unity of all generations in Bulgaria.

The new draft Party Program reflects the new and important theoretical problems, among which the most significant is the place and nature of a developed socialist society as a phase in the development of the first stage of the communist formation, said T. Zhivkov.

The speaker enumerated the most important prerequisites created in Bulgaria for the building of a developed socialist society. Among these the main prerequisites are the absolute supremacy of socialist production relations in town and country, the formation of a unified socialist and economic base for the development of society as a whole. The other prerequisites include the level that has been reached in the development of the productive forces, a new socio-class structure totally differing from that under capitalism, ideological-political and moral unity of Bulgarian society, a fully established socialist political and ideological superstructure, a strong world system of socialism, a new type of mutual relations between countries and the socialist community and developing international socialist integration. All this represents the new, the socialist, foundation on which a mature socialist society is being built and developed.

One more important theoretical problem in BCP activity concerns the character and development trends of socialist ownership at the next stage. One of these trends in the immediate future is the

continuous growth and enrichment of the two forms of socialist property, public and cooperative.

Public (state) property will develop mainly through the improvement of forms of its utilization, in which an important role is played by the concentration of production and consolidation of economic units on this basis.

Cooperative socialist ownership is developed mainly through further socialization of the means of production. The main direction of this tendency is towards the merger of cooperatives and especially the establishment of agrarian-industrial complexes.

Simultaneously one more important tendency will be developed. This concerns a gradual coming together of cooperative and state property and their future merger into one system of public property.

The character of socialist property will be greatly influenced by the development of international socialist economic integration. Socialist ownership will gradually grow beyond the national boundaries of individual socialist countries and will be socialized on the scale of the world socialist community. This will serve as the basis for the emergence and development of the elements of international socialist property as a new phenomena in the general development of fraternal countries advancing towards socialism and communism.

Of great theoretical and practical significance in the Party Program is the problem of developing the social structure during the building of a mature socialist society in the country, said T. Zhivkov.

The speaker dwelt on some theoretical propositions concerning the growth of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people and on the growing mass participation of the working people in social administration directly or through representative bodies.

The Communist Party, remaining a working-class party, gradually becomes the people's vanguard, a party of all the people, said the speaker. To take this objective process into account does not at all signify minimizing the leading role of the working class, substituting petty-bourgeois ideas for Marxist-Leninist ideas, confusing the Communist ideal with the ideology of Populism or abstract humanism. We resolutely reject both dogmatic and extremist assertions to the effect that the role of the working class can be fulfilled by the intelligentsia, the peasantry or the youth, and the Right-opportunist assertions about the working class becoming merged with or dissolved in other social strata. During the building of a mature socialist society the Communist Party continues to be a party of the working class while gradually becoming a party of the whole people.

T. Zhivkov stressed the exceptional significance of the new Program in improving the entire leading activity of the Party. Very

important in this respect is the fact that the Program helps Bulgarian Communists take better account of the requirements of the objective laws of social development. Also important is the fact that the Program is the foundation for further elaborating theoretical problems of social development in Bulgaria. The significance of this document lies in the fact that it is addressed not only to the Party but to all the people.

At the same time the Program provides a new ideological weapon helping ideological workers and the country's ideological front wage a more energetic and effective struggle against modern bourgeois ideology and anti-communism, against modern revisionism and dogmatism.

T. Zhivkov defined the international significance of the BCP Program as follows: it demonstrates the indubitable superiority of the socialist social system over capitalism. By building a mature socialist society we are also fulfilling our internationalist duty to world socialism and the international revolutionary movement. One more important international aspect of this document is that it can play a positive ideological and political role in relation to peoples and countries that have chosen the non-capitalist path of development or that will follow a socialist path.

VIII

We are deeply convinced, said T. Zhivkov in conclusion, that the decisions of the 10th Party Congress will be carried out by the working class, the working people in our cooperative villages and by our people's intelligentsia.

A guarantee of this is our Party, its unity and solidarity, its unshakable fidelity to the great revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the unbreakable ties binding the Party and the people, their identity of views and unity of action. A guarantee of this is our membership of the world socialist community, our indestructible friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, with the great and unconquerable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confidently advancing towards communism.

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

AT 10th CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear comrades,
Friends,

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people, our delegation conveys hearty fraternal greetings to the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to all Communists and working folk of Bulgaria. We are sincerely grateful to your Party's Central Committee for the invitation to attend the Congress, and wish the delegates a successful, fruitful work.

All socialist Bulgaria's friends cannot but rejoice at the splendid accomplishments described by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the Report of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and in the speeches of the delegates. They express the labor of the people, the policy of the Communist Party which is confidently leading the Bulgarian people along the socialist road.

By all its heroic history, its deeds and its devoted service to the people, the Bulgarian Communist Party has demonstrated its ability and right to captain socialist construction. It is loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, close ties with the broad working masses, awareness of their needs and aspirations that give the Communists their strength and make them acknowledged leaders in the nationwide struggle for socialism.

The firm alliance between Bulgaria's working class and toiling peasantry, expressed also in the years of long fraternal cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Agrarian National Union, has indissolubly integrated the Bulgarian people on the foundation of socialist ideals.

The Bulgaria of the time of the tsars was one of Europe's most backward countries. For many decades it was the object of imperialist intrigues, the victim of bellicose adventurism and fascist terror. Now this has all gone, never to return. Bulgaria today is a prosperous socialist state with a powerful modern industry and progressive farming. Bulgaria's cities and towns have taken on a new look. Its villages have changed beyond all recognition. Bulgaria today is a sovereign state, an active participant in world affairs, a full-fledged, respected member of the fraternal family of socialist countries and nations.

**Pravda*, April 22, 1971.

All this, comrades, has been achieved by the power of the working people, by the Communist Party, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, by a nation delivered from the fetters of exploitation and oppression.

In the fraternal socialist countries the fundamental social problems for the solution of which so many generations of revolutionaries had fought have already been solved. Exploitation of man by man has been abolished. There is no unemployment. Every working man feels he is master of his own destiny, of his country. This provides a fine foundation for the confident advance to new heights in socialist and communist construction, a dependable basis for the realization of the boldest designs. It stands to reason that Communists are far from claiming that the future augurs an idyllic life of cloudless bliss. Each new phase of social development poses its own tasks of complexity and scope. In the process of socialist and communist construction there arise difficulties and contradictions which have to be overcome. But the goals the Communists set are quite attainable. And they certainly will be reached!

This 10th Congress which is to endorse the Bulgarian Communist Party's program ushers in a new and important stage in the life of your Party and country. We consider the opportunity of being with you these days, of being able to attend your Congress, a great honor and an indication of the indissoluble bonds binding our fraternal Parties and our peoples.

In drafting its program the Bulgarian Communist Party could draw on the experience accumulated in the process of socialist reforms, on the glorious internationalist traditions of Bulgaria's Communists, the traditions of Blagoyev and Dimitrov. The draft program outlines a consistent policy for the building of a well-developed socialist society, for an ever fuller gratification of the working people's material and cultural requirements. That is the main thing, comrades. Socialism's strength lies in the socialist system serving the working people's interests. This is the clue to its firmness, the source of the trust that the people repose in the Communists who are directing the effort to revolutionize society along the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the other fraternal parties have at their disposal the precious asset of international experience in the struggle for socialism and communism. The Communist Parties are creatively applying this experience to the conditions obtaining in their respective countries. We, Soviet Communists, know full well that at every stage in its history the Bulgarian Communist Party has acted in close and fraternal cooperation with our Party, with the revolutionaries of our country. The indestructible militant

friendship between Soviet and Bulgarian Communists has always been a firm link in the common front of the revolutionary forces, and so it will remain.

Permit me, comrade delegates, to pass on to you from Soviet Communists and our entire people warm and heartfelt wishes for every success in tackling the economic, political, and social tasks charted for the next five years and in attaining the great goals set out in your Party's draft program.

Comrades, the Soviet delegation has come to Sofia still very much under the impression of the proceedings at the 24th CPSU Congress, which outlined the key tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, and our entire people for the next five years.

The decisions of that Congress open up broad prospects in communist construction for Communists and all Soviet people.

Unswervingly abiding by the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, our Party will continue to do all in its power to secure the further efflorescence and gradual establishment of still closer relations between all the socialist nations comprising the Soviet Union.

In the new Five-Year Plan we shall steadfastly continue our policy of enhancing the efficiency of all of social production, of rapidly applying the achievements of scientific and technological progress in the economy, and of improving the systems of management and planning. When we complete the transition to universal secondary schooling, we shall have laid an even firmer foundation for still higher cultural and educational standards of the Soviet people. In every field we shall concentrate on the main task of raising the material and cultural levels of our people, which is the pivot of our entire policy.

The Soviet people have unanimously approved the results of the Congress. Work has begun on the practical realization of the Party's plans. And though we have much to do and the tasks before us are impressive, we are confident of our final success. The earnest of success is the atmosphere of labor and political enthusiasm prevailing in our country.

Literally each new day brings news of fresh accomplishments by the Soviet people in labor, culture, science and technology. One outstanding instance of this is the successful launching on April 19 of the orbital space scientific station Salyut. This, comrades, is not only a new major step in space exploration and development, but a very significant milestone for further advance in this very important field for all of mankind.

Our delegation has been deeply moved by the high assessment given from this rostrum of the activities of our Party and the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. May I cordially thank you

for these fraternal sentiments, for the warm words said here about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. May I also once again thank the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation led by our great friend Todor Zhivkov, an outstanding leader of the international communist movement, for having attended our Congress. May I assure you, dear comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will remain staunchly loyal to Leninist internationalist traditions and do all in its power to consolidate and promote friendship and cooperation with Bulgaria's Communists, with Communists in the other socialist countries, with all our comrades in the struggle for socialism and communism.

Comrades, in each country, socialist construction has its own specific, characteristic, and distinctive features. That is quite natural. At the same time, as is rightly emphasized in the Bulgarian Communist Party's draft program, the decisive significance of common laws in the development of all the socialist countries has been historically proved. Hence, far from fortuitous, for instance, is the deep interconnection between the matters being discussed at this 10th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and the tasks which were considered at the 24th CPSU Congress.

It is quite logical that both congresses focus their attention on the task of ensuring a substantial improvement in the working people's living standards. This can be accomplished through a further growth of social labor productivity, a well-devised policy of capital investments, a planned and proportionate development of all branches of the national economy.

The 24th CPSU Congress and the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party show once more that such questions as the development of socialist democracy, strengthening of the unity of classes and social groups of socialist society, with the working class assigned the leading role, are constantly in the field of vision of the Communists in socialist countries.

Both our congresses indicate how important today are the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the communist education of the working people, an uncompromising struggle against the ideology and morals of the old world.

Our positions in the ideological struggle are strong as never before. On our side is the truth of the practical achievements of socialism. We possess the most powerful weapon—the Marxist-Leninist teaching which helps us find correct answers to the new questions put by life. The strength of our ideals lies in the fact that they are corroborated by the entire course of social development which, step by step, leads all of mankind to socialism.

Realizing this, our enemies do their utmost to besmirch our ideals. They would like to cast doubt on the historic truth of the great cause for which we Communists are working. Therefore, the

offensive against bourgeois ideology and the struggle against all kinds of opportunist, revisionist and nationalist tendencies have always been and remain one of our most urgent tasks.

Comrades, Lenin said in 1920 that when socialism emerges victorious in a number of advanced countries the latter will be capable of exercising "a decisive influence upon world politics as a whole." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.) Now we all see that things are going precisely in this direction. Today the socialist states have become a force exercising a mighty influence on the entire world development. Today the influence of the socialist system penetrates all spheres of international life and all corners of our planet. The achievements scored by our countries in the construction of socialism and communism encourage millions upon millions of people in the former colonies and dependent countries to build a new life, and inspire the working people in the capitalist countries to struggle for the overthrow of exploiters' rule. The downtrodden peoples look upon the socialist countries as their support and hope, as the bulwark of peace and justice.

The steadily growing might of the socialist states, their alliance with the revolutionary, liberation and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world are today a decisive factor in the struggle for the deliverance of mankind from the danger of a world missile-nuclear war. In places where the imperialists use arms in an attempt to crush the liberation struggle, they meet with an ever firmer and resolute rebuff. They have learned from their own experience the strength of the solidarity of revolutionary forces and the effectiveness of the support given by socialist countries to those fighting against imperialist aggression. Most eloquent in this respect is the successful struggle of the patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against the U.S. aggressors, and the failure of the imperialist plans to overthrow the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

The socialist countries have scored no little success in their persistent and consistent struggle for a lasting peace, security and mutually advantageous cooperation of the peoples of Europe, although a great deal still remains to be done.

In a word, comrades, the role of the socialist countries in the modern world is exceptionally great and noble. Just as great is our internationalist responsibility as Communists to our class brothers, to working people all over the world. We realize full well that the socialist countries will be able to discharge their historic mission all the more successfully the more serried their ranks are and the more friendly and concerted are their actions in the world arena.

We highly appreciate the valuable contribution made by Bulgarian Communists to the strengthening of the socialist com-

munity. The Bulgarian Communist Party has always proceeded and now proceeds from positions of consistent socialist internationalism in developing socialist economic integration, in defending socialist gains on the international scene and in working out measures for the further strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty. For that we, its friends and allies, pay our deepest respect.

We may here state with deep satisfaction to our peoples, to the whole world, that the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, like the other fraternal socialist states, the Warsaw Treaty allies, are unanimous in their resolve actively and consistently to follow the Leninist policy of defending the cause of peace and the freedom of nations. And no one will ever be able to destroy our unity. One of its concrete manifestations is the community of the foreign-policy programs of our Parties outlined at the 24th CPSU Congress and here at the Congress of Bulgarian Communists.

We stand for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of all nations. Our aims are near and dear to the working people in all countries and meet with their strong approval. On our side is the invincible power of the laws of historical development. Therefore, we firmly believe that whatever difficulties, whatever unexpected developments may arise in the international situation, the just cause espoused by the Communists of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will triumph for the good of mankind.

Comrades, concluding my speech I would like once again to wish you and all the working people of the Republic great successes in labor and to wish socialist Bulgaria happiness and prosperity. We are bound by relations of genuine friendship and fraternity. We are convinced that the work of the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its decisions will make a fresh contribution to the consolidation of our fraternal relations, to the strengthening of the militant union of the countries of socialism.

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, the organizer and inspirer of the building of socialism in Bulgaria!

May the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, their unbreakable union, develop and flourish!

May the world socialist system, the stronghold of peace, democracy and progress, grow stronger!

Long live the unity of the revolutionary forces of today and their vanguard—the world Communist movement!

May the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin live long and triumph!

PROGRAM OF BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The new Program of the BCP adopted at its 10th Congress consists of the Introduction and five sections. Below we publish excerpts from the Introduction, the full text of Section II, part of Section III and the full text of the two concluding Sections. Published according to *Rabotnichesko Delo*, April 29, 1971.

