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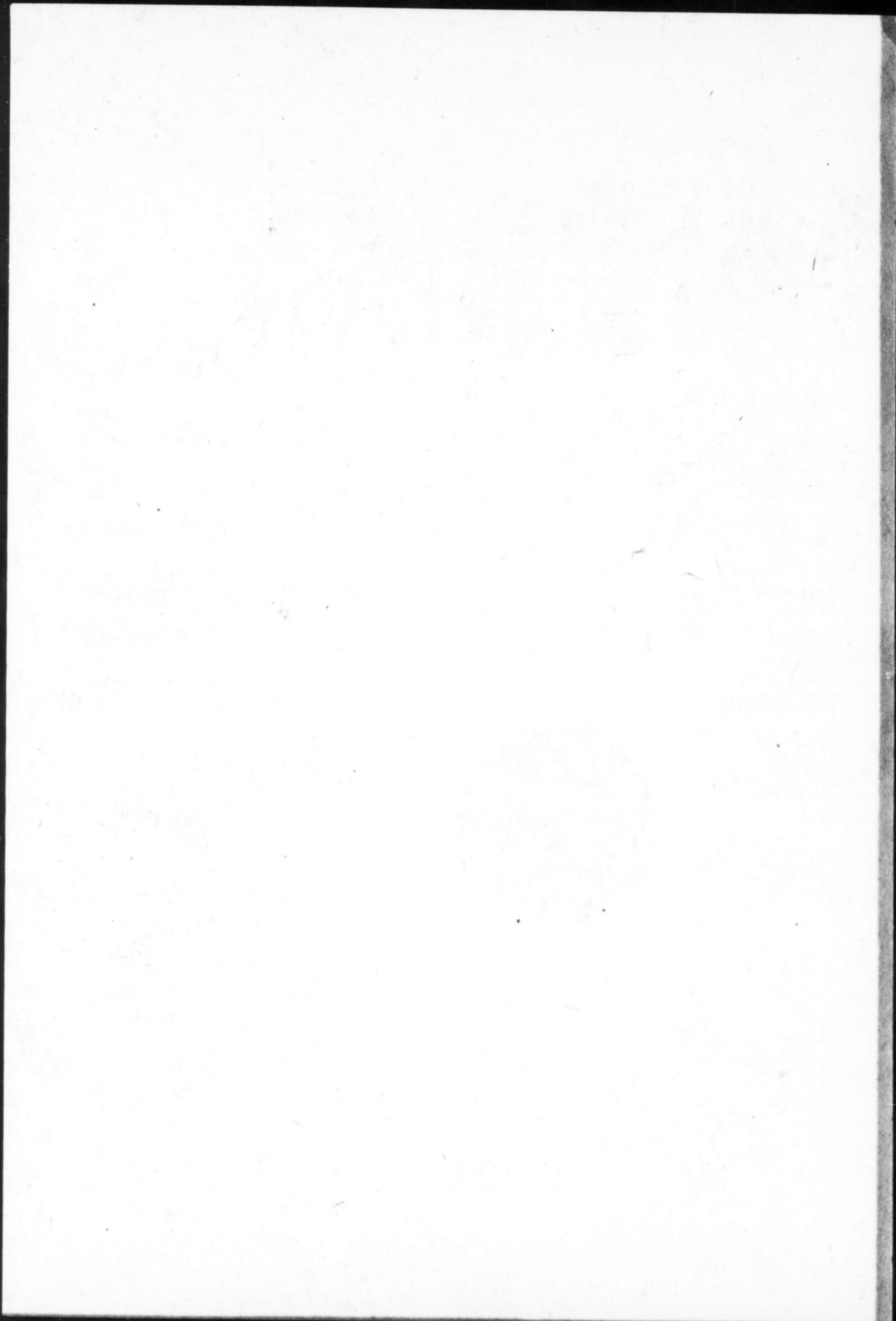
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CONGRESSES

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium took place in Ghent from April 9 to 11. The delegates discussed the Central Committee report and elected the Party's leading bodies.

Congress was held in a situation of acute economic crisis in the capitalist West and against the background of big changes in the international scene marked by the success of the European Security Conference and increased struggle of the forces of peace and progress for the extension of détente.

The economic crisis and the struggle for peace were the two central problems of the pre-congress documents published by the Central Committee, which were widely discussed in all Party organizations and in the pages of *Drapeau Rouge* and *Rode Vaan*.

Congress was opened by Vice-Chairman Josef Turf. On behalf of the Belgian Communists he welcomed the fraternal delegations, including the CPSU delegation led by G.F. Sizov, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

Congress heard the Central Committee report delivered by Chairman Louis Van Geyt.

The period since the previous congress, he said, saw the aggravation of the economic crisis of capitalism and its harsh effects on Belgium. There are more than 220,000 officially registered unemployed, the majority are women, young people and immigrant workers. Some 100,000 youths with school-leaving certificates are seeking jobs. At the end of the school year, three months from now, tens of thousands will join their ranks. The curtailing of production, mass unemployment, inflation and rising cost of living — all this is combined with Belgium's further subjection to the big monopolies.