INTRODUCTION

In the First Program, adopted by the Constituent Congress in 1891, the Party, *"thinking that the liberation of the workers is the deed of the workers themselves,"* set itself the task of raising the consciousness of the working class and of organizing it, with a view to *"liberating our society from contemporary slavery and establishing the socialist order in Bulgaria."* The Party waged for many years a selfless struggle to inculcate socialist ideas into the working class, to organize its class battles.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia ushered in the era of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism.

A new stage began in the life and struggles of the Party of the Bulgarian working class. As a logical result of the road travelled, the *Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (Left-wing Socialists)* became in toto one of the co-founder parties of the Third Communist International, renamed itself at its 22nd Congress in 1919 (the First Congress of the BCP) the Communist Party, adopted a Program statement and directed its attention to the all-round preparation of the working people to carry out a socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

Dimitr Blagoev and his comrades-in-arms placed the Party under the revolutionary red banner of the Great October. Georgi Dimitrov and his comrades-in-arms turned the Party into a party of the Leninist type.

Having become a party of a new type, the Bulgarian Communist Party actively prepared and was quite ready for the revolutionary situation at the time of the Second World War. It rallied the working class, the anti-fascist and democratic forces, and the broad masses, organized them and aroused them for an armed struggle which, under the leadership of the Party and with the decisive aid of the Soviet Army-liberator, overthrew the monarcho-fascist regime, established a people's democratic rule and paved the way for socialism in Bulgaria.

The victory of the socialist revolution on September 9, 1944 realized the tasks set by the Program statement of 1919. It ushered in a new era in Bulgaria's thirteen-centuries-old history—the era of socialism and communism.

Tempered in half a century of class battles, having suffered setbacks in uprisings and surviving, triumphed on September 9 and led Bulgaria along the road blazed by the Soviet Union. The Fifth Congress of the Party in 1948 drafted, under Georgi Dimitrov's leadership, the program tasks for the transition period from capitalism to socialism, for the victory of the socialist system. Within a short period the Bulgarian people overcame tremendous difficulties, crushed the resistance of the class enemy, and established socialism as a political and socio-economic system.

The April 1956 Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, completely restoring the Leninist principles of leadership and norms of Party life and bringing the constructive work of the Party into full conformity with the requirements of the objective laws of social development, ensured a climate conducive to the development of the Party's and the people's creative initiative and efforts, the completion of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the evolution of the socialist system, a rapid advance of the nation's material and spiritual forces. Socialism, which our people achieved at the cost of countless precious lives and rivers of blood, investing in its construction all their dreams and hopes, energies and talents, all their self-sacrifice, prevailed completely and irrevocably in socio-political life, in the economy and in culture.

Today, objectively appraising the degree of socio-economic, political and cultural development achieved in our country, the strengthened all-round might of the countries of the socialist community, the development and broadening of fraternal co-operation between them, the balance of power on a world scale and the trends of the world revolutionary process, the unprecedented opportunities which the socialist system opens up for the scientific and technical revolution, and creatively using the theoretical achievements and the rich experience of the CPSU, of the parties of the other socialist states, of the entire international communist and workers' movement—the Bulgarian Communist Party adopts its program for the building up of an advanced socialist society in Bulgaria.

The Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party combines into one the past and the present with the future, the immediate aims and tasks with the final goal, it introduces clarity and assurance in the constructive activity of the Party and the people.

The Bulgarian Communist Party looks upon the construction of socialism in Bulgaria as a cause which is as international as it is national.

The great successes achieved by our people have radically changed the face of the country and the life of people, they have opened up new prospects. Our successes are due to the socialist system, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the heroic labor of the working class, the co-operative farmers and the people's intelligentsia; they are due to the theoretical, organizational and leading activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism. *The successes of our nation, its historical gains, increase the magnetic force of communist ideas, of world socialism.*

The fulfilment of the present program will be a new great gain for the Bulgarian people and their Communist Party; it will turn Bulgaria into an advanced socialist country, will be a new contribution to the growth of the might and the magnetic force of world socialism, an impetus and an example for the people who are fighting against oppression and exploitation, for freedom and national independence, for peace, democracy and social progress in the world.

* * *

Section I characterizes *the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism*. It reads in part:

The Bulgarian Communist Party is implementing its program in the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. In evaluating the international situation in which the process of building up an advanced socialist society in our country is and will be taking place, the Bulgarian Communist Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of the world revolutionary process as well as by the documents collectively elaborated by the international communist movement.

The historical victories of socialism and the disintegration of the colonial system have once and for all done away with the complete domination of imperialism. The new world balance of power in favor of socialism is producing a profound impact on all the economic, social, political and ideological processes in the world of capital, on the solution of world problems.

The old world, the world of exploitation and oppression, is disintegrating and perishing. The forces of the revolutionary movement of today are on the offensive against imperialism and reaction in all spheres of social life, and the whole world is today the battlefield of this titanic duel.

The deep process of renovation, started in the world by the Great October, continues to unfold. Every day, in every class skirmish and with every attempt by imperialism to check and turn back the development of humankind, history confirms again and again its

verdict: capitalism is doomed and can be saved neither by aggression nor by ideological subversion or the support it gets from opportunists and splitters.

The great communist ideas are captivating the minds and hearts of ever new millions of people, the international communist movement is growing stronger and broader in scope, the all-round potential of the world socialist system is growing day by day and imperialism, the all-powerful master of peoples until half a century ago, is now powerless to prevent the complete triumph of communism in the world!

II. THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN BULGARIA

The victory of the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944 came as the natural result of the socio-economic development, the intensification of capitalist contradictions, of the class struggle of the proletariat led by the Communist Party.

Having started out on its capitalist development later than other countries, Bulgaria suffered both from capitalism and from its insufficient development. Bulgarian capitalism developed deformities and began to rot before having played its historical role. The country fell under the domination of foreign monopoly capital and became an agrarian and raw material appendage of industrial Europe. The Second World War brought Bulgaria to the brink of a terrible national disaster. The Bulgarian Communists' consistent revolutionary activities and their concern for the destinies of the nation, which the bourgeoisie had turned into a satellite of nazi Germany, as well as the people's deep affection for the Russian people and the Soviet Union, roused the working class, the toiling peasants and progressive intelligentsia to fight against monarcho-fascism and German imperialism and greatly expanded the base of the Party's revolutionary struggle. The alliance of the working class and the peasants was welded in sharp clashes with the bourgeois authorities. The unity of action between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the sound forces of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union was growing. The Fatherland Front, set up on the initiative and under the leadership of the Party, rallied the revolutionary, anti-fascist and democratic forces.

The struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, for national independence, democracy and social progress finally merged with the struggle against capitalism. On September 9, 1944, as a result of an armed rising, the Bulgarian working people, led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, took political power into their own hands.

Socialist in character, the September Ninth people's democratic revolution was a continuation of the cause of the Great October

Socialist Revolution, repeated here in its main lines and essentials. With the victory of September Ninth a whole era in the history of the Bulgarian people came to a close, the era of exploiter class societies. It marked the beginning of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, to the construction of a new social order.

In a highly complex domestic and international setup, the Party succeeded in resolving the cardinal question: "Who is to prevail?" "socialism or capitalism?", in the political sphere.

The broad social base of the revolution, with the balance of power tilting in favor of the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front, and the advance of the Soviet Army units into Bulgarian territory on their liberating mission, paralyzed the counter-revolution and saved the country from civil war. The attempts of the overthrown reactionary forces to seize power with foreign imperialist aid in the first days after September Ninth and to restore the capitalist order, were foiled. In the trying days of the Patriotic War, days of ordeals for the young socialist revolution, people's democratic Bulgaria mobilized its forces and, under the slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" made its contribution to the final victory over the nazi invaders and defended the newly-won freedom, national independence and state sovereignty.

The broad masses which had languished under capitalism and the fascist dictatorship awakened to free political life and, under the leadership of the Party, with the active assistance of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the other Fatherland Front parties and public organizations, joined the organizations and bodies of the nation's political, state, socio-economic and cultural administration. The people's democratic state was consolidated and developed as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. Its organs were built up. The historic achievements of the socialist revolution were also consolidated in the legislature with the adoption of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The Party also resolved with success the question "Who is to prevail?" and "socialism or capitalism?", in the economic field.

The economic foundation of the new system was gradually being built up. With the very victory of the September 9 Uprising, state-capitalist property turned into socialist state property. An agrarian reform was carried out and farm machinery was bought up. Industry, mining and banks, foreign trade and wholesale domestic trade were nationalized. The natural resources and the larger part of the most important means of production became the property of the people. The state economic plan began playing a vital role in the nation's economic development.

Socialist industrialization became the key problem of the socialist reconstruction of the nation's economy, of the construction of

socialism in economically and technically backward Bulgaria. Our country built up at accelerated rates its own industry, which gradually emerged as the main sector in the nation's economy. It started building up a stable and rapidly expanding raw material base of the economy. An extensive construction program was implemented. The key branches — engineering and chemicals, power generation, metallurgy, electronics and instrument-making — developed rapidly. The production of consumer goods increased. The country's industrialization ensured the required material base for the development of all sectors of the economy, led to a rapid growth of the working class, to enhancing its leading role in society and to strengthening the defensive capacity of our country.

The most complex and difficult task to be performed in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism was the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Using Lenin's cooperative plan as the theoretical basis and the experience of Soviet collectivization as a classical example in converting a farming economy of petty owners into a socialist one, and taking into account our historical and national peculiarities and traditions, the Bulgarian Communist Party resolved this task, too. Under the Party's leadership, with the all-round assistance and support of the working class, the peasants voluntarily set up and consolidated the cooperative farms. By a decision of the cooperative farmers themselves and in their interests the land was turned into public cooperative property. State farms were also developed as an important form of socialist reconstruction of the countryside. An extensive network of machine-and-tractor stations was built up. Bulgaria thus became the second country in the world, after the Soviet Union, to have carried out a thorough-going socialist reconstruction of its farming economy.

A major step forward in the development of the cooperative system in Bulgaria was the merger of cooperative farms. Favorable conditions were created for a rapid technical re-equipment of agriculture, for a broad extension of land improvement schemes, for chemicalization and a more effective structure of production and the application of up-to-date agro-technical methods. Industrial methods and technologies began to be applied in agriculture, too. Crop yields and the productivity of farm animals increased. The cooperative farms became highly profitable commodity enterprises of a socialist type. Revolutionary changes took place in the character of work, in economic relations and the way of life of Bulgarian farmers. Profound changes took place in their mentality and consciousness, their private owner's attitudes were overcome, and their feeling for collectivity and comradeship developed. The victory of the cooperative system in the countryside consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasants on a new basis and became a major factor in the socialist development of the country.

Socialist ownership of the means of production in two forms, state (public) and cooperative, was established in the nation's economy as a whole. Socialist production relations gained the upper hand in town and village. Exploitation of man by man was done away with for all time. The basic difference between town and village and manual and mental work, which had once existed, was abolished. A consolidated economic base for the planned development of the nation's economy, for expanded socialist reproduction and higher general living standards was built up. Socialist economic laws came into effect in the whole of the nation's economy.

Work became a source and measure of well-being and a chief criterion of man's social status. The socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work began to be applied on a larger scale and even more thoroughly. Payment was more closely related to the contribution of the individual worker to the social product. The role of moral incentives in social production increased.

Historic changes took place in the social-class structure of society. The bourgeoisie was eliminated as a class. The working class became the main social force, its way of life and culture changed radically, its consciousness and political maturity reached a higher level. The class of cooperative farmers came into being. The social group of cooperative craftsmen was formed. In its social functions and objectives, the intelligentsia became a socialist social group, closely linked with the working class and the cooperative farmers.

Quantitative and qualitative changes continued to take place in the economy with the further progress of socialist construction. Concentration and specialization of production were stepped up. The power and machine ratio per worker increased. We then proceeded to complex mechanization and automation of the production processes. Attention was focused on accelerating the socio-economic development of a number of backward areas. The efficiency of the economy, which develops at high and steady rates, has increased.

Proceeding from the tremendous successes achieved in socialist construction, the Party adopted a course of a resolute transition from a primarily extensive to an intensive development of the economy, of a more thorough application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, especially in the key sectors determining the structure of the nation's economy. By pursuing this policy of intensification, the Party lays down the conditions for completing at an accelerated pace the building up of the material and technical foundations of socialism, for raising labor productivity and increasing national wealth.

Socialism has improved the material well-being of the working people. The real incomes of the population have increased. The level of the lowest wages and pensions has been raised. The con-

sumption of foods and other consumer goods has increased and has undergone progressive structural changes. Housing conditions and services to the population have improved. The absence of unemployment, the universal right of pensions for men and women, including cooperative farmers, the annual paid leaves and free medical aid, the scholarships granted to students, the broad network of kindergartens and nurseries, holiday houses, sports grounds and halls are the expression in practice of the truly popular character of the Party's economic and social policy. One of the great achievements of socialism lies in the fact that every working man in Bulgaria and every one of its citizens has a feeling of security about his future.

A socialist cultural revolution unfolded after September 9. Bourgeois ideology, inculcated for decades in our country, was combated consistently and socialist social consciousness was developed. *Marxism-Leninism became established as the supreme ideology and turned into a powerful constructive force in the development of social consciousness.* Educated in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, the Bulgarian people in their great majority linked their destinies with socialism.

The people's rule did away with illiteracy and developed a broad system of educational establishment. Education became socialist in character.

The Bulgarian intelligentsia, the majority of which had followed the Communist Party before the victory, actively joined socialist construction after September 9. A new, highly qualified socialist intelligentsia grew up from the midst of the working class and peasant youth.

Science made rapid progress and its role in social advance increased. The number of state and public cultural institutions grew. The role of the press, radio and television and book-publishing increased. Our arts gained ideological and aesthetic maturity, the features of a vivid party-minded and popular art. Popular talent is unfolding and becoming manifest on an ever wider scale. The prestige of Bulgarian socialist culture is growing.

Not only political but also material conditions were provided for the cultural advancement of society and the moral growth of the individual.

The nature of work and the conditions of life of the workers and farmers, their qualifications, cultural standards and incomes are being brought ever closer on the basis of the socialist development of the economy and culture.

Socialism ensures equality of rights to all citizens, regardless of sex, nationality or creed. Women have acquired equal rights with men in all spheres of political, social, state, economic and cultural life.

National oppression and discrimination have been done away with. Side by side with the Bulgarian population, citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria of other nationalities live in our country in fraternal friendship, building socialism together.

The Bulgarian people's socio-political and ideological unity was consolidated.

The political superstructure, the political organization of the new society is being further perfected.

Bulgaria's experience has once again confirmed the Leninist thesis that *the dictatorship of the proletariat as the rule of the vast majority of the people is a new and higher form of democracy* which secures the genuine economic and political sovereignty of the working people.

The extension of socialist democracy and the enlistment of ever more working people in the administration of the country is a vital necessity and an objective law of socialist construction and a constant concern of the Party.

Our socialist state is a state of the working people, headed by the working class, a state for the working people, a state governed by the working people. Its role, and especially its organizing economic and cultural and educational functions, are growing. The people's councils have become established as the political basis of our society, as organs of people's rule and self-government. The rights and freedoms of the individual have increased. Socialist legality was consolidated and the legal guarantees of the freedom and dignity of the working people under socialism have also increased.

The improvement of the system of public administration became an important factor in our movement forward. A new system of economic management was elaborated and introduced. The standards and role of social economic planning have risen. The working people's participation in the management of material production has increased.

The mass organizations have acquired a position of exceptional importance in the system of our society through their activities. The Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, the creative, physical education and other mass organizations and movements have enriched the content of their activities. Having emerged by force of objective requirements at various stages of our historical development, they link the Party ever more closely with the people.

In the past years of strenuous work and struggle, of socialist construction, one of the oldest parties in our country, *the Bulgarian Agrarian Union*, has participated in the government of the country and worked for the cause of socialism side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party.

Consistently implementing its April line, the *Bulgarian Communist Party* rallied and mobilized the working people and further consolidated its role of the generally recognized leader of the people, unfolded its forces all along the line and showed its mettle and skill as a leader in the construction of a new society.

The successes scored by the Party and the people have been gained at the cost of tremendous efforts and are the fruit of the mass socialist emulation of the working people, of their selfless, heroic labor. The road traversed by the Party and the people after the dawn of freedom was *steep and uneven, beset with difficulties*, arising out of the sad bourgeois heritage, provoked by the overthrown bourgeois class in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and resulting from the aggressive international policy and actions of imperialism and imperialist ideological subversion, difficulties connected with the vestiges of capitalism in the popular consciousness, caused by the necessity of setting aside considerable funds for strengthening the nation's defensive might or resulting from errors and shortcomings in our work.

Overcoming these difficulties, under the leadership of their Communist Party, the Bulgarian people have accomplished a feat of heroism in establishing and consolidating the socialist social order under which the means of production belong to the working people, the people's free labor is a chief socio-historical factor, and the satisfaction of human needs, the main concern of the Party and the state.

III. THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY—AN IMMEDIATE HISTORICAL TASK OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Bulgarian Communist Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the two phases of the communist socio-economic formation—socialism and communism, which have a common basis; public ownership of the means of production, collective work of the members of society free from exploitation, and the same mode of production. On the other hand, socialism and communism differ in the degree of development of the productive forces and the socialization of the means of production, in the principle of distribution of material wealth, in the maturity of social relations, in the consciousness and culture of the people.

The building of the socialist society as a first phase of the communist formation is a law-governed historical process of the formation and development of a social system which is qualitatively new as compared with capitalism. This system is not created over-

night, in one go. In the incessant many-sided and complex process of socialist construction society passes through different stages, from lower to higher forms of social organization. These stages are determined by the level reached by the productive forces and social relations. They cannot be arbitrarily abrogated or skipped.

As a result of the successful completion of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the complete victory of socialist production relations, as a result of the qualitative and quantitative changes that have taken place in the integrated system of social life, the *People's Republic of Bulgaria entered a new stage of development—the stage of building an advanced socialist society*. This is more or less a long period in which the material and technical foundations of socialism are completed, socialist social relations are perfected, culture is enriched, the welfare of the people is improved, the irregularity in the development of the social system is gradually overcome and the personality develops integrally. Socialist society reaches the stage of maturity.

The construction of an advanced socialist society is the chief immediate historical task of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The building and further development of a mature socialist society will lead our country to new heights in its socio-economic and cultural development and will create the necessary conditions for gradually passing on to the fulfilment of the Party's ultimate goal—communism.

What kind of society is the advanced (mature) socialist society?

The advanced socialist society is the highest and last stage in the development of socialism as the first phase of the communist formation. It is the most complete, integrated and purest expression of the essence of socialism and reveals its potentialities to the full. Mature socialism develops on a socialist basis of its own and creates all the necessary conditions for a proportional harmonious functioning and development of society, for the most integrated and exact fulfilment of the requirements inherent in the laws of the socialist system.

The superiority of socialism over capitalism is most clearly manifested at this stage in the major spheres of social life, in the true liberation and all-round development of man, of human nature in all its wealth, which Marx treats as the main principle of every higher social formation.

The socialist phase of the communist formation ends with the building and further development of a mature socialist society. But there is no sharp divide between socialism and communism. Embryos and elements of communism develop extensively, accumulate and grow in the womb of mature socialism; conditions are created for a gradual transition to the highest phase of communist society. The advanced socialist society is consequently a historically condi-

tioned law-governed stage in the transition from capitalism to communism. The way to communism inevitably passes through this stage. 'Communism . . . can develop only when socialism has become fully consolidated' (Lenin)

Major qualitative and quantitative changes take place in the process of building and developing a mature socialist society, changes which lead to further improvement in the individual spheres of public life and in society as a whole.

The advanced socialist society leads socialism to the fore in the scientific and technical revolution and brings about a leap in the development of the productive forces. Complex mechanization, extensive automation and computerization, optimum concentration and specialization of production and management, considerable strengthening and broadening of the integration of our country with the socialist countries, an ever wider and more effective use of the latest discoveries of science and technology, skipping the outdated stages in technical development—all this ensures conditions for achieving a labor productivity that will make it possible to satisfy to a high degree the material and cultural needs of men on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to work. Essential changes occur in the character and content of work, in the place and role of man in the process of production. Farm work increasingly becomes a variety of industrial work. A most rational use of working hours in given conditions is attained, labor discipline is raised to a high level. Working people have more free time. Wide prospects open up for the manifestation of man's creative faculties and possibilities in the process of work.

On the basis of the high degree of development of the productive forces, the production relations characteristic of socialist society attain full maturity. State and cooperative property, in which complex qualitative and quantitative changes take place, draw ever closer together, increasingly tending to merge gradually into a single property of all the people.

Men's growing requirements continue to be met on the basis of the socialist principle, 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.' At the same time, the role of the social welfare funds in satisfying personal needs grows.

Classes and social groups draw nearer to one another at an accelerated pace. The role of the working class as the principal productive force and as the leading class in society continues to grow. The differences between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers are by-and-large overcome. The role and importance of the intelligentsia increase considerably. The process of bridging the gap between workers by hand and brain is accelerated. The differences between social classes and groups are reduced

so much that in its social structure the socialist society finds itself on the threshold of social homogeneity.

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grows into a state of all the people, into a body which under the leadership of the working class expresses the will and interests of the entire nation. Public self-government assumes major proportions. Complete unity is attained of the legislative and the executive. Socialist democracy finds its supreme and universal expression. All working people are drawn into the government of society, either directly or through the state bodies and public organizations, or through universally developed public control. The public organizations are perfected and their role enhanced both in expressing the specific interests of individual categories of working people and in the whole of life. The combining of the state and public principles finds ever wider application in social administration.

Socialist culture reaches high standards. The percentage of people creating cultural values greatly increases. Secondary education becomes general and university education assumes major proportions. Science is widely introduced into production, turning into a direct productive force, a decisive factor in improving social administration and education. Literature and the arts flourish, assuming an ever greater role in the ideological, political and aesthetic development of the personality. Amateur art spreads on a mass scale, attaining ever greater artistic standards. The media of mass communication play an ever greater role in the individual's upbringing, education and full development as a personality, as well as in social administration.

Socialist consciousness becomes fully established, its scientific grounds in individual consciousness are heightened. The role of ethics as a regulator of men's conduct is considerably enhanced. National, group and personal interests attain a high degree of unity. Relations between the individual and society become ever more harmonious. The self-confidence of the socialist worker as the complete master of his personal and public life is fully established.

In the stage of an advanced socialist society the role and importance of the Communist Party as the leading and directing force in the system of social administration, in the development of society as a whole, is still further enhanced. On the basis of a more complete use of the achievements of the social sciences, of scientific and technical progress in general, the scientific level of the Party leadership in all spheres is raised and improved. Inner Party democracy reaches a high degree of development, the Communist's vanguard role increases in importance. Owing to the growth of the socio-political and ideological unity of society, the Communist

Party of the working class gradually becomes the vanguard of the people, the Party of all the people.

The building up and development of a mature socialist society take place on the basis of general objective law-governed processes, which are manifested in a specific way in the individual countries. Invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and constructively applying and developing it, the Bulgarian Communist Party discovers and determines the most suitable forms, methods and ways of meeting to the utmost the requirements of the general law-governed processes in accordance with the concrete conditions in our country. The role of the masses as makers of history is further enhanced, their conscious historical creative work is given still wider scope. All this gives expression to the growing role of the subjective factor.

The dialectics of social development acquires new traits. The role of social unity, of the relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, which are still further strengthened and developed in a mature socialist society, increase tremendously. The forms of manifestation and the ways and means of resolving social contradictions are changing. Overcoming them by means of the conscious, planned and purposeful activity of the Communist Party and the socialist state intensifies socialist cooperation and mutual aid, and strengthens and further develops the mature socialist society.

The increased and constantly growing role of the subjective factor greatly restricts the sphere of spontaneous and unforeseen processes. The consciously set and science-based goals are realized ever more completely and exactly, and undesirable objective results of practical social activity are ever more restricted and averted. Society takes a new step in accomplishing the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

The mature socialist society creates still more favorable conditions and possibilities for the development and intensification of Bulgaria's cooperation with the fraternal countries of the world socialist community, for raising mutual aid, cooperation and integration with the socialist states to a qualitatively new level. Friendship and cooperation with the USSR is of crucial importance in this respect. The very existence of the Soviet Union, of the world socialist system, produces a strong impact on the process of strengthening and developing the socialist society; it creates conditions for accelerating social progress, guarantees successful socialist and communist construction in every individual country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the advanced socialist society is built up and further developed under the banner of proletarian internationalism, in an irreconcilable struggle with all and every manifestation of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, of 'left' and right opportunism.

There will inevitably be difficulties along the road of the complete construction of socialism. The intensification of the nation's economy, the accelerated development of the productive forces, the mastering of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the world, and also the securing of conditions for our own participation in its development, the liberation of man from the limitations and survivals of the exploiting society and his all-round advance—all this calls for the full mobilization of forces, for steadfast, strenuous and devoted work on the part of all working people.

The construction of an advanced socialist society is taking place in a complicated international situation. Imperialist reaction is striving with all its might to undermine the socialist system, to hamper and delay the progressive development of the socialist states, to spread its reactionary ideology, to pit them one against the other, and particularly against the USSR, to weaken the world socialist system. This will additionally impede socialist construction.

The building up and further development of the mature socialist society are therefore inconceivable unless the unity of the countries of the world socialist community is strengthened, unless their defensive capacity against the threats of the enemies of socialism is increased, unless there is an irreconcilable struggle against anti-communism and the ideological subversion of imperialism. Great vigilance on the part of the Party and the entire people is necessary with regard to the provocations of the reactionary forces and there must be still closer cohesion and unity around the general line of the Party for the construction of an advanced socialist society.

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Then the Program lists in detail the tasks of the BCP in the economy, in developing the social structure and raising the well-being of the people, in culture, social management and further development of socialist democracy. The concluding part of this section deals with the Party's tasks in international relations (published in full).

THE PARTY'S TASKS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The foreign policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party is determined by the socialist character of our society, by the Marxist-Leninist nature of the Party. It is a consistently internationalist, truly democratic and profoundly peaceloving policy. *This policy has the purpose of contributing to the utmost to the defense of the gains of the socialist revolution, to the building of an advanced socialist society in our country, to the consolidation of the unity of the*

world socialist system and to militant friendship among the communists of all countries, to the intensification of the liberation struggle of the nations and of the working people, to the development and extension of the world revolutionary process, to the rallying of all revolutionary forces in the struggle for national independence and against imperialism, for the consolidation of peace and cooperation among nations, for the triumph of socialism in the world.

In the past decades proletarian internationalism and Bulgaro-Soviet friendship became deeply rooted in our Party; they became its distinctive trait, a characteristic national feature of the Bulgarian nation. The Bulgarian communists and our people know that the People's Republic of Bulgaria would not have been able to achieve such big successes, to set and to fulfil the tasks of the present program without the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the beneficial influence of which our Party has grown and matured, without the all-round Soviet support in literally all spheres of life. For the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people Bulgaro-Soviet friendship is what sunshine and air are for every living being; it is a friendship going back in the centuries and a friendship for centuries to come; it is one of the chief motive forces of our development, a condition for and a guarantee of the future progress of our socialist society, of its morrow.

Proceeding from its national and international tasks and obligations, the Bulgarian Communist Party will in the future, too:

- develop and deepen in every way the fraternity, unity of purpose and of action with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and pursue a policy of bringing the People's Republic of Bulgaria ever closer to the Soviet Union;

- work systematically for the further consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the parties and countries of the socialist community, for the development of cooperation and mutual assistance on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the fraternal socialist states, for extending economic integration among them;

- extend cooperation with the socialist states in the sphere of international relations, for the closest unity of action and coordination of their foreign policy;

- make its contribution to the strengthening of the defensive might of the world socialist system;

- develop its bonds with the Communist and Workers' Parties and strive towards the strengthening of the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism;

- make its contribution to the achievement of unity of action within the ranks of the international working class and its organizations;

—wage an offensive struggle against bourgeois ideology and anti-communism;

—extend contacts and co-operation with the newly-liberated and developing countries and continue to afford all-round assistance to the struggle of the peoples against colonial slavery, for freedom and independence;

—cooperate for the consolidation of the unity of action and cohesion of all the anti-imperialist forces;

—pursue, together with the other peace-loving forces, the struggle against the aggressive actions of imperialism, for the prevention of a world thermo-nuclear conflict, for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, for general and complete disarmament, for peace and security in Europe and the world over;

—pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence in our country's relations with the capitalist states, of cooperation in the field of economy, tourism, culture, science and technology on a mutually advantageous basis;

—continue to pay particular attention to and to make all possible efforts for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and security, of good-neighborly relations and fruitful cooperation, in the spirit of its traditions and constructive policy.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has been and will always be a loyal detachment of the international communist movement. It will continue to march in the united international formation, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal parties of the other socialist states, with the world communist movement, with the international working class and the national liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

IV. THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN THE BUILDING OF AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The Bulgarian Communist Party is a supreme form of political organization of the working class, its tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the universally recognized leader of the people. As a militant general staff of the working people, it rallies and directs their efforts towards the common goal. The Communist Party elaborates the general line and the policy in socialist construction, defines the main trends of the development of the economy, social relations and culture, of the improvement of the general standards of life and of the nation's foreign policy. All the achievements and successes in socialist construction have been attained under the leadership of the Party. The working people respect and love the Communist Party, they have faith in the Party, they follow the Party.

Communism, its great ideal, is becoming the ideal of all the working people, of the whole nation.

The Communist Party is a living political organism. The consolidation of the social unity of society and the coming closer of the interests of the other social classes and groups to the interests of the working class objectively create prerequisites for the *Communist Party of the working class gradually to grow into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people, to become the Party of the whole nation*. By expressing and defending the interests of all the people, it continues to pursue a clearly expressed class, proletarian policy. Its principles, aims and tasks, its approach to the processes and phenomena in social life are consistently class and party ones.