The social gains and the democratic and trade union freedoms won by the working people are now being threatened. Among the repressive actions used against the working-class movement, the rapporteur noted the gendarme raid on the Prestige factory at Tessenderloo

(Limburg Province) which the workers had occupied in protest against its closure by the multinational corporation.

Ever broader sections of the working class and the people as a whole are becoming aware of the need to rebuff the onslaught of big capital and right reaction, Van Geyt said. We are at an important turning point in the country's economic, social and political life. The Central Committee holds that the keynote of the congress must be the struggle to unite the people against the policy of social regression.

On the international plane, the present crisis has coincided with a serious weakening of imperialism. It now has to take into account the strengthening socialist world system and to accept the policy of peaceful coexistence. The socialist system is free of crises and inflation and its economy is advancing steadily. More and more working people see the contrast between the situation in the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Emphasizing the importance of the European Security Conference for deepening the process of détente in Europe and throughout the world, the rapporteur added: "We note with satisfaction that the present world situation is characterized by the continuation and extension of the peace offensive of the main anti-imperialist forces." He stressed the importance of the new peace initiatives advanced by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, the proposals of the socialist states at the Vienna talks on mutual troop and arms reductions in Central Europe, as well as the proposal of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance regarding the basis of relations with the Common Market.

Imperialism is doing everything to block the favorable international development, the report says. The reactionary forces are out to strengthen their influence in Western Europe and in all regions still under imperialist domination. For this, attempts are being made to increase U.S. dominance in NATO and to fortify other blocs formed during the cold-war years. Reaction's strategy is intended to revive the cold-war climate in the capitalist countries, to hamper the unity of the progressive forces. Among the methods used by the foes of peace and cooperation among the peoples, the rapporteur cited anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Van Geyt deplored the fact that the Peking leadership is giving political and even practical support to the most zealous defenders of imperialism. Peking not only helps the hangmen of the Chilean people and the counter-revolutionary forces in Angola, but continually calls for the strengthening of NATO, he added.

Further, he dealt with the domestic political situation, working-

class actions and the Party's role in uniting all democrats and progressives in the struggle against the international and national monopolies, for fundamental changes in society and for a peace-loving foreign policy. He called attention to the importance of improving the organizational and ideological work of the Party, especially among the youth, those who have recently joined the Communist Party.

Speaking in the debate on the Central Committee report, a member of the Antwerp federation committee, A. Terschauwen, and others described the strike struggles of the oil-refinery and chemical industry workers in Antwerp, metal and glass workers and barge skippers of Charleroi, the metalworkers of Liege and many other working-class contingents of the country. These strikes confirmed the correctness of the Party thesis that the strength of the working people depends on the degree of unity of the main trade union federations — the General Confederation of Labor and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

At a time when the bourgeois ideologists are stepping up anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, the political secretary of the Charleroi Federation F. Niezon said, we must increase our solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is necessary to show the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist and the decisive role of the socialist states in ensuring world peace, their aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence.

The CPSU delegation headed by G.F. Sizov conveyed to the congress a message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee and handed over presents from the Soviet Communists. Among them were the films "The Living Lenin" and "The Heart of Corvalan." Congress greeted the CPSU delegation with prolonged applause. The CPSU representatives had a friendly meeting with the delegation of the Ghent federation. Together with other fraternal guests they were received by the local authorities.

The delegates approved the Central Committee report, adopted a resolution and the theses defining the Party's struggle against the monopolies, on uniting the progressive and democratic forces in the present economic crisis. The foreign policy section of the theses stresses the important contribution of the socialist community, the Soviet Union first of all, in ensuring peace, deepening the process of détente and in establishing extensive international cooperation.

In his closing speech, Chairman Louis Van Geyt summed up the discussion and emphasized the need for a stronger Party.

Congress elected the leading Party bodies.

The Central Committee met in plenary session and re-elected Louis Van Geyt Chairman and Jean Terfve, Josef Turf and C. Renard as vice-chairmen of the Party.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The congress took place from March 29 to April 2 in Sofia. The 1,565 delegates who represented nearly 800,000 Communists, were men and women from all walks of life — steel workers and engineers, miners and farmers, builders and vine-growers, scholars and artists.

In the interim between the 10th and 11th congresses the Party registered 90,000 new members who are industrial and rural workers, and intellectuals.

The agenda of the congress included the Central Committee report reviewing the period between the congresses and outlining the immediate tasks; the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission; the main trends of Bulgaria's socio-economic development in 1976-80; elections to the central bodies of the Party.

The Central Committee report was delivered by First Secretary Todor Zhivkov. (It is printed below).

The congress was addressed by Fyodor D. Kulakov, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee, who headed the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was warmly welcomed by the delegates and guests. The audience heartily welcomes the message of greeting and good wishes he conveyed from CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to the congress delegates, the Communists and the entire Bulgarian people. Fyodor Kulakov handed the presidium of the Congress a message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee to the 11th Congress of the BCP. (Kulakov's speech is given below.)

Messages of greetings were also delivered by other fraternal delegates, including Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party; Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; and Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

The Bulgarian Communist Party is a militant, tried and tested detachment of the international communist and working-class movement. Apart from the immediate tasks of building a developed socialist society, the 11th Congress discussed questions relating to the further strengthening of the fraternal states' unity and to the struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples.

The speeches made at the congress underlined the historic significance of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the great role played by the Soviet Union, the CPSU Central Committee and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev personally in the endeavors to promote peace, friendship and cooperation among nations.

The peoples of the fraternal countries have the same goals, aspirations and ideals. The building of socialism in each country has specific features but conforms to the general laws governing the development of all socialist countries. That is why there is a close connection between the questions discussed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU and those dealt with at the 11th Congress of the BCP.

The congress was an important landmark in the history of Bulgaria and a major event in the world communist and working-class movement. It took place in a business-like and creative atmosphere, showing once again that the Communist Party, the tried and tested vanguard of the working people, sees service to them as its chief task. The Party enjoys profound confidence and great popularity in all segments of society. At the congress the delegates of all district Party organizations spoke about the common goals of the Party and the people and about the latter's desire to realize the Party's program. They all stressed the determination of their organizations to achieve fresh successes in the building of socialism. An earnest of this is the maturity of their Marxist-Leninist party, the inviolable friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, between the parties of the two countries.

The Bulgarian Communists link all their achievements and future plans with the further strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union, with the development of all-round cooperation among the socialist states (especially within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), and with the deepening of socialist economic integration. It was emphasized many a time at the congress that the historic decisions passed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU were of paramount

importance for Bulgaria, for all fighters for peace, democracy and socialism.

The participation of delegations of many Communist and Workers' parties, national-democratic and socialist parties and movements speaks of the BCP's high international prestige and its valuable contribution to the unity of the international communist and working-class movement.

On the proposal of Alexander Lilov, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee, the delegates unanimously carried a resolution on the "Report of the BCP Central Committee for the Period between the 10th and 11th Congresses and the Immediate Tasks."

Proposals for the draft of the main trends of Bulgaria's socio-economic development in 1976-80 were set forth by Stanko Todorov, member of the Politbureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. This document was unanimously approved, as was the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The congress unanimously adopted a statement in defense of Communists and democrats persecuted by imperialism, fascism and reaction.

It elected the new Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission. The newly elected Central Committee held its first plenum.

The announcement that Todor Zhivkov was elected First Secretary of the Party was greeted with cheers.

The members of the newly elected Political Bureau are: Alexander Lilov, Boris Velchev, Grisha Filipov, Ivan Mikhailov, Pencho Kubadinsky, Stanko Todorov, Tano Tsolov, Todor Zhivkov and Tsola Dragoicheva. Its alternate members are: Dobri Dzhurov, Drazha Vylcheva, Krystyu Trichkov, Peko Takov, Pyotr Mladenov and Todor Stoichev.

The following were elected secretaries of the Central Committee: Todor Zhivkov (First Secretary), Boris Velchev, Grisha Filipov, Alexander Lilov, Ivan Prymov and Ognyan Doinov. The Central Committee's Secretariat comprises Misho Mishev, Vladimir Bonev, Sava Dylbokov and Georgi Yordanov.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission elected Stoyan Karadzhov as its Chairman.

The concluding speech was made by Todor Zhivkov.

REPORT BY TODOR ZHIVKOV

Five years have passed since the historic 10th Congress, the first five years after the adoption of the Party program of building a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

What have these years brought us?

The sixth five-year plan for socio-economic development has been successfully concluded. The national economy is forging ahead, consistently intensifying scientific and technological progress. Along with the economic upsurge, the well-being and cultural standards of the working people have improved, their socio-political unity has strengthened, while the socialist way of life and socialist social relations have steadily gained ground.

After the 10th Congress, a nationwide discussion was held and through a referendum the new Constitution of Bulgaria was adopted. It consolidated the people's socialist gains and opened up new opportunities for extending socialist democracy and the further all-round development of the country. The Constitution confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party, the party that in the course of its entire history and by all its activity has proved that it has no interests other than those of the working people.

In the past five years the Party has unswervingly pursued the line set in the program — integration with the fraternal socialist countries and an ever closer and fuller rapprochement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The socialist community has gained in strength, as has its influence throughout the world.

Our Party and people still feel the tremendous impact of the 25th Congress of the great Party of Lenin, the standard bearer of humanity in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. There is no doubt whatsoever that the brilliant report of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU will not only become a guiding principle and inspiration for the Soviet people in communist construction, but will strengthen confidence in the future, imparting new strength to millions of honest people throughout the world who are fighting against war, for freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress, for socialism.

I. THE WORLD SCENE AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Should we set out to define the primary, determining feature of

world development in the period since the last congress, Zhivkov continued, we would certainly stress the further shift in the balance of power in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. The fraternal socialist countries have chalked up new big successes in all spheres of life. The victory of the heroic Vietnamese people over imperialist intervention and reaction will remain a bright page in the history of mankind's struggle for freedom and socialism. As a result of selfless struggle, the peoples of Laos and Cambodia have won their freedom; fraternal Cuba, the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, is forging ahead and growing stronger. The GDR has scored a big political and diplomatic victory. There is wide international support for the struggle of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for the peaceful unification of the country. The fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece have collapsed. The new states of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe have been created on the ruins of the last colonial empire. The struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries has gained in scope. The influence of the Communist parties has grown.