The stage of the building of an advanced socialist society is characterized by an ever bigger growth of the role and importance of the Communist Party as a leading and guiding force. This is a natural process which is conditioned by the extended scale and complexity of socialist construction; by the acceleration of the social processes under the impact of the rapidly developing revolution in science and technology, by the complexity of social relations and the promotion of the role of the system of social administration in the functioning of the whole social system; by the intensification of the creative activity of the masses and the broadening of socialist democracy; by the growing importance of the theory of scientific communism, the generalization of the new practice and the great tasks of the communist education of the people; by the class struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale; by the necessity to work out a correct foreign policy and by the international responsibility of our socialist state.

The negation or underrating of the leading role of the Party inevitably leads to a retreat from class and party positions, to manifestations of anti-socialist elements, harms the interests of the people and creates the danger of a deformation of the socialist system and of a restoration of capitalism.

The requirements set to the *scientific level of Party work and leadership* are growing. The organic unity of science and politics, of theory and practice is a characteristic feature of Party leadership and its basic principle.

Under the present conditions the importance of *theoretical work* and its tasks grow still more. Marxist-Leninist theory has always been a guide to action for the Bulgarian Communist Party, both in the struggle against capitalism and in the building of socialism. Marxist-Leninist theory will continue to ensure a scientific approach in the guidance of the nation's economic, social and cultural life and illuminate the road of practice. The Party will pay continuous attention to the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, to its creative development and application. Its organs and organizations will ever

more fully use modern methods of scientific analysis in their political, organizational and ideological work; they will ever more rely on the achievements of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism and the other social sciences.

Analyzing the trends and needs of social development on the basis of the fullest and most objective information and summarizing the experience of the masses, the Party organizes them to overcome the contradictions and difficulties and solve the problems facing society.

The basic concern of the Party in its ideological work, to which it attributes paramount importance for the further development of the socialist system, is:

- to propagate with passion and persuasion the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to instil them as an integral outlook of all the working people, of the whole nation;

- to ardently convince the working people with sound arguments of the profound justice and fruitfulness of the Party policy, to make this policy their vital cause, to educate them as conscious fighters for its implementation;

- to provide answers to the new problems posed by the progress of science and social practice; to specify, enrich and creatively develop the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to shed light upon the future;

- to wage an offensive battle against bourgeois ideology, against right and 'left-wing' opportunism, to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The degree of activity of the masses in the socio-political, economic and cultural life, the extent of the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and of the policy of the Party into a material force, are the chief criterion of the effectiveness of ideological work.

The elaboration of a science-based strategy of the ideological work, shaped in close connection with the tasks of building an advanced socialist society and of combating the ideological subversion of imperialism, is one of the basic conditions for purposeful, efficient and fruitful work on the entire ideological front.

The leading role of the Party largely depends upon its development and functioning as an *enterprising political organization*, relying on the strict observance of democratic centralism and on its consistent development. The Party considers it its paramount duty to respect and apply the Leninist principles of Party leadership and norms of Party life; to extend internal Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, unswervingly to apply the collective method of leadership, not to permit negative phenomena which might lead to abuse of power, to violation of socialist democracy and revolutionary legality, to subjectivism and voluntarism. In accordance

with the objective requirements, the Party will improve its organizational structure, forms and methods of leadership, and broaden the participation of all Party members in the discussion and elaboration of Party policy. Full attention and respect will be paid to the views and proposals of the communists. Strictest responsibility will devolve on those who violate the Party rules, restrict the rights of the communists and stifle criticism.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism makes it necessary, parallel with the development of internal Party democracy, to tighten to the utmost *discipline within the Party*, and to strengthen its ideological and organizational unity. Complete democracy, freedom of opinion and of criticism in the discussion of all the problems, conscious iron discipline and unity of action after a decision has been adopted by a majority, strict fulfilment of the decisions of the superior elected organs—such is the inviolable law of Party life, compulsory for all the communists, wherever they work and whatever post they hold.

The concentration and specialization in the economy and science turn the *Party locals* into political leaders of large production and social units. The problems they have to solve grow in volume and become more complex in character. The new stage of development requires that the responsibilities of the Party locals be raised, their rights and control functions be extended and their vanguard role be enhanced.

It is therefore imperative for all Party locals to concern themselves with the problems of the work collectives and the whole complex of questions connected with the work and way of life of millions of people, with the great national tasks and plans of the Party and socialist state.

The Party will continue to take measures aimed at the proper regulation of its *social and qualitative composition*. The great responsibility of the Party and all communists to the people makes it imperative to raise the requirements for those wishing to join the Party ranks. The Party unites the best and most conscious men and women of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and of the whole nation.

The Party considers it an important obligation to raise the theoretical and political level, general culture and special education of communists and to enhance their role as educators, organizers and leaders of the working people. Every communist must have a strong sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in his particular organization and in the Party in general. He is responsible for the Party, just as the Party is responsible for him. A basic rule in the life of the Party and all its locals will be to safeguard in future as well the purity of their ranks, to rid them of anyone who does

not justify the high honor of being a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Implementing its leading role through its members, the Party unites and directs the efforts of the *state and public organs and organizations* to a single aim, employing its own methods of organizational, ideological and educational work. This means that:

—the Party organs and organizations must secure the implementation of the Party political line when working out and putting into effect the basic tasks which are being implemented by the state and public organizations;

—the Party's leading political functions must be consistently delimited from the functions of the other bodies in the system of social administration, each of which has its own field of action, its specific structure, forms and methods of work;

—the Party will still more consistently pursue a policy of respect for and trust in the cadres, of strict and highly principled exactitude towards them, of rallying the efforts, knowledge and experience of all generations and all detachments of cadres. It will continue to apply a class and party-minded approach in the selection and distribution of cadres. The best representatives of the working class, as well as those of the other categories of working people who are politically sound and show organizational ability, are to be elected to the leading bodies of the Party and public organizations and promoted to responsible state and economic work.

The Party's ties with the people are to be further developed and enriched. The method of persuasion and education is to be still more broadly applied as a basic method of Party leadership. The elucidation of Party policy and of the present tasks, consideration of the opinions and suggestions of the working people, the profound study of the legitimate needs and specific interests of the working people, and the constant concern to satisfy them, a frank discussion of the difficulties in the social development, of the shortcomings and weaknesses, the negative phenomena and trends observed in certain circles, and a consistent effort to surmount them—this is the policy of the Party in its relations with non-Party people.

The Party considers it its duty to supply prompt and detailed information to the working people on domestic and international events, as well as on the actions it is about to take. In this way alone, the people will be aware of the Party policy and will rally around it more and more.

In the future as well, a prime concern of the Party will be to strengthen the mutual confidence and unity among leaders, Party, the class and the people.

The strength of the Communist Party resides in its fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist principles, in the correspondence between

words and deeds, in its unshakeable ideological and organizational unity, in the ideological stability and the moral and political qualities of the communists, in its strong ties with the working class and the people, in its loyalty to proletarian internationalism and the world communist and workers' movement.

V. COMMUNISM—THE FINAL GOAL OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

People all over the world have for centuries dreamed of and died for freedom, bread, human rights and a decent life. For centuries the finest minds have mapped out plans for a harmonious and happy society, free from blood conflicts and social inequality, from oppression and exploitation.

Rebellions, uprisings and revolutions have shaken countries and continents, governments and monarchies have been overthrown, empires and social orders have crumbled. And every time a new exploiting class came to replace the old one.

This is how it was until *the proletariat appeared on the historical stage, the only exploited and oppressed class which cannot free itself from the class exploiting and oppressing it without setting the whole society forever free from exploitation, oppression and class struggles.*

For the first time in the history of human thought, *the Marxist-Leninist teaching replaced dreams and utopias with a science-based, harmonious theory for the transformation of the world and defined the ways and means of achieving this.*

Years passed. The ideas of scientific communism captivated the hearts and minds of the world proletariat. The red banner of the October victory of the proletariat proudly floated over one sixth of the globe, heralding the advent of the long expected new era. A strong communist movement developed all over the world. The socialist revolution triumphed in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and America. The world socialist system made its appearance. A number of newly liberated countries rejected the capitalist path of development and turned their eyes towards socialism.

Today communism is no longer a wonderful dream; it has become a living cause of hundreds of millions of people in the world of socialism, and a real and feasible goal for other hundreds of millions of proletarians, rising to a decisive battle in the countries where the bourgeois class is still in power.

The Soviet people, who were the first to accomplish a victorious socialist revolution, who were the first to build socialism, are also the first in the world to turn the final goal — the building of a communist society — into their immediate practical task.

Communism is a classless social system with a unified national

ownership of the means of production, with complete social equality among all members of society, where, along with the all-round development of the people, the productive forces will grow on the basis of the continuous progress of science and technology, where all sources of social wealth will flow generously, and the great principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" will become a reality. Communism is a highly organized society of free and conscious workers, in which public self-government will be established, where work for the good of society will become the prime living necessity for everyone, a realized necessity, and where the abilities of every individual will be employed for the greatest benefit of the people.

The final goal of the Bulgarian Communist Party is to build a communist society in Bulgaria, as an indivisible part of the world communist system.

In the achievement of this end, the Bulgarian Communist Party is guided by the principle of the gradual evolution of socialism into communism as an objective law-governed process. The necessary economic, social, ideological, cultural and other prerequisites for the transition from the first, the socialist, to the higher, the communist phase are created in the process of the development of the mature socialist society.

In the highest phase of the communist formation, the productive forces are distinguished by an exceptionally high development. Complete automation and computerization reign supreme in social production. Communism changes the character of work, but does not free the members of society from work. The latter is to a high degree directly public and socially homogeneous. It is not an obligation but a vocation, a natural and free expression of creative élan, work for the benefit of society, as it becomes a conscious necessity and a prime and vital need of man.

Under communism production relations are based upon a single communist ownership, which makes for further improvement and cooperation, mutual assistance and comradely emulation. The products of labor lose their commodity form. Money and the market disappear. Consumer goods are distributed according to the people's constantly growing needs.

Material dependence disappears in the sphere of personal relations. Marital relations become absolutely free of material considerations and rest solely on love, friendship and respect.

In communist society spiritual culture reaches full blossoming. Science is fully and solely devoted to the development of the productive forces, the government of society, the physical and cultural development and improvement of man. The arts become a part of all spheres of life and completely serve the aesthetic formation of man and human relations according to the laws of beauty.

Communism is characterized by public self-government, in which all members of society take an active part. The unified norms of communist society exert a tremendous guiding force.

The leisure time of people increases, which is a proof of the prosperity of society. It is a source of the reproduction of their physical and intellectual forces, of versatile creative endeavor. *The abilities, talents and virtues of free man versatily develop and are given the opportunity of full expression.* The chief traits of man in communist society are a high degree of consciousness, diligence, discipline and devotion to the interests of society. Typical of him are the unity between the consciousness of collective effort and creative independence, between universality of the spirit and specialization in a given field, between freedom of action and self-control in one's activity. Under communism inner wealth, moral beauty and physical perfection are harmoniously combined in man.

The world communist economy, regulated by a unified plan, is gradually built up by means of the extension and intensification of integration among the socialist states and their further development along the road of communism. The international forms of organizing social production improve. International communist ownership is formed and developed. Simultaneously the nations *draw ever closer together until their full merger in the future* on the basis of the community of their economic and cultural interests, on the basis of brotherly friendship and co-operation.

Under communism, society completely passes over from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

Communism is the bright future of all peoples.

Communism is the wonderful and happy future towards which the Bulgarian Communist Party is confidently leading the Bulgarian people.

* * *

The building of an advanced socialist society in Bulgaria will once again justify and exalt the long struggles of the Party and the people, the self-sacrifice of the fighters who perished in the struggle for the victory of the revolution, the selfless efforts of the millions of workers; it will be a decisive step towards the final goal of our Party.

In this stormy, difficult and glorious century this will be the contribution of the Bulgarian people to the world fight for peace and progress, for socialism and communism.

Under the banner of communism and in the rallied fraternal ranks of the world revolutionary working-class movement, the Bulgarian Communist Party has traversed a historic path from Mount Bouz-loudja in the Balkan Range through the Vladaya, June and Sep-

tember uprisings, the victory of the socialist revolution on September 9, 1944, to the peaks of present-day Bulgaria. Through all these heroic years the proletariat and the working people marched with their Communist Party, believed in its truth, were inspired by its ideas and responded to its appeals in mass. The voice of the Party never echoed in Bulgaria 'noiselessly as it would in a desert', it never failed to evoke a nationwide response. And the people's devotion to, trust and confidence in their Party were never deceived. Therein lies the strength of our Party and our people.

Today, the Bulgarian Communist Party calls on the working class, the cooperative farmers, the people's intelligentsia, the youth, the women and the whole nation:

- under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,

- in fraternal friendship with the great Soviet Union and the socialist states,

- shoulder to shoulder with the world Communist and workers' movement and all progressive forces of the world,

- for the triumph of the communist ideals, for a peaceful and happy future of our children, for the all-round development, glory and greatness of Bulgaria,

- to persevering, selfless, inspired work and struggle for the fulfilment of the Party program, envisaging which will guarantee the building of an advanced socialist society in our dear country!

COMMUNIQUE ON 16th PLENUM OF CC SUPG

The 16th CC SUPG Plenum was held on May 3.

On the first item on the agenda, Comrade Walter Ulbricht made a statement, requesting that the CC relieve him of his duties as First Secretary of the CC SUPG on account of his age so as to hand these functions over to a younger person.

The CC unanimously approved W. Ulbricht's statement and, as proposed by the Politbureau, decided to comply with his request. In recognition of his services W. Ulbricht was elected Chairman of the SUPG and will continue working as Chairman of the GDR State Council.

The CC by a unanimous vote elected Comrade Erich Honecker First Secretary of the CC SUPG.

On behalf of the Politbureau Comrade W. Stoph read out a letter addressed to Walter Ulbricht in which the CC expressed its sincere gratitude for his many years' work at the head of the CC and wished him good health and success in his work in the Politbureau as Party Chairman and Chairman of the GDR State Council. The CC assured Comrade Ulbricht that under the leadership of E. Honecker as First Secretary, maintaining its fidelity to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, acting in firm cooperation with the CPSU and the entire international Communist movement it would continue, by united and concerted effort, to successfully advance the great cause of the building of a socialist society.

The CC unanimously adopted the letter.

Comrade Erick Honecker expressed his gratitude for being elected First Secretary of the CC and for the trust accorded him.

The CC approved the agenda of the Eighth SUPG Congress.

Speaking on the second item on the agenda, Comrade Honecker reported for the CC SUPG delegation that attended the 24th Congress CPSU.

W. Stoph, reporting on the third item of the agenda, substantiated the draft directives on the five-year economic development plan of the GDR for 1971-75.

The CC approved the report of the CC SUPG delegation on the 24th CPSU Congress and the April 15 Politbureau decision concerning the results of the 24th CPSU Congress, which contains an appeal to the entire Party and all working people in the GDR to profoundly study and disseminate the CPSU Congress materials.

The CC approved the report by W. Stoff on the Draft Directives

on the five-year economic development plan of the GDR for 1971-75. The CC resolved to release the approved directives for discussion in all Party organizations, at factories, agricultural cooperatives, in administrative bodies and institutions.