In the sphere of international relations the determining trend in the period under review has been the process of détente and assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. The trend toward relaxation of tension has won political and legal recognition in the system of treaties and agreements between socialist and capitalist states. The USSR-USA agreements are of paramount importance and a real step toward eliminating the danger of a thermonuclear war. The successful conclusion of the European Security Conference was a historic event in international life.

The decisive contribution in creating and affirming a new world climate has been made by the Soviet Union, by the CPSU. To unbiased people the world over the peace offensive is associated with the name and tireless activity of General Secretary Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, a fine representative of the Lenin school of communist leaders, the most prominent and respected political leader and statesman of our time.

We Bulgarian Communists once again express our admiration for and gratitude to the great Party of Lenin, the Soviet Union, our Soviet brothers who for decades, in peaceful labor and with arms in hand, have defended the socialist social system and continue to make a great, decisive contribution to human progress in conditions of peace and the security of the peoples.

Ever since the emergence of the socialist world system our Communist Party has attached prime importance to the relations between Bulgaria and the fraternal socialist states. An entirely new type of relations has been established between our countries and peoples, based on identity of social system, unity of national and international interests, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, close cooperation of the ruling Communist parties. Our Party, Zhivkov said, has always worked and will continue to work for an even closer unity of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, of strengthening the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the chief political and military alliance of the countries of the socialist community.

Experience, both past and present, strengthens our conviction that the level of mutual relations and durability of the unity of the socialist states are determined primarily by the relation and unity of each of them with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That is why constant concern for the strengthening and deepening of fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is at the heart of our Party's political, ideological, cultural and defense activity.

From the rostrum of the 11th Congress we once again declare for all to hear: we Bulgarian Communists, Bulgarian working people, the entire nation can conceive of no other road of building a developed socialist society, and, subsequently, of communism in Bulgaria than shoulder to shoulder with our Soviet brothers and sisters in the closest and all-round cooperation with the Party of Lenin, in conditions of ever fuller and organic rapprochement of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We reaffirm our conviction that the further development of socialist society in individual socialist countries will lead, as Lenin foresaw, to the creation of a unified community of socialist nations. We say outright that we have been building and will continue to build our all-round mutual relations with the CPSU and the USSR, with the parties and peoples of the socialist states, guided and inspired by this great historic prospect.

In the conditions of détente common for Europe and throughout the world our country has worked intensively and has made notable headway in improving political, economic and cultural relations with the Balkan states. Bulgaria will continue to develop political, economic and cultural cooperation with Rumania. Ties will be expanded between Party, government, economic and public organs and organizations, between towns and districts of our countries. We are

pursuing a consistent policy of friendship and developing relations with Yugoslavia. As a result of our efforts, political contacts, economic cooperation and cultural ties have been extended. We attach great importance to invigorating relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and will do everything to develop friendship between our countries.

The steps we have taken to normalize relations with Albania have not met with due understanding. Nevertheless, we will continue our efforts in this direction, which is in the interests of both our peoples.

Our relations with Turkey and Greece are notable for the consistent development of political contacts, of economic and cultural cooperation. Our stand on the Cyprus issue is principled and consistent. We are for the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We are against imperialist intrigues, against foreign intervention in the internal affairs of this much suffering country.

Noting the favorable development of Bulgaria's relations with the Balkan countries, Zhivkov declared: We are far from idealizing the situation in this region. In the Balkans we witness various political orientations and ideological trends and the situation remains complex and contradictory. Certain imperialist circles of NATO, supported by the Maoists, have not abandoned their attempts to torpedo the process of détente there.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will remain loyal to its principled and constructive peace-loving Balkan policy, which is not affected by any considerations of expediency.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev presented a program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples. On behalf of the Bulgarian Communists, of all our working people, allow me to declare from this rostrum that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all of us fully support this program and adopt it as our own! We shall spare no effort, shall untiringly contribute to its being translated into life, Zhivkov added.

Further he emphasized the exceptional role of the international communist movement in accelerating world social progress. The Communists' active participation in implementing the anti-imperialist platform proclaimed at the 1969 Moscow Conference has been very fruitful. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the fraternal parties has expanded, new forms of ties and exchange of experience have been established. Understandably, differences can and do arise,

which are due to the complexity of the situation, variety of problems and conditions in which they are being solved. However, it is important that the problems should be discussed in a comradely way, in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in a friendly manner, joining efforts to outline ways of achieving the common communist aims and ideals. In this way the ranks of the fraternal parties will be consolidated and their positions reinforced. This unity, shaped and steeled in class battles over the decades, is the earnest of success of each Party and the world communist movement as a whole.