STATEMENT BY WALTER ULBRICHT AT CC SUPG PLENUM MAY 3, 1971

Dear Comrades,

After giving the matter serious thought I have decided to request the Central Committee at today's Plenum to relieve me of my duties as First Secretary of the CC SUPG. Age tells and does not permit me to continue the strenuous activities of First Secretary of the Central Committee. Therefore, I believe the time has come to pass these functions on to someone younger. I propose that Comrade Erich Honecker be elected First Secretary of the Central Committee.

The Politbureau seriously discussed my request and it was unanimously approved by members of the Politbureau. I feel certain, dear comrades, that my proposal will also be approved by you.

As I have already said, I thought long before arriving at my decision. For 60 years now, I have been active in the German workers' movement. I have been a Party functionary since the formation of the CPG in 1918. I was a member of the Spartacus League and one of the founders of the CPG. I was one of the leading functionaries during the preparation and launching of the unification of the German working class in 1945 and the merger in 1946, when the SUPG was established. To be perfectly honest, it was not easy for me to take this decision after discharging these functions for two decades.

Unfortunately one cannot go against time. And if today I am requesting that you relieve me of my duties as First Secretary of the CC, I am guided by a deep feeling of responsibility before the Central Committee, the entire Party and our people whose welfare determines the entire policy of our Party.

Dear Comrades, members of the Central Committee, I should like to take this opportunity to say a few words about the situation in the Party leadership. I do not think it an exaggeration to say that during the many years I have been active a strong, united,

Neues Deutschland, May 4, 1971.

consolidated and truly collective Party leadership has been formed. This concerns the Central Committee and the Politbureau. In carrying out the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congress and the Central Committee the Politbureau has displayed political firmness, farsightedness and a collective, business-like approach to problems requiring a solution. This allowed us to constantly improve fulfilment of our obligations guided by feelings of our Party's responsibility before the international workers' movement and, first and foremost, before the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

I am absolutely certain that the Central Committee and the Politbureau, after accepting my proposal at today's Plenum, will continue guiding the Party as firmly and unanimously as before. The election and activity of Erich Honecker as First Secretary of the CC will be a guarantee of this. This is the unanimous opinion of the Politbureau and my own firm conviction.

The Central Committee and the Party as a whole know and value Comrade Erich Honecker who ever since his youth has been fighting in the ranks of the revolutionary German workers' movement as a leading Party functionary. He was one of the organizers of the anti-fascist resistance movement. We all know that Comrade Erich Honecker had gone through the hard school of political class struggle against fascism, and spent 10 years in the prisons and concentration camps of fascist Germany. Ever since the unity congress he has been a member of the Board or the Central Committee of the Party and a member of the Politbureau for more than 20 years.

I am certain that the decisions to be taken today by the Central Committee will be fully approved and understood by all Party members.

Dear Comrades, allow me at this time to express my sincere gratitude to all members and candidate members of the Central Committee for the great support and aid accorded me during the many years I have been First Secretary. I am both happy and proud that for such a long period I have been First Secretary in this tried and tested collective. With a feeling of profound satisfaction and considering it a high honor, I shall continue working in the Central Committee and the Politbureau to the best of my abilities and fulfilling my duties as Chairman of the State Council.

ERICH HONECKER, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC SUPG

Erich Honecker comes from a miner's family. He was born in Neunkirchen (Saar) on August 25, 1912. His father was a member of the CPG. E. Honecker apprenticed as a roofer and in 1926 joined the German Communist Youth League and in December 1929 became a member of the CPG. He was active in the workers' sports and gymnastics movement called "Fichte."

In 1930 he was sent to study at the Communist International Youth school in Moscow. As a member of international workers' brigades he helped build the Magnitogorsk metallurgical plant. In 1931 he became Secretary of the Saar regional committee of the German Communist Youth League and in 1934 was elected to the League's Central Committee.

He took part in the fight against the Hitler regime and was active in underground work in the Ruhr region, Baden, Hesse, Wurttemberg and the Palatinate, later heading the underground activities of the Communist Youth League in the Berlin area. In December 1935 Honecker was arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

Immediately after the liberation of the German people by the Soviet Army, Honecker resumed his activities first as Secretary on Youth Problems in the CC CPG and later as head of the Central Commission on the Youth.

He was one of the founders of the Union of Free German Youth and was its chairman from 1946 to 1955. In 1947 he headed the first German youth delegation to visit the Soviet Union after the Second World War. From 1949 to 1955 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

As member of the CC CPG from 1946, Erich Honecker helped unite the two workers' parties. The Unity Congress elected him member of the SUPG board. He was elected to the CC at all subsequent Party congresses. In 1950 he became a member of the Politbureau. After completing his studies in the Soviet Union in 1955-56 E. Honecker resumed his activities in the SUPG leadership. He has been Secretary of the CC since 1958.

For many years Honecker has participated in all important meetings of the Party and state leaders of the socialist countries and in the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

He has been a Deputy to the People's Chamber ever since the

Neues Deutschland, May 4, 1971.

formation of the German Democratic Republic and prior to that he was a member of the German People's Council and its Presidium.

He was awarded the Order of Karl Marx and other orders and the title of Hero of Labor.

At the CC SUPG Plenum on May 3, 1971, Erich Honecker was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist, Unity Party of Germany.

AGENDA OF THE EIGHTH SUPG CONGRESS

On May 5, *Neues Deutschland* published the following agenda of the Eighth SUPG Congress, which was approved by the 16th Plenum of the CC SUPG:

1. Opening speech by Walter Ulbricht.
 2. Election of Congress bodies.
 3. CC SUPG report by Erich Honecker.
 4. Central Auditing Commission report by Kurt Seibt.
 5. Directives of the Eighth SUPG Congress on the five-year economic development plan of the GDR for 1971-75. Report by Willi Stoph.
 6. Election of Party organs.
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LCY PRESIDIUUM MEETING

On April 28-30, the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia met to discuss the political and economic situation in the country and the relationships in the Party.

The meeting was attended by chairmen of regional Party committees, LCY secretaries from the Republics and regions, Secretary of the Conference Committee of the Yugoslav People's Army, chairmen of public and political organizations and representatives of other bodies and the trade unions.

Addressing the meeting, LCY Chairman J. B. Tito stressed the necessity of a critical approach to the political situation in the country, Party activities and relations in the leading bodies of the LCY irrespective of previous achievements.

The discussion was exhaustive and frank. The LCY Presidium was unanimous in its conclusion that the political and economic situation in the country was serious, causing concern among the population and the public at large.

In its discussion of the present situation the LCY Presidium proceeded from the fact that the LCY, while continuing the revolution of the peoples of Yugoslavia and striving to build socialism, was in the van of the deep-going socio-economic and political reforms in the complex conditions at home and abroad.

The TANJUG report notes a worsening of the situation in the League of Communists and a lag in fulfilling decisions of the Ninth LCY Congress and the First LCY Conference.

There was unanimous agreement concerning the measures needed to rectify the existing situation.

1. The LCY Presidium notes the broad support for the Constitutional amendments in the Republics and regions during the public discussions. These amendments, notes the Presidium, must be implemented immediately after the conclusion of the public discussions. This is one of the prime conditions for overcoming the present political and economic difficulties. The Constitutional amendments signify promotion of the leading role of the working class, full equality of the peoples and nationalities and increased responsibility of the Republics and regions for their own and the nation's development.

Agreement was reached for the LCY, in connection with the second phase of the Constitutional changes, to draft an ideological and political platform for public discussion as soon as possible.

2. The LCY must consistently and resolutely strive to create con-

TANJUG release of May 1, 1971. Abridged.

ditions giving the working class a decisive role in shaping policy and taking decisions concerning public affairs at all levels.

3. The Presidium appeals to all public agencies and organizations, first and foremost to the leading bodies and members of the LCY, for closer unity in order to solve the basic problems of the policy of stabilization and to direct all efforts to bringing all types of consumption into correspondence with material resources.

The LCY must tackle more boldly the problems resulting from the undeveloped state of distribution relationships according to labor. The economic policy should take account of the social differences and the standard of life of low-paid workers. Concrete programs must be drawn up on this basis in accordance with the labor productivity in all socio-political associations.

All controversial issues, the LCY Presidium notes, must be resolved in a business-like manner.

It is noted that the failure of certain political, state and other organs to fulfil adopted decisions led to a worsening of the political situation and actually threatened equality and democratic relations in society, causing distrust in relations and evoking similar attitudes on the part of others.

4. The struggle for a socialist and class content of the national formation requires unity, more determined and concrete action against all forms of nationalism in our own ranks. It is the unanimous opinion of the LCY Presidium that nationalism is the basis upon which all forces of anti-communism unite, that it undermines the unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and leads to a weakening of unity in the LCY.

5. Changes in the political and economic systems require enhancement of the LCY's ideological and political role, unity of aims and conviction in the struggle for self-government and national equality. A feeling of responsibility among the union, republican and regional leaders in drafting policy and fulfilling jointly adopted decisions is one of the conditions for unity of action of the LCY.

It has been decided that on the basis of this discussion the Presidium would prepare its program of action and launch its implementation with a sense of full responsibility. In all spheres of activity Communists must take upon themselves the initiative in solving the existing political and economic problems. It has also been decided to convene a conference of the LCY in order to examine in detail the situation in the LCY, its role and responsibility in society, its organization and ideological and political unity.

6. The LCY Presidium put on record the serious ideological and political mistakes and phenomena in certain mass information media and journalism signifying opposition to LCY policy. In view of this the LCY Presidium obliged the leading organs of the republican Communist Leagues to take all necessary measures.

7. The Presidium has come to the conclusion that hostile subversive activities from the outside have increased of late, taking advantage of our internal difficulties and drawing on the support of our internal enemies. These hostile anti-Yugoslav, anti-socialist activities include actions to discredit the Croatian leadership in order to provoke political instability, friction and suspicion between the republics, to weaken unity and impede the country's socialist development on the basis of self-government.

The Presidium supported the conclusions of the Federal Executive Vecé that the Federal leading agencies, their branches and individuals in their employ did not participate in any conspiracy.

Shortcomings were also pointed out in the work of certain security bodies which must be rectified in the shortest possible time with the aid of corresponding organs.

The Presidium points out that in line with the changes in the Constitution it is necessary to continue strengthening the security services with effective control of their activities.

The Presidium believes that the leadership and members of the LCY must resolutely combat all attempts at creating unhealthy relations in the LCY, which lead to irresponsible actions and statements. Our external enemies strive to utilize these tendencies in their intrigues and for misinforming the public. This has a negative influence on the political situation in certain spheres and on LCY unity.

8. The LCY is on the threshold of new historical steps in drafting a unified and concrete ideological platform on all pressing problems posed by social development. This is imperative for the economic and social development of the Yugoslav community.

With due consideration for the fundamental social and economic changes taking place in our society, the LCY Presidium believes that Communists and the leadership must do their utmost to continue elaborating on the ideological concepts of the LCY, the economic and social perspectives for the development of the Yugoslav socialist community.

The Presidium appeals to the republican and regional leadership to take a critical view of their former activities from these positions.

RESOLUTION OF CPA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON 24th CPSU CONGRESS

At its meeting on April 24, 1971 the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina heard and approved the report made by its delegation to the 24th CPSU Congress, hailing the Congress resolutions and the reports on which they are based. The Executive Committee believes the Congress resolutions to be a significant contribution to communism and socialism, liberation from imperialism, a contribution to peace and democracy and also the achievement of the grand goal—firm cohesion of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The very fact that the 24th Congress was closely followed by world public opinion reflects a characteristic feature of our time, showing that the world socialist system exerts a decisive influence on the course of events.

Twenty-five years after the end of the Second World War it has been possible to prevent the start of a third world war in spite of imperialism's constant provocations. Mankind owes this historical achievement mainly to the Soviet Union's wise foreign policy, the reliability and strength of the world socialist system and the persistent struggle of the peoples for peace.

The 24th CPSU Congress has enriched the policy of proletarian internationalism, which has been constantly implemented by the great Leninist Party. In line with the decisions of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the 24th CPSU Congress hailed the policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, during the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia. This policy was an example of international socialist fraternity. It was this policy that foiled the ominous plans of the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet elements supported by imperialism. All this served to prove that there is no force in the world capable of tearing away even a part of the world socialist system.

The presence at the 24th CPSU Congress of 102 delegations of foreign Communist, Workers, Socialist and national-democratic parties testifies to the growth of the international prestige of the CPSU. This Congress was truly a great international forum of revolutionaries. The Congress showed that the furious anti-Soviet campaign of the Chinese leaders leads to their growing isolation.

Inspired by the principles of Leninism, the CPA Executive Com-

mittee rejects the crude, mendacious attacks against the CPSU and the USSR by the Chinese leaders and exposes their splitting activities in many countries. The Executive Committee states that all this is grist to the imperialist mill.

The 24th CPSU Congress, the resolution continues, summed up the fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan and outlined the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Once again the Soviet Union is demonstrating that in a socialist system laying the foundations of communism it is possible to combine an improvement of the people's welfare and a rapid development of the economy.

The huge successes scored by the Soviet people in the economy and the new Five-Year Plan serve as a strong support for the Argentine people's struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy. The CPA Executive Committee urges all Party members to study closely the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress and once again confirms the thesis that the CPSU is the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement and that the main criterion of the position of internationalists is their attitude towards the Soviet Union. Close, inviolable friendship between our Party and the great CPSU constitutes the basic element in the policy of the Communist Party of Argentina.

FIFTY YEARS OF SOVIET GEORGIA

A festive meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Republic was held in Tbilisi on May 14 to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in the Republic and the founding of the Communist Party of Georgia.

Taking part in the festivities were Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, delegations from the 14 fraternal Republics and hero-cities led by prominent figures of the CPSU and the Soviet state, representatives of the Central Committee of the Lenin Young Communist League and the Soviet armed forces.

The meeting was attended by front-rank workers and collective farmers, scientists, artists, representatives of Party, state and public organizations of the Republic, and of the Armed Forces.

V. P. Mzhavanadze, candidate member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, delivered the report "Fiftieth Anniversary of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Georgia."

Then the meeting was addressed by the CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev.

SPEECH OF COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

In the first part of his speech Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke highly of the services rendered by the Republic's working people in the revolutionary movement and the struggle for the triumph of the Great October, in the strengthening of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist multi-national state.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev laid special stress on the heroism displayed by the Georgian people during the Great Patriotic War and on the contribution of the Georgian working class, collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to communist construction in the Soviet Union. Then he continued:

Comrades, we owe it to the Georgian workers, peasants and intelligentsia, to the Abkhazians and Ossetians, to the working people of all nationalities who live and work in your Republic that Georgia has become a blossoming socialist republic. It goes to the credit of the Communist Party of Georgia and its Central Committee, which rallies the initiative and efforts of Party organizations, and directs them into the general stream of struggle for the building of communism in our country. Permit me, dear comrades, to congratulate

heartily the Party executives, the Party aktiv, all the Communists of the Republic on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Georgia and wish them fine new successes for the benefit of socialist Georgia, for the benefit of our entire socialist country.

When we stress the merits of the Communist Party and the working people of Georgia, we thereby speak also of the achievements of all Soviet Communists, of all the working people of the country. One cannot imagine present-day Georgia without specialists that have been trained at higher schools not in Georgia alone, but in Moscow, Leninigrad, Kiev, Gorky, Baku, Yerevan and many other cities. One cannot imagine present-day Georgia without the intellectual wealth which it draws generously from the treasure-house of culture and art of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The modern image of Georgia is a result of the unbreakable economic, scientific, technological and cultural bonds which link Georgia organically with the other fraternal Republics and peoples of our country.

Such is our socialist reality: all are working for one and each one works for all. Such is the real, generally perceptible result of the triumph of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, of the Leninist nationalities policy of our Party. This is why, comrades, the anniversary of every Republic is a festive occasion for all Soviet people. This is why numerous guests from all the Republics of the Union are present in this hall. There is no force in the world capable of shaking the friendship of the Soviet peoples—one of the greatest gains of socialism.

At the end of next year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be half a century old. Our Union is approaching this anniversary with tremendous achievements in all fields of public life, full of vigor, confidence in its strength and in the triumph of the great cause of communism, for the sake of which it was founded and for the sake of which the peoples who formed it are struggling and working. The Soviet family of nations will come to its 50th anniversary even more concerted and rallied around its Communist Party.

Comrades, your anniversary is being observed in a special atmosphere—in an atmosphere of general activity and labor enthusiasm evoked by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress determined the policy of the Party in all directions, in all fields of the life of Soviet society. The decisions of the Congress, its ideas, are now in the focus of political life of the Party and the country. Let us follow V. I. Lenin's advice with regard to jubilees and deal here with some questions which are of importance for all though they go beyond the bounds of the present celebration.

Millions of Communists and non-Party people are studying the

documents of the Congress, pondering the tasks set by the Congress, and discussing ways of accomplishing them. The entire Party, all Party organizations, from the highest to the lowest, and the collectives of working people approve of the decisions of the Congress. The Central Committee highly appreciates this nationwide approval and attributes particular significance to the concrete, business-like approach of Party organizations, Communists and non-Party people to the implementation of the Congress guidelines.

The Party expects concrete elaborations and, above all, practical work from the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the State Committee for Science and Technology, from Union Ministries and Administrations, the Academy of Sciences, the trade unions and the Komsomol. It expects the same from Party, government and economic bodies of the Republics, from the regions and territories, factories and collective farms, from every collective of working people. Much can be done and many new potentialities uncovered even in the smallest Party organization if stock is taken of everything, if everything is considered and taken into account.

In general, comrades, we should not lose momentum in the transition from approving the decisions of the Congress, from explaining its line to its practical implementation. The constructive impetus given by the Congress to cadres, to the entire Party, to all working people should not slacken. It is important to use it fully, so as, riding the powerful tide of strength and energy in the wake of the 24th Congress, to enter promptly, efficiently and without delay the stream of big practical work, to get into the rhythm of the daily activity on which the fulfilment of the adopted program of further advance to communism depends. We all should learn to work better in order to scale new summits, the road to which has been indicated by the Congress, and to make the life of the Soviet people still better. Such is the logic of social progress, the logic of the advance to communism.

Socialist emulation for the early fulfilment of the targets of the first year of the ninth Five-Year Plan, which has been initiated by the working people of Moscow and Leninigrad, is unfolding throughout the country. I hope that the pledges of the working people of the Georgian Republic, too, will soon appear in *Pravda*. All Soviet people will appreciate reading them.

Comrades, thus far I have been speaking about the economy, about the implementation of the tasks of the economic development set by the 24th Party Congress. The same concerns all other areas of work confronting us.

Of great importance is the consistent implementation of the policy of further strengthening the unity of Soviet society, of all its classes and social strata, of all nations and nationalities which

comprise the great Soviet people. Big tasks confront us also in further developing socialist democracy, in strengthening our state of the entire people and perfecting all aspects of its functioning. The surmounting of the personality cult and of the consequences of subjectivist errors helped create in the Party and the country a moral and political atmosphere which facilitates good and concerted work. We all must see to it that this atmosphere remains clear and pure.

We all realize the tremendous importance of the country's defense and economic potential. No less important is the moral and political state of society, the spiritual and the moral condition of the people, upon which, incidentally, depends largely the strength of our defenses, the international positions of our state, and the economic potential of the country. However, for us Communists, the ideological, the moral growth of every individual is also of great importance as such, because our highest objective is the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual.

All who dedicate their efforts to the lofty cause of communist education are in the forefront of communist construction. The part played in this by professional educators, by teachers and the ideological workers first of all, is generally recognized and great. In our country, however, the educator, as is known, is the entire society—the Party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, every collective of workers, every Soviet family. The style of work that became firmly established in the Party and the country, combining a comradely, considerate and attentive approach to people with great exactingness and strictness, creates most favorable conditions for enhancing the role of public education.

We need to take full advantage of these conditions, to increase the struggle against the vestiges of capitalism in the minds and attitudes of the people. Every Soviet person should be educated in a spirit of strict observance of the laws, the strengthening of socialist property, an honest, conscientious attitude to work, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism incompatible with any manifestation of national narrow-mindedness and chauvinism. We have spoken much on this score at the Congress and we must see to it that the words are matched by deeds.

What is now required of every Communist regardless of his post is profound understanding of the meaning, of the very spirit of the Congress decisions, consistent and precise execution of its line in all fields of the economic, public and ideological life of the country. The will, the determination, the labor efforts of our entire Party, of the entire Soviet people should today be directed towards the implementation of the line adopted by the Congress. Put the decisions of the 24th Party Congress into practice!—such is the

slogan which determines the main content, the essence of our entire work.

Naturally, all this is most immediately related to the tasks facing your Party organization. The CPSU Central Committee expresses confidence that the nearly 300,000-strong Communist Party of Georgia, a militant detachment of the CPSU, will in the future too worthily fulfil the role of vanguard of the working class, of all working people of the Republic in its march to new heights, in the struggle for augmenting its contribution to the common cause of the building of communist society in our country.

Comrades, the 24th Congress of our Party has become a major event in international life. This is understandable. The Congress outlined the road of the further growth of the might of our great socialist power. On the scales of history the Leninist Party has put an imposing program of economic and socio-political development of the Soviet Union whose fulfilment will signify a major shift in the international alignment of forces in favor of socialism, freedom and peace.

The decisions of the Congress on international questions have met with understanding and support of the broad masses, of the progressive public of all continents. This was well expressed in the speeches of numerous delegations to our Congress from the Communist, national-democratic and left-socialist parties.

We are sincerely grateful to our friends and brothers abroad for their solidarity with our Party, for the desire they expressed to strengthen in the future, too, contacts with the CPSU, to march in a single formation with it. Their support of the Congress decisions shows that successful construction of communism by the Soviet people meets the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind. We are inspired by this and at the same time reminded that in the future, too, we must be equal to the requirements of the modern revolutionary epoch.

The impressive demonstration of internationalism which we saw at the Congress confirmed once again that the international communist movement is gaining in scope, that it lives on and is growing stronger, and that its strength lies in unity. Accordingly, we will continue to work consistently for this unity.

We attach much importance to the presence of many national-democratic parties at the 24th Congress. The strong alliance of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, socialist and young progressive states is an earnest of unity of the worldwide anti-imperialist front.

Participating in the work of the 24th Congress also were representatives of the left-socialist movements of Europe, Latin America and Asia. We welcome this good beginning and will do all we can

to turn it into a lasting tradition for the benefit of international proletarian unity, the cause of socialism and peace.

Comrades, if in the center of all Party activities are the vital interests of the people, the movement of Soviet society to communism and the raising of the well-being and cultural standards of the working people, this naturally, determines not only the economic, social and cultural policy of the Party within the country, but its foreign policy as well. Developing the Leninist traditions of Soviet foreign policy, the 24th Congress put forward a comprehensive program of struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and independence of nations. It is a program of struggle for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence, a program of friendship among nations, of their free and independent progress. It is a program of curbing the aggressors and averting a world war.

In our opinion, it is hardly possible to offer, under present conditions, a more constructive and realistic program for the settling of the main international problems. There are, of course, influential circles in the imperialist camp, which will attempt to hinder the implementation of the plans for peace and cooperation, will be putting spokes into our wheel.

The course of events, however, and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and peace make such attempts more and more hopeless. All that runs counter to the growing desire of the nations for international security and cooperation has no future. And the sooner the statesmen of all countries realize this, the shorter will the road be to settling the acute problems of world politics. As for the Soviet Union we shall, together with our friends and allies and with the support of the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses all over the world, firmly and consistently uphold the proposals made by the Congress. We are convinced that this corresponds to the interests of the Soviet people, of all nations on earth.

We shall continue, as before, to conduct undeviatingly the policy of militant international solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We have been always convinced that their heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression will be crowned with victory and that the more the aggressors persist, the more infamous and ignominious will be the unavoidable accounting.

We are also convinced that the friendly United Arab Republic, Syria and the other Arab states, will see the triumph of their just cause by consolidating all the patriotic progressive forces both within a national and general Arab framework, by strengthening the fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries, and resolutely rebuffing the blackmail and intrigues of imperialism.

Working for international security and peace, against aggressive encroachments on the independence and legitimate rights of peoples, we are prepared to cooperate with all organizations and parties, which really aspire for the same goals. In particular, we reaffirmed at the Congress our positive attitude towards possible joint action in the international scene with the Social-Democratic parties.

Judging by press reports, the leaders of Social Democracy, including many representatives of ruling parties, will gather, late this month, in the Finnish capital for a session of the Socialist International Council. They will discuss the problems of European security, the Middle East and Indochina. These are acute problems and world developments depend in large measure on how justly they will be tackled. The approach to these problems by participants in the session will show whether they really want an international detente and strengthening of peace.

The interests of the working-class movement, the interests of universal peace demand that those who will be making decisions in Helsinki should not forget the heinous crimes committed by the imperialist aggressors in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and on the occupied territories of the Arab countries. The interests of European security demand that they should neither forget the will of their own peoples, who want the complete liquidation of the heritage of the cold war and the speediest creation in Europe of an atmosphere of cooperation and good-neighborliness. Otherwise, the participants in the session will only confirm that their "International" prefers, as before, to heed not the voice of the masses, but of those who determine NATO policies.

I'd like to note one point in connection with the Western reaction to the proposals made at the Congress. Some of the NATO countries show an evident interest, and even some nervousness, concerning the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. Their representatives ask whose armed forces, foreign or national? What armaments, nuclear or conventional, are to be reduced? Could it be, they ask, that the Soviet proposals encompass all this taken together? In this connection, we, too, have a question: Don't those curious people seem like a person that tries to judge the flavor of wine by its appearance without tasting it? If something is not clear to somebody, we are quite ready to make it clear. All you have to do is muster resolve to try the proposals that interest you by their taste. Translated into diplomatic language, this means—start negotiations.

In implementing the decisions of the Congress, we shall spare no effort to strengthen the cohesion and friendship of the socialist countries, to enhance still more their role in the international

arena, as a great coalition of peace and social progress. In implementing the Congress decisions we shall strengthen the alliance with the national-liberation and the entire revolutionary movement. In implementing the Congress decisions we shall do everything we can to ensure the peaceful coexistence of states, irrespective of their social systems.

Dear comrades, friends, the banner of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic carries two Orders of Lenin. That is the recognition by the entire people of our country of the great service rendered by the Georgian people, the Georgian Communists. I take great pleasure in informing you today, on this memorable day of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Georgia, that Soviet Georgia has been awarded another order—the Order of the October Revolution.

Allow me to read out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the awarding of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic with the Order of the October Revolution.

(Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reads out the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Amidst stormy and prolonged applause Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pins the Order of the October Revolution on the banner of the Republic.)

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev says:

Permit me to congratulate heartily the workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people of Georgia with the high award, which crowns, as it were, the half-century road traversed by the Republic. You may well be proud of the award, for it is deserved by you, deserved by those who today are building the edifice of communism together with all fraternal nations, by those who fought to the death against fascism in the Great Patriotic War and by those who fought in the international ranks of revolutionary fighters for the victory of Soviet power in Georgia and laid the foundations of the Soviet system on the ancient land of Georgia.

The Central Committee of the Party is firmly convinced that the Communists and all working people of your Republic will devote all their strength, energy, experience and knowledge to attain the targets of the new Five-Year Plan, and to fulfil the major plans for economic, socio-political and cultural progress of our great Motherland, mapped out by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Long live the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic!

Long live the Communist Party of Georgia!

Long live our mighty Motherland—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Long live the unbreakable and fraternal friendship of all nations of our country!

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is leading the Soviet people to the triumph of communism!

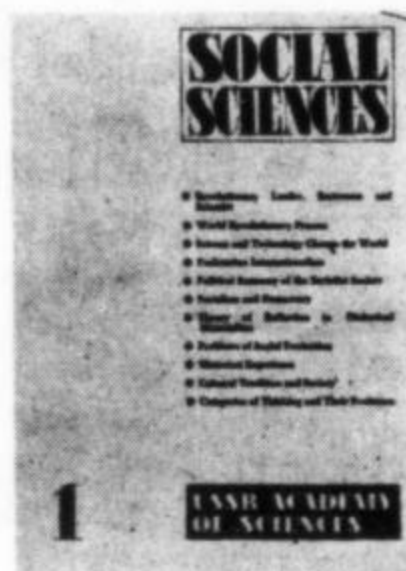
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The celebrations in Tbilisi developed into a vivid manifestation of the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, their cohesion round the CPSU and the Soviet government and their determination to win fresh victories in the building of communism.



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number 10-11, 1971 73

THE SEEPAGE OF RACISM

A report on the struggle against white chauvinism was delivered by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, at a recent National Committee meeting. We present here excerpts of the report dealing with problems of racism within the movement and the Communist Party.

The sharpening of the class contradictions creates the objective propellants that stimulate the development of class consciousness. This consciousness, based on real class interests, tends to overcome all alien class ideological influences. Class consciousness leads to a higher level of social consciousness, it leads to higher moral concepts. These higher levels of consciousness are all involved in the struggle against racism. There is a dialectical interchange of cause and effect relationship between the struggle against racism and the rise of class consciousness. Class consciousness has a built-in limitation unless it takes up the struggle against racism. This is the meaning of Karl Marx's profound thought that "Labor in a white skin cannot be free as long as labor in a black skin is branded." The other side of this truth is that the struggle against racism has a built-in limitation if it is not related to struggles that give rise to class consciousness.