The Bulgarian Communist Party will continue to contribute to the various initiatives of the communist movement, it will expand ties and cooperation with Socialist and Social-Democratic parties. At the same time it will continue to oppose social-reformism as an ideology alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The genuine interests of the Communist parties, the working class and all working people, the entire anti-imperialist front require sustained struggle against right and "left" revisionism, against nationalism and anti-Sovietism, the rapporteur emphasized. The degradation of Maoism has reached a new stage. It has allied itself with the most aggressive forces of imperialism, fascism and revanchism, with the foes of peaceful coexistence and social progress. Its actions are fraught with increasing danger for peace and the security of the peoples. The policy and ideology of the present Chinese leadership are deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism, to communist ideals. Our Party considers it its duty to actively participate in the struggle against Maoism, for its political and ideological defeat.

The Party of the Bulgarian Communists, true to its revolutionary traditions, will continue to contribute to the collective discussion and solution of present-day problems and the world revolutionary process, to strengthening the sacred communist brotherhood. Our Party is of the opinion that conditions have ripened for preparing and holding a new world conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

II. THE POLICY AND TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE SPHERE OF ECONOMY AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

The progress in the sphere of the economy, science and technology is evidence that our people, guided by the Communist Party, have attained new heights in building a developed socialist society. The country's economic might and defense potential have grown con-

siderably. The contribution of science to the material and spiritual flowering of the country has increased.

Noting the most salient features of the development of the economy in the plan period, Zhivkov stressed that during this time the building and strengthening of the material and technical base of socialism continued at an accelerated rate.

This period witnessed the dynamic growth of the economy, placing Bulgaria among world's first countries in terms of growth rate. The national income has risen by 46 per cent, while labor productivity went up by more than 44 per cent.

Qualitative changes in the production structure are characterized by the following data: the ratio between industrial and agricultural production shifted from 77.1:22.9 to 81.2:18.8, while industry's share in the national income went up from 49 per cent in 1970 to 54.6 in 1975.

Development has been most pronounced in the branches of industry on which technological progress and economic efficiency largely depend — the power industry, including nuclear energy, chemical and petrochemical industry, machine building and especially electronics.

Despite unfavorable weather conditions, gross agricultural output increased at an average 3.1 per cent annually.

The Central Committee submitted to the congress the draft "Guidelines for Bulgaria's Socio-Economic Development" during the seventh five-year plan.

As evidenced by this document, the chief socio-economic task of the plan is to pursue unswervingly the Party's policy of fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people by ensuring a dynamic and proportional development of the economy, accelerated growth of labor productivity, its efficiency and quality by means of modernization of production and speedy introduction of scientific and technological achievements, by raising the socialist consciousness of the working people and affirming the socialist life-style. This task will be accomplished through extended socialist integration.

The strategic line of the Party's economic policy of further intensification of production, a drastic increase in economic efficiency and the quality of output greatly enhances the role and responsibility of our scientists. This calls for the closest coordination of research activity in the social, natural and technical sciences with the main trends and concrete requirements of material production and our entire socio-economic development.

Scientific and technological progress is not an end in itself. It should

lead to economy of raw and other materials, energy and labor, to higher labor productivity, lower production costs and better quality and, ultimately, to greater efficiency of the entire economy.

First of all, we need a broader approach to the concentration, specialization and modernization of production.

Second, we must economize on labor, raw and other materials, and energy.

Third, we must drastically raise the quality of production.

Fourth, we must more fully satisfy the needs of the national economy for highly qualified cadres.

Further, the report deals with the basic development trends of separate branches of the economy in the next five-year period.

During the seventh five-year plan and in the period up to 1990, industrial output will increase at a rapid pace. This will be accompanied by an accelerated development of heavy industry and the branches producing consumer goods.

The task is to ensure the output of consumer goods at a faster rate than the growth of earnings.

All branches of heavy industry will continue to develop at a fast rate. Special attention must be paid to the solution of three key problems: energy and raw materials, structural improvement of machine building, and dynamic development of the chemical industry.

Todor Zhivkov dealt in detail with problems concerning the manufacture of consumer goods. During the plan period their quality will be improved and variety enlarged. Some will compare favorably with the world's best standards. The output of light industry is expected to increase by 45 per cent compared with 1975, and that of the food industry by about 40 per cent.

Agriculture will continue to play an exceptional role in economic development and in raising the people's well-being. This branch will be the special concern of the Party. During the seventh five-year period (1976-1980) more funds and material resources are to be allocated to agriculture than in the previous period. Conditions will be created for increasing agricultural output by about 20 per cent during this time.

In the period under review the agro-industrial complexes, a higher form of economic and social organization in the countryside, were consolidated and improved. They fully withstood the test of time. The agro-industrial complexes, creating favorable conditions for the concentration of agricultural production and putting it on an industrial basis, helped greatly to increase output and to gradually bridge the

gap between town and village. The task is to make better use of their advantages.

During the seventh five-year plan the concentration of agricultural production on the basis of specialization and vertical integration with the food industry will continue, as will the integration of agricultural science with production. This will occur parallel with the wide introduction of industrial methods in agriculture. An organic merger of agriculture with industry will gradually take place in future.

III. THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE: SOME QUESTIONS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

Just as socialism is a higher form of social system than capitalism, so is the socialist life style incomparably richer and more humane than that in capitalist society. A vivid manifestation of the Party's policy in further affirming the socialist way of life, of its concern for man is the program of raising the standard of living, adopted at the December (1972) plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

We are gratified to report that the Party and the people are successfully coping with the big and complex task of combining accelerated economic development with a steady growth of the people's living standard, Zhivkov went on.