Because we understand the relationship between the class struggle and the struggle against racism, we also understand the crucial importance of the struggle against racism in the ranks of white workers. Racism is the central ideological current that diverts the white workers from the path of class consciousness. In the ranks of the people as a whole, it is the poison that diverts them from the path of anti-imperialist consciousness. The struggle against racism is, therefore, crucial for the development both of working-class consciousness and anti-imperialist consciousness. For the United States, racism is the most formidable obstacle to socialist consciousness. We must clearly see the relationship between these ideological currents. There cannot be racist working-class consciousness. There can only be class conscious workers who may be influenced by chauvinism. Only capitalist class consciousness and racism mix. We cannot have racist anti-imperialist consciousness. Very quickly, they will clash. We do have anti-imperialists who suffer from chauvinist influences. And without such consciousness, we cannot have working-class unity or anti-imperialist unity. And

Daily World, April 17, 1971.

without such unity, there can be no real social progress. There cannot be a successful long-range struggle for democracy if it does not take on the struggle against the racist ideology of the anti-democratic forces. There cannot be an anti-monopoly coalition that does not take on the racist ideology, the racist practice of monopoly capitalism.

Thus, the struggle against racism is inextricably linked with the most basic processes of the class struggle, the struggle for social progress and the struggle for socialism. The fight against the influences of chauvinism in the Party is therefore a struggle to remove every possible obstacle that in any way hinders our Party from playing its full role in the fight against racism, against reaction, against imperialism and in the battle for socialism. The struggle against these influences in the Party is the struggle to make it possible for the Party fully to play its vanguard role in this revolutionary and explosive period of history. The working class cannot move to play its strategic revolutionary role without a struggle against racism.

In our Party, influences of chauvinism do not show up in resolutions or speeches. It would be easier to deal with that kind of a weakness. The appearance is more indirect and subtle. In our Party, it results more from an unconscious influence than from conscious chauvinism. In our Party, it appears as insensitivity, as sickening paternalism, as an inability to deal with problems related to the struggle. It appears as a lack of initiative and a lack of continuity in the struggle against racism. It appears as silence, as omissions, rather than overt acts of chauvinism. It appears as passivity.

The Atomic Energy Commission, under corporate pressure, keeps raising the "permissible limits" of radiation contamination. In our Party, under the pressure of enemy ideology, we have raised the "permissible limits" of chauvinist influences. This is closely related to new "permissible limits" of opportunistic influences generally.

Its most visible results are that our Party is not fully mobilized, that it is not hitting on all cylinders in the struggle against racism, either as an ideology or against racist practices. We simply are not doing nearly enough in any of these areas . . .

There is nothing wrong with the fact—on the contrary it is a contribution of great significance—that many of our white comrades have become highly qualified in dealing with the history, culture, poetry, music, etc., of Black Americans; Marxism-Leninism has given them the framework in which to make these studies. This scholarship, this expertise, is not the monopoly of our white comrades. Our Party can be very proud of the large number of highly qualified able Black Marxist-Leninist leaders, scholars, writers and teachers in every area of thought. But in a number of cases the results of the studies by our white comrades have appeared in

number 10-11, 1971 75

print, often by private publishers, without any consultation, or without any contact or exchange with any of our leading Black comrades. Do not these relationships call for a manifestation by our white comrades of sensitivity to the pride and dignity which Black Americans take in their heritage, culture and history?

Does it not demand an understanding of the need for close working relationships—not paternalism—but a relationship based on an understanding that arises from the knowledge that these studies and writings will suffer because of the lack of collaboration with scholars who, because of their relationship to the culture, the history, the struggle that is under study, have much to contribute that is vital and unique? Is this not an expression of insensitivity? This weakness is only compounded when consultations do not take place even though the comrades live in the same city. The responsibility is with the white comrades.

* * *

There cannot be a situation where Black comrades are active in the struggle and are the main force in analyzing and developing policies, but where it is mainly white comrades who publish and are quoted as experts in this area.

The Marxist publishing houses publish a great many books. But throughout their history these houses have given little encouragement or help to Black Communist authors. Because of this background it is necessary to take special measures to encourage Black comrades to write and to have their works published. But on the contrary, to this day they are subjected to rigid requirements such as advance financial guarantees to the publisher by the author. Such a situation our Party must put an end to—and now.

There appeared a cartoon in the *Daily World* that had definite racist connotations. It was a reprint. When an inquiry was made, no one knew how it got into our paper. But the fact that it did is a clear indication of the lack of sensitivity to influences of racism . . .

We are a united Black-white Party. All of us have overall responsibilities. But we also have special responsibilities. Our Party, as a whole, must take on the struggle against racism and white chauvinism. But in this struggle, white Communists have a most urgent special responsibility. That special responsibility is to take the lead in the struggle against racism wherever and in whatever form it appears. This is an ideological, a political and a moral responsibility. In the struggle against Black nationalism, our Black comrades have a special responsibility to take the initiative. A special responsibility of our Jewish comrades is in the struggle against Jewish bourgeois nationalism. And so on.

I would like to emphasize that these special responsibilities are not Party assignments in the usual sense of the word. They are not in the area of usual divisions of work. These are special responsibilities which we accept because of our ideological convictions. We carry them out not because of a Party decision, but because of our own ideological convictions. Our weakness in carrying out our special responsibilities are not for lack of Party assignments. We cannot take refuge in not having an assignment from the Party. The weaknesses flow from lack of ideological understanding, ideological convictions. The lack of sensitivity to the influence of chauvinism is not related to Party decisions. A Party decision cannot make us sensitive to influences of racism. The weakness is related to ideological seepage. The collective responsibility of the Party is to raise the level of collective sensitivity and struggle. Ideological conviction will determine how each of us carries out his individual responsibility. And ideological struggle is collective, but it is very much a personal one also.

There are some who equate white chauvinism and nationalism as twin evils. This is but another excuse for accommodation to racism. This equation is based on a totally wrong understanding of the nature and roots of chauvinism. Nationalism is a reaction to national oppression. It is related to the struggle against this oppression. When it is directed against oppression, it serves a just and progressive cause. Chauvinism is, in all its varieties, an ideological support for oppression. Because it is an instrument of aggression, it is reactionary, in all its varieties at all times. Under no circumstances can it be a progressive force. Thus, there can be no accommodation to it. There can be no equal treatment of the two. In the period of anti-imperialism, nationalism has been on the right side of history. It can be misused, as Zionism is misusing Jewish nationalism. When it is being misused, we fight it. But there can be no equation of the nationalism of those fighting oppression with racism, with chauvinism.

In the Party, we have special responsibilities. But we are not creatures of departments and inhabitants of special cubby holes. We must reject any concept that only white comrades can raise and deal with the problems of racism and white chauvinism and only Black comrades can raise and deal with problems of nationalism. The logical conclusion of such departmentalization would be the syndrome of "each doing his own thing."

For a successful struggle against the influences of racism, we must put an end to the atmosphere in our Party in which influences of chauvinism, as well as other ideological weaknesses, are treated as a family would treat leprosy—as something we do not talk about. This undeclared silence becomes an obstacle in the struggle

against the penetration of chauvinism and nationalism. The most effective way to raise the level of immunity is by comradely, critical discussions. The starting point is not the levelling of charges or resort to administrative actions. These follow only when other methods do not succeed and, of course, when the actions involved are openly chauvinistic.

In our Party and especially on the leadership level of our Party, the question of Black-white oneness must be on a different level than is the case in other organizations. It is on a different level because of our ideological oneness. It is on a different level because of our theoretical, political and tactical oneness. It must be on a different level because we are the leadership of a revolutionary working-class Party. We are the embryo, the prototype of the coming society that will clean up the pollution from the ideological environment, and eradicate the basic source of the contamination. On this level, the words "equals" or "equality" somehow fall short of giving the essence of the inner oneness of our Party. To meet these standards is a challenge. It demands an unrelenting struggle. The struggle against the penetration of the influences of white chauvinism is at the very heart of this challenge.

Our priorities must reflect the fact that white chauvinism is the main danger, that it is a most serious obstacle in the struggle for class unity and for the full effectiveness and unity of our Party. The success of the struggles in other areas will depend, in a basic sense, on the success of our struggles against racism and the influences of chauvinism.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

CPSU AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAQ

On May 5, M. A. Suslov, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Aziz Mohammed, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Iraq.

During the talks the CPSU representatives told Aziz Mohammed about the full support of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions by all Communists and Party organizations, described the political and labor enthusiasm inspired in the Soviet people by the Congress decisions and informed him about the first labor achievements of the new five-year plan.

Aziz Mohammed outlined the situation in Iraq, the activities of the Iraqi Communist Party and the difficulties confronting it. The two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East.

The Soviet side expressed its solidarity with the ICP activity in defense of the interests of the working class and people of Iraq and with its efforts to consolidate the country's patriotic, national-democratic forces within the framework of the anti-imperialist front in the struggle against reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the consolidation of the country's national independence, democratization of social life and for social progress in the Iraqi Republic. It was stressed that the plotting by imperialist agents and reaction and the persecution of Communists hamper the unity of the progressive patriotic forces and facilitate subversion by hostile elements attempting to prevent Iraq's advance along the road of consolidating national independence and social progress.

The participants stressed the invariable desire of the CPSU and the Iraqi Communist Party to develop and strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic and the peoples of the two countries.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and fraternal friendship.

R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department, participated in the talks.

Pravda, May 7, 1971.

CPSU AND THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On May 7, 1971, M. A. Suslov, member of the CC CPSU Political

Pravda, May 8, 1971.

Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with a delegation of the Syrian Communist Party, which came to the USSR on the invitation of the CC CPSU. The delegation included Kh. Bagdash, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, and Politbureau members and Central Committee Secretaries Y. Faisal, D. Naame, Politbureau member R. Turk, CC Secretary M. Yousef and CC member B. Gazzi.

The Syrian comrades were told about the enthusiasm with which Soviet Communists and all Soviet people are working to carry out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and fulfil the new five-year plan which is an important stage in the building of communist society in the USSR. The 24th Congress decisions were approved unanimously by the Soviet people who are closely united round the CPSU.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East in connection with the continued Israeli imperialist aggression against the Arab countries. Both sides condemned the expansionist policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel and their stubborn refusal to abide by the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution. They confirmed the determination of the two Parties to achieve a political solution of the Middle East conflict, the withdrawal of aggressor troops from occupied Arab territory and restoration of the lawful rights of the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian Arabs.

The Syrian Communist Party spokesmen described the urgent problems being solved by the Party, and also the Party's activity in rebuffing imperialist and reactionary plots aimed against Syria, and in strengthening national independence and the present progressive national-democratic regime in the Syrian Arab Republic. They told about the cooperation between the Syrian CP and the ruling Arab Socialist Rebirth Party, other anti-imperialist forces and organizations in the country with a view to creating a National Front of Progressive Forces, which would be a significant factor in broadening democracy in the country's political life and providing for the interests of the working class, the peasants and all the working people who support the building of a socialist society in Syria. The Syrian CP is contributing to the progressive socio-economic reforms in the interests of the working people and to the strengthening and building up of the government sector in the economy, which serves as the economic basis for a revolutionary-democratic society.

The representatives of the CPSU expressed their approval of the patriotic activities of the Syrian CP, this important section of the working people, and highly assessed its role in the Syrian people's liberation struggle and in spreading the ideas of scientific socialism.

The Syrian Communist Party delegation gave high appraisal

of the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic in various spheres, and of the Soviet aid to the Syrian and other Arab peoples' struggle for freedom and national progress, against the Israeli aggression.

Both sides expressed their desire to promote the development and strengthening of all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic and declared their mutual desire to build up fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the Syrian Communist Party and the peoples of both countries in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for strengthening national independence, peace and social progress of the nation.

The talks were held in a spirit of mutual understanding and fraternal friendship.

R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department, participated in the talks.

MEETING BETWEEN L. I. BREZHNEV AND LE DUAN

On May 9, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam.

The talks with the participation of CC CPSU Secretary K. F. Katushev continued the exchange of opinions on key international problems and bilateral relations, first held earlier during the meeting between L. I. Brezhnev and the delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, headed by Le Duan, at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The CC CPSU General Secretary and the First Secretary of the CC WPPV confirmed their invariable and sincere desire for the further development of relations, militant friendship, solidarity and all-round fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the Working People's Party of Vietnam, between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of complete unanimity and cordiality.

Pravda, May 10, 1971.

JOINT SOVIET-SUDANESE COMMUNIQUE

Major-General Gaffar Mohamed Nimeiri, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government paid a friendly visit to the Soviet Union from April 14 to April 16, 1971.

Pravda, April 17, 1971.

During the visit talks were held between N. W. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Major-General G. M. Nimeiri, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Sudan.

The Soviet party in the talks included K. T. Mazurov, First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. A. Gromyko, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko, USSR Minister of Defense; S. A. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Sudanese party was represented by Maj.-Gen. Khalid Hassan Abbas, Member of the Revolutionary Council, Minister of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan; Maj. Mamon Abu Zeid, Member of the Revolutionary Council, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs and Head of the National Security Service; Maj. Zein El-Abdin Mohammed Ahmed Kader, Member of the Revolutionary Council, General Inspector and Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture; Ahmed Suleiman, Minister of Industry and Natural Resources; His Excellency Abdalla El-Hassan, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to the USSR, and Mahdi Mustafa El-Hadi, Adviser to the President on Foreign Affairs.

During the talks questions concerning the bilateral relations between the USSR and the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and questions of the present-day international situation of mutual interest were reviewed and discussed.

The President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan expressed gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee for having invited a delegation of the Revolutionary Council of the Sudan to the 24th CPSU Congress, and congratulated the Soviet leaders on the successful completion of the work of the Congress, which is of great importance not only for the Soviet people who are building a communist society, but also for the progressive forces of the entire world.

The Soviet side informed the Sudanese leaders in detail on the results of the 24th CPSU Congress which had approved the foreign and domestic policy of the Soviet Union and endorsed the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan for the USSR for 1971-1975.

The Sudanese side highly appreciated the decisions of the 24th Congress which resolutely condemned the imperialist aggression of Israel against the Arab peoples, conducted with the support of the forces of imperialism and colonialism, headed by the United States, and noted with satisfaction the enormous significance of

the special statement adopted by the Congress "For a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

The Soviet Side expressed its high appraisal of the May 25, 1969 revolution and the progressive social reforms in the Sudan, as well as the prominent role which this revolution plays in the liberation movement on the African continent and in the Arab world. The two sides expressed their conviction that in order to carry out the aims of the May revolution, and to repel the intrigues of imperialism and reaction aimed at undermining the revolutionary gains, it was necessary to strengthen the alliance of the working people, and the cohesion of all its progressive democratic forces. The Soviet side condemned imperialist interference in the south of the Sudan, aimed at splitting the country and undermining the unity of the Sudanese people.

The Soviet side, stressing that the Sudan adheres to realistic positions on the question of a Middle East settlement, supports the UAR position in this matter, once again confirmed that the Soviet Union would continue to come out firmly and consistently for a political settlement and the establishment of a just and stable peace in the Middle East on the basis of the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution which envisages the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories. The Soviet Union has rendered, and will continue to render, support and assistance to the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, in their just struggle for eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression and the restoration of their legitimate rights.

The two sides confirmed their solidarity with the Vietnamese people and the courageous patriots of Laos and Cambodia, waging a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the freedom, independence and peaceful future of the countries of Indochina.

The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of the Sudan once again declare their full support for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other African territories waging a just struggle against colonialism, racial discrimination and for their freedom and independence.