During the sixth five-year plan real incomes increased by 32.4 per cent, as against the 25-30 per cent envisaged in the directives. Minimum wages went up from 65 levas in 1970 to 80 by 1975, and the average monthly nominal wage — from 124 to 146 levas. The nominal incomes of cooperative farmers virtually approximated those of the workers and other employees.

It is envisaged that in 1980 the average monthly nominal wage will reach 170 and the minimum, 90 levas.

Public consumption funds have an important part to play during this plan period in developing education, the health services, culture and social security. They will be used to effect a number of social measures aimed at providing incentives for better work in industry and in agriculture, improving the conditions of big families and those with low incomes, of working women, pensioners, old people without relatives, and students.

More meat and milk and related products, fresh and canned vegetables were consumed in 1975 compared with 1970. More textiles, ready-made clothes, shoes and other durables were sold. In the seventh five-year period the overall consumption of goods will go up by about 50 per cent.

In the previous five years more than 242,000 flats were built. The Central Committee sees the housing problem as central to its social policy and has proposed measures to speed up its solution. We must set ourselves the target of building some 400,000 flats during the seventh five-year plan, Zhivkov added.

The conditions of work must be improved. For this, measures will be taken to increase the output of equipment for eliminating noise, lessening vibration and air pollution, for destroying or rendering harmless noxious waste.

The drive to raise living standards, to more fully satisfy the growing demand for goods and services, and to improve the environment — that is neither a “consumer approach,” nor a “lapse into a bourgeois way of life.” To us, to our Party that is a condition for ensuring the health and longevity of the people, for the all-round physical and cultural development of the individual.

After the 10th Party Congress the working class continued to grow. To increased by nearly half a million, amounting to 57 per cent of the economically active population as against 47 per cent in 1970.

During this period the structure of the working class has also improved. The number of trades involving heavy, unskilled labor has been reduced. In 1975 highly skilled workers in industry, construction and transport made up about 33.8 per cent, the semi-skilled, 47.7 per cent and the unskilled, 18.5 per cent of the workforce. As a result of mechanization and automation, the higher standards of education and skills of workers and because young people with secondary or higher education joined their ranks, the level of the working class is increasingly drawing closer to that of the engineering and technical personnel.

Big changes have come about in the class of cooperative farmers. In 1974 their share in the overall workforce fell to 15 per cent as against 28 per cent in 1970, whereas the number of machine operators and technicians increased considerably.

Changes in the sphere of production and social relations, the process of bringing closer together the cooperative farmers and workers with regard to the nature of their work, life style, culture and mentality, and of gradually bridging the gap between them, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other, open up new opportunities for the development of socialist democracy, for the assertion of the socialist way of life.

The Party promotes socialist democracy, in particular by improving management and looking for new ways of increasing the people's

say in public affairs. Various forms of direct worker and peasant participation in the running of factories and farms have been developed further.

Further, the report deals with the democratic development of state bodies in the period under review, as seen in improvement of their organization and the content of their activity.

The Bulgarian People's Army grew stronger, firmly establishing itself as a powerful force in defending the socialist homeland, Zhivkov emphasized.

Our Party displays constant concern for raising the role of the public organizations and movements in the country's life — the Fatherland Front, trade unions, the Bulgarian women's movement and the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

Since the previous congress the joint work of the Communist Party and the Agrarian People's Union has developed further. From the rostrum of this congress we reaffirm our loyalty to the fraternal friendship and cooperation between Communists and Agrarians and acclaim the all-round activity of the Agrarian People's Union in building socialism in the countryside, as well as its activity on the international scene, in the work to unite the agrarian and democratic parties and the movements in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Literature, the arts and the mass media have a unique role in affirming the socialist life style. The best representatives of our artistic intelligentsia in the various forms of art have created works which reflect realistically and with great skill the main aspects of our life, the moulding of the new man. These valuable manifestations of our art and culture confirm the correctness and fruitfulness of the Party's policy formulated in April 1956, of the Leninist principles of guidance of literature and the arts, the method of socialist realism.

In developing the socialist way of life the press, television, radio, news agencies and book publishing have a big part to play. These are the main channels of disseminating cultural values and of mass political influence. Today there are 85 national and regional newspapers with a total circulation of over five million copies and 207 magazines with a circulation of 3.2 million copies. Altogether, 19,900 books have come out in a total of 230 million copies. The number of television sets has topped the 1.5 million mark, and that of wireless sets, transistor radios and rediffusion sets reached 2.7 million. Television and radio programs reach some six million people. The task now is to

raise the ideological and especially the professional and creative level of the mass media.

Touching on the rights and responsibilities of the members of socialist society, Zhivkov said that freedom and democracy can exist only where there are no exploiters and exploited, where the means of production are public property. Genuine democracy for the majority of the people begins with the victory of the socialist revolution.

Socialist democracy not only grants rights and freedoms to citizens, but provides real guarantees for them. At the same time it implies that each citizen fulfills his or her duty to society.