Both sides once again confirmed that the positions of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of the Sudan on topical international problems coincide or are close, which permits further active cooperation in the joint struggle against imperialism, for peace throughout the world.

The two sides declared their preparedness to expand fruitful cooperation between both countries in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres, this being in accord with both the interests of the peoples of the two countries, as well as the

interests of the common tasks of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for peace and social progress of the peoples.

The meeting took place in a friendly and frank atmosphere.

CPSU AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Central Committee member Giovanni Berlinguer was on a visit in the Soviet Union from May 5 to May 19 at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The delegation acquainted itself with the work of the CPSU and Soviet people in implementing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and with the activity of Party, trade union and other mass organizations.

The members of the delegation spoke highly of the Soviet scientific and technical achievements, which socialism has placed in the service of man, and of the Soviet people's contribution to the common cause of the revolutionaries in all countries.

VISITS OF THE RUMANIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

On May 19, the Agerpres agency reported:

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by RCP General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council, N. Ceausescu, will make an official friendly visit to the Chinese People's Republic at the beginning of June.

* * *

At the invitation of the Korean Party of Labor and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by RCP General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council, N. Ceausescu, will make an official friendly visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic in the first half of June.

* * *

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Party and Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, led by RCP General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council, N. Ceausescu, will make an official friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

INDIA

The National Council of the Indian Communist Party met on April 23-28 to discuss the results of the parliamentary elections.

A resolution passed by the meeting says that the midterm elections to the Indian Lok-Sabha were a turning point in the history of the country's post-independence development.

The seven points of the Resolution define the cardinal demands and tasks of the CPI.

In a special resolution on the situation in East Pakistan, the CPI NC called on the government of India and those of all other countries to recognize the government of independent Bangla Desh and give it all possible assistance in the interest of peace, freedom and humanity.

The Resolution called on all Party units to observe May 15 as "Bangla Desh Day."

It was decided to convene the Ninth Party Congress in October 1971 with the following agenda: a report on the international situation; the political situation in India and the mass and political activities of the CPI since the Eighth Party Congress; inner-Party building and Party tasks; approval of amendments and supplements to the Party Rules; reports by the Central Control and Auditing Commissions; election to the National Council and other leading bodies of the CPI.

This August the National Council will meet to discuss the draft documents for the coming Congress.

PERU

A statement by the Political Commission of the Party's Central Committee on April 27 called on the working people to defend the progressive reforms. Reactionary and adventuristic elements, the statement says, are taking advantage of the economic difficulties to prevent the adoption of the law placing the country's natural wealth under state control. The reactionary forces, it adds, serve the interests of foreign monopolies, mainly U.S., and seek to undermine the people's confidence in the government.

HUNGARY

An enlarged Plenum of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on April 29 heard a report by Z. Komocsin, CC HSWP Sec-

retary, on the international situation and the participation of the HSWP delegation in the work of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The CC endorsed the delegation's activities and pointed out that the 24th CPSU Congress was an outstanding event in the world Communist movement.

The CC HSWP declared its full agreement with the 24th CPSU Congress appraisal of the present international situation. The HSWP, the Hungarian government and the people express their support of the world anti-imperialist struggle, and are doing everything to strengthen the unity of the socialist forces, the forces of peace and progress.

The CC HSWP appreciated the tireless efforts of the Soviet Communist Party to fortify the ideological unity and united action of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The Plenum also heard a report by R. Nyers on current economic problems, reviewing the measures taken to fulfil the economic decisions of the 10th HSWP Congress.

B. Biszku, CC Secretary, briefed the Plenum on the elections to the State Assembly and the local councils. The elections, he said, were a great success. The people supported the policy of the Party and the Popular Front, and ranged themselves behind the program for the further building of socialism.

The Plenum stated that by virtue of the successful elections, the task at present is to fulfil the 10th Party Congress decisions on a greater scale and carry out the fourth five-year plan and the program for building socialism.

Several other matters were also discussed.

USSR

Mass demonstrations and meetings were held throughout the country on May 1, the day of international working people's solidarity.

The mass meeting in Red Square, Moscow, was addressed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

LEBANON

In the *beginning of May* the CC of the Communist Party of Lebanon met in Beirut to hear the CPL delegation's report on the 24th CPSU Congress.

Lebanon's Communists, the Plenum's resolution said, fully support the position of the USSR and CPSU.

One of the most important tasks at present, the resolution went on to say, is to expose the anti-Soviet campaign of the imperialist and Zionist circles. The CC called for consolidation of all progres-

sive forces in combating plots by imperialists and local reactionaries seeking to undermine the Arab national-liberation movement.

SWITZERLAND

The CC of the Swiss Party of Labor met on May 2 to discuss preparations for the national Party Conference scheduled for June 12-13 in Lausanne. In line with the 1968 Ninth Party Congress decision, the conference will discuss the SPL program-theses approved by the meeting and released for publication on May 7, consisting of four sections: 1. Socialism and capitalism; 2. The situation in Switzerland; 3. Strategy and tactics of the SPL; 4. The Party and its organization. The national conference is also to determine SPL status.

RUMANIA

On May 5-6 the CC RCP met to discuss the draft 1971-75 economic development plan.

The draft is based on the directives of the ninth RCP Congress and provides the necessary conditions for the further economic development, a steady rise of living standards and the building of a developed socialist society.

The CC approved the draft plan and endorsed it for ratification by the Grand National Assembly.

CHILE

On May 6, the CC, CP of Chile, passed a decision to hold Party conferences in all primary Party organizations in order to explain the following tasks facing the country: consolidating the Popular Unity in face of reaction, increasing consumer goods production, redoubling the people's effort in carrying out the Popular Unity program.

It was also decided to convene a national assembly of women Communists on May 28.

MONGOLIA

On May 7 the newspaper *Unen* published the theses of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, for the 50th anniversary of the victory of the People's Revolution in Mongolia.

The working people of the MPR, say the theses, together with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the world progressive forces will mark the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution on July 11, 1971.

The experience of the People's Revolution demonstrates the great vitality and significance of Marxism-Leninism for the people of Mongolia in their historic passage from feudalism to socialism. Marxism-Leninism is the Mongolian people's beacon in building a new life based on democracy and socialism, and constitutes the foundation of their spiritual progress.

The formation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, say the theses, was a decisive factor in preparing and carrying out the People's Revolution. The Mongolian People's Revolution of 1921 was victorious in the new historical epoch resulting from the October revolution in Russia as an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process. It was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character and aim, a truly people's revolution, totally different from ordinary bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

In a comparatively short period Mongolia covered an entire historical epoch, by-passing capitalism in its transition from feudalism to socialism. This transition is the embodiment of Lenin's teaching on non-capitalist development, the result of the leading activity of the MPRP and its correct implementation of Lenin's ideas on the ways and perspectives of social progress for previously backward nations.

Socialism has become reality in Mongolia. The building of the foundations of socialism has forged a single socialist system encompassing all branches of the economy. The Mongolian People's Republic has been transformed from a cattle-raising country into an agro-industrial nation. The building of the foundations of socialism has made it possible to enter a new stage of development, that of completing the building of socialism. To insure the full victory of socialism, the document continues, it is necessary to make Mongolia an industrial-agrarian country.

In leading Mongolia's development, the MPRP has matured and become stronger on the basis of the ideological and organizational principles of a proletarian party. Born as a revolutionary-democratic party of the toiling arats and guided by the working-class ideology in the struggle to build a new society, it became a consistently revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

The theses stress that the close alliance and solidarity with the world revolutionary movement, first of all with its main force, the Soviet Union, is the determining factor in the historical development of the MPR along the socialist road. Internationalist friendship and all-round cooperation with the first socialist country, its selfless aid and support played a historic role in overcoming Mongolia's backwardness, creating and developing socialist economy and culture, raising the people's standard of living and establishing socialist production relations.

On the basis of common goals and interests, fraternal relations and close cooperation have been established and are developing between the MPR and the fraternal socialist countries in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The MPR's foreign policy is oriented on providing peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and strengthening the friendship and unity of the countries of the world socialist system, supporting the international workers' movement and the national-liberation struggle, and helping consolidate all present-day revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and security.

RUMANIA

The 50th anniversary of the Rumanian Communist Party was celebrated at a meeting in Bucharest on May 7. The meeting was opened by I. G. Maurer, Chairman of the Rumanian Council of Ministers. An important speech was delivered by N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and Chairman of the Rumanian State Council.

FRG

The first Youth Conference of the German Communist Party was held on May 7. A report was made by Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the GCP.

The conference was attended by 850 delegates and foreign guests, including representatives of the fraternal parties of the USSR, GDR, France, Belgium and others.

WEST BERLIN

The Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin met on May 8 to discuss the results of the 24th CPSU Congress. A report was made by Karl Heinz Kniestedt, Secretary of the SUP Board who attended the Congress with a SUP delegation. The communique says that the 24th CPSU Congress was instrumental in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

BOLIVIA

On May 8 and 9 the Central Committee of the Bolivian Communist Party met in plenum. Jorge Kolle, First CC Secretary, stressed the international significance of the 24th CPSU Congress. The plenum noted the high appraisal of the struggle waged by the

Latin American peoples, including the people of Bolivia, given in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The plenum approved Jorge Kalle's report and resolved to hold a national congress of the CPB on June 11-12.

FRANCE

An international scientific conference, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune, concluded its work in Paris on May 9. The conference, organized by the Maurice Thorez Institute, was attended by prominent French scientists, political and public figures and 30 foreign delegations. The Soviet delegation was headed by V. V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

During the four days the delegates discussed The Commune's Place in History; The Commune, The State and Democracy; The Commune and Culture; The Commune and Internationalism. Reports and communications were made by FCP Politbureau members Jacques Duclos, Rolland Leroy, Guy Besse and also by such public and political figures as Guy Mollet, Prof. Labrousse and many others.

AUSTRIA

Meeting on May 11, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria approved the report on the activity of the Political Bureau and information on the work of the 24th CPSU Congress made by Politbureau member F. Karger. As reported in *Volksstimme*, the Central Committee adopted a decision on the Party's agrarian policy and discussed and approved a report by Party Chairman F. Muhri on the political situation in the country after the presidential elections held on April 25.

JORDAN, LEBANON, SYRIA

On May 12 the Communist parties of the three countries made a joint appeal to the public in the Arab and other countries, calling for action against the arrests and persecution of Communists and other progressives in Iraq.

JAPAN

The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan was held on May 11-13. Tetsuzo Fuwa, member of the Permanent Bureau of the CC CPJ Presidium and Chairman of the Secretariat, reported on the first item on the agenda, "The Re-

sults of the Elections to Local Self-Government Bodies and the Struggle for the Party's Progress at the Elections to the Upper House."

T. Nishizawa, member of the Permanent Bureau of the CC CPJ Presidium, made a report "On the Negotiations Between the CPJ and CPSU and Participation in the Work of the 24th CPSU Congress."

Closing remarks at the meeting were made by Party Chairman K. Miyamoto.

COSTA RICA

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica held its 11th Congress on May 14-18. The Congress unanimously approved the report of General Secretary Manuel Mora Valverde, containing an analysis of the international situation and the Party's activity at the present stage. The Congress passed resolutions, which stress the need to fight resolutely all forms of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism directed at weakening and dividing the world revolutionary movement, to defend Marxist-Leninist theory and to spread it among the masses.

The Congress elected the Central Committee, adopted new Party Rules and approved a program of struggle for the coming years.

At its meeting the Central Committee elected Manuel Mora Valverde General Secretary and Eduardo Mora Valverde Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The CC meeting also endorsed the new composition of the Political Commission and the Executive Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

URUGUAY

On May 15 the newspaper *Popular* carried an editorial, "For a Stronger Party," devoted to the national conference on organizational questions held May 7 and 8. The conference was attended by nearly 500 delegates from Party organizations all over the country.

The participants in the conference pointed out that the organizational, political and ideological strengthening of the Party build up the success of the Broad Front. They stressed that the Communist Party is winning great moral prestige among the masses. In the period between the 19th and 20th congresses 26,027 new members joined the Party. In the first four months of this year 2,205 Uruguayans became Party members, or three times as many as over the same period last year.

The conference noted the importance of the recent political

changes in the country. There is a stronger urge for political unity among the masses. The formation of the Broad Front signifies that a political instrument has been evolved for defeating the oligarchy.

The conference adopted a decision to reach the targets of the Party's organizational consolidation for 1971 by September 21, the anniversary of its foundation.

DENMARK

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark met on May 15-16 to discuss the Party's tasks in trade union work. The meeting devoted much attention to the struggle against Denmark's involvement in the Common Market.

CYPRUS

Meeting on May 17, the AKEL Central Committee discussed the political situation in the country. A report was made by General Secretary E. Papaioannou.

AKEL, he said, is consistently supporting the efforts of President Makarios and his government to find a peaceful and democratic solution of the Cyprus question by establishing a sovereign and single state. On this basis, he continued, the internal Cyprus talks can and should be continued to reach agreement.

Serious differences still exist between the parties concerning the settlement of relations between the Greeks and Turks on the island. But there has also been some progress in the talks. The existing differences, he said, can be overcome. To do this, the Turkish-Cyprus leadership has only to accept in its essentials the idea of forming a single state on Cyprus and desist from trends directed at forming a state within the state.

Then Papaioannou stressed the need for the unity of the patriotic forces of the Cypriot people and vigilance in order to defend Cyprus against external and internal conspirators.

GDR

Election conferences were held in nine regional organizations of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on May 17 in preparation for the Eighth SUPG Congress.

The delegates unanimously approved the decisions of the 16th plenary meeting of the CC SUPG and stressed the historic significance of the materials of the 24th CPSU Congress. The delegates passed unanimous resolutions, assuring the CC SUPG that the regional Party organizations, rallied around the collective Party leadership, give their full and unqualified support to its Marxist-Leninist policy.

The conferences approved the reports and elected leading bodies

of the regional SUPG organizations and delegates to the Eighth SUPG Congress.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met on May 19. It discussed and approved the draft report on the work of the Party and the development of society since the 13th Congress of the CPC and the Party's further tasks, delivered by G. Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC, and a draft report on the main directions of the Party policy in 1971-75, submitted by L. Strougal, Chairman of the CSSR Government.

POLAND

The commission in charge of preparations for the Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party met on May 19 under the chairmanship of Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP.

Edward Gierek emphasized in his speech the vast importance of the forthcoming congress to be held at the end of 1971 and early 1972 in accordance with the decision of the ninth plenary meeting of the CC PUWP.

The Congress Theses, Gierek said, will be discussed at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee and then submitted for discussion by Party members and the public at large.

JAPAN

On May 20, the newspaper *Akahata* published the document "The Policy of the Communist Party of Japan. Detailed Explanation of the Basic Policy of the CPJ."

PARAGUAY

The Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party "expresses its full solidarity with the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which was an event of great international significance," says the statement of the Central Committee, published on May 22. The statement emphasizes that the successes of the Soviet Union in the economic, political and social spheres are of historic significance.

The Central Committee condemned the splitting activities of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and "the campaign of slander and lies directed against the Soviet Union and the CPSU."

The statement gave a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's support of the demand to set free the imprisoned Paraguayan patriots.

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