The new way of life is developing amid irreconcilable struggle against the remnants of the past, for an ever fuller affirmation of the features inherent in it. In this connection, the question of a socialist attitude to work deserves a closer look. At the very heart of the socialist way of life, its most salient feature is socialist labor — the most important form of human activity.

IV. THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY AND ITS TASKS

In the period following the 10th Congress the Party exerted efforts to apply the Leninist style in its work and guidance, to consolidate and develop the collective, method of work, a political and scientific, broad and businesslike approach, and to rely on the masses.

Our Party is strongly united from top to bottom, from the Central Committee to the local organizations, Zhivkov said. It is firmly convinced that the road we are following is the only correct one. It is fully resolved to consistently carry forward the line of the April (1956) Central Committee plenum, to implement the program of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

Since the last congress 90,320 people have joined the Party. Today it has 789,796 members organized in 28,850 locals. Of this number 41.4 per cent are workers, 27.5 are women. Three-quarters of the new members are young people. Seventy per cent are engaged in material production, and almost every third engineer or technician is a Communist.

The Central Committee has decided to carry out an exchange of membership cards after the congress. We are not mounting a purge, but in the process of exchange of cards the Party organizations should decisively rid themselves of members who violate the Program and Statutes of the Party, who transgress Party principles and norms, socialist legality and whose behavior undermines the political and moral prestige of the Communist Party.

A task of prime importance is to enhance the role of local Party organizations and bodies. In the interim period the Party organizations have become stronger both ideologically and organizationally. Today competent guidance is unthinkable without constantly raising the scientific level of work of the Party apparatus and better planning, without a collective approach to analysis and collective decision-making.

By their competence and exactingness, their ability to rely on cadres and the working people, by their style of work the Party committees should increasingly become a model for all management bodies.

In recent years capable people have been promoted to leading posts. The April 1956 policy of uniting the cadres of all generations is persistently being pursued. Those who do not justify the confidence placed in them, who lack the necessary qualities will be removed from their posts.

The report dealt especially with the Party's ideological work at the stage of building a developed socialist society.

Our ideological front as a whole faces a perennial task of exceptional importance: to wage an uncompromising offensive against bourgeois ideology.

The struggle against the ideological adversaries is most effective given the timely elaboration of topical problems of socialist construction and international development from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism. We expect our social scientists to exert still greater efforts in studying the fundamental political, economic, social and ideological problems of our development, problems of building the material and technical base of socialism and international socialist economic integration, formation of a single socialist property of the whole people, the scientific and technological revolution and its consequences, the enhanced leading role of the working class and the Communist Party.

The struggle between communist and bourgeois ideologies does not proceed within individual countries only. That is why we hail as a great success the strengthening of ideological cooperation between the countries of the socialist community.

In close cooperation with the ideological workers of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and with the international communist movement, our ideological workers will continue to participate ever more actively in the joint struggle against bourgeois

ideology, in the powerful offensive of communist ideas throughout the world.

**V. IMMEDIATE HISTORIC TASK OF THE PARTY —
BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY
AND PREPARATION FOR THE GRADUAL
TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM**

The period up to 1990 will see extensive qualitative and quantitative changes which will lead us gradually to the building of the material and technical base of socialism, to a further improvement in social relations and to a harmonious growth of the individual. Bulgaria will, in the main, become a country of developed socialism.

For this process to proceed in a planned and efficient way and in the shortest possible time, which is essential both from the point of view of internal development and the competition between the two socio-economic systems, the Party and the working people must devote special attention to certain important problems of building a developed socialist society.

The first problem is that of completing the construction of the material and technical base of socialism.

The second problem concerns the main productive force — man, who builds the material and technical base and operates it. The Party will create conditions for the correct regulation of socio-class changes, for the affirmation and promotion of essentially new relations between the builders of socialism, relations of comradeship and cooperation, of collectivism and mutual assistance.

In the course of the advance toward communism the complex task of overcoming the essential distinctions between town and village, between manual and intellectual work, will gradually be tackled.

Most important in the process of moulding the socialist personality and its harmonious development is to increase the social activity of the builder of socialism and especially his contribution to the creation of new material and cultural values.

The eradication of vestiges of bourgeois morality, consciousness and behavior in our socialist society is a task of tremendous importance.

The third problem is that of developing criticism and self-criticism. The degree of criticism and self-criticism is a criterion of maturity of socialist society.

The fourth problem concerns the expansion and deepening of our integration with the fraternal socialist countries, the consistent appli-

cation of the policy of all-round rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

The fifth problem is the class and Party, patriotic and internationalist education of the people and the youth. The objective processes now at work in the country and the world socialist community lead to qualitative changes in the content of patriotism and internationalism.

Today our patriotism is not simply love for the homeland, but love for the socialist homeland, for socialist Bulgaria, i.e., it is socialist patriotism organically combining fidelity to communist ideals and the internationalism stemming from it. But internationalism has also undergone qualitative changes and has assumed a definite class character.

In the sphere of Bulgarian-Soviet relations we can now speak of of qualitatively new patriotic and internationalist consciousness of the Bulgarian people, of the rise and affirmation of a new type of patriotism in which love for Bulgaria and love for the Soviet Union supplement and enrich each other and increasingly merge into one feeling, into an integrated consciousness.

The Party will continue to strengthen the fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the socialist community, with the Communists and all progressives throughout the world. It will mould in all Bulgarians a highly developed class and Party patriotic and internationalist consciousness as one of the most salient features of the socialist personality.

Now, 20 years after the historic April 1956 plenum of the Party's Central Committee, we can express deep satisfaction with what has been accomplished. The fruitful results attained in all spheres of our socio-political, economic and cultural development fully confirm the correctness and vitality of the April policy of the Party. This Leninist, creative policy was reaffirmed and carried forward in the Party Program approved by the 10th Congress.

The 11th Congress is called upon to formulate tasks for the following period in the spirit of this Program. The fulfillment of these tasks will bring our country closer to the historic goal of the Communist Party. More and more elements characteristic of the communist phase will emerge, creating conditions for a gradual transition to the building of communism.

In conclusion, Zhivkov urged all Communists and their loyal allies, the Agrarians, all builders of socialism to work tirelessly for the

fulfillment of the 11th Congress decisions, for the benefit of the people, in the name of noble communist ideals.

(The report of Todor Zhivkov was heard with close attention and punctured by prolonged applause.)

Abridged from *Pravda*, March 30, 1976.

SPEECH BY FYODOR KULAKOV

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Soviet Communists and working people, our delegation warmly greets the 11th Congress of the fraternal Bulgarian Communist Party, said Fyodor Kulakov. We are grateful for the invitation to attend this high forum of the Bulgarian Communists and wish it every success.

We are glad to express from this rostrum the deep feelings of friendship and respect that the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people have for the Bulgarian Communists and the entire Bulgarian people — their friend, brother and ally.

It gives us particular pleasure to fulfill an honorable assignment — to convey from General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev cordial greetings to the congress delegates and wishes of success, happiness and prosperity to the people of Bulgaria.

We heard with great attention and interest the Central Committee report delivered by Todor Zhivkov, who drew an impressive picture of the constructive endeavors of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Bulgaria and comprehensively showed its substantial contribution to the socialist community, and its active part in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

The glorious Bulgarian Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying the fraternal parties' experience, is confidently leading the country along the road of building a developed socialist society. In close cooperation with the Agrarian People's Union and relying on mass public organizations, it directs the efforts of all classes and social strata toward the achievement of the common goal.

This is abundantly testified by the continuous growth of industry and agriculture and the rise in the people's well-being, by scientific and cultural achievements and deep-going changes in all spheres of life. There can be no doubt that under the Communist Party leadership the people will carry out the vast plans mapped out by your congress.

Bulgaria, which has a history of 13 centuries, has been marching along the socialist road for only a little more than three decades. But these decades saw more profound and dynamic political, social and economic changes and bore more tangible fruit for the working man than the past centuries. It was a period of regeneration, of the blossoming of the ancient Bulgarian land.

Such is the most important result of the choice made by the Bulgarian people, who put their trust in the Communists and followed them along the road of socialism. It is a result they can be proud of.

And we, Soviet people, share this pride by virtue of the centuries-old friendship and close and fruitful cooperation between our countries, the tried and tested internationalist brotherhood of our parties.

The Bulgarian Communists have been staunch internationalists at all stages of their difficult struggle for socialism. Thousands of them asserted internationalism during the years of struggle against the monarchy and fascism. Internationalism was asserted by Georgi Dimitrov, an ardent fighter for the working people's interests, a great son of the Bulgarian people.

We, Soviet Communists, appreciate all this. The CPSU firmly believes that the defense of proletarian internationalism is a sacred duty of every Communist, every Marxist-Leninist.

The activity of your Party bears out this fundamental truth: proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism are indivisible. The Bulgarian Communist Party has always maintained close ties with the people, selflessly served their interests and endeavored to bring out their creative potentialities more fully.

This principled policy was re-emphasized in the decisions of the April (1956) Central Committee plenum, in the documents of the Party congresses, and in the Party Program, which defined the tasks of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. Soviet Communists are well aware of the tremendous contribution made to its implementation by the Central Committee headed by Todor Zhivkov, a prominent figure in the international communist and working-class movement, a consistent internationalist and a great friend of the Soviet Union.

Kind words were said here about the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, our Party and the international significance of its 25th Congress. We thank you sincerely for this.

The Communists and the multinational people of the Soviet Union cherish their friendship with the Communists and people of Bulgaria, Kulakov continued. Our Party and the Soviet state show constant

concern for the strengthening of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, for the all-round extension of our cooperation, based on the time-tested alliance between the two parties.

This cooperation is progressing in all spheres — political, economic, scientific and cultural. In the current five-year period trade between our countries will exceed 24,000 million rubles, which means a daily exchange of goods worth more than 13 million rubles.

Our economic ties are not restricted to the expansion of trade. New trends in joint economic planning are evolving, and closer coordination and pooling of efforts in the advance of science and technology are being promoted. The scale of cooperation and specialization in production is growing, and a comprehensive exchange of know-how is being carried out.

We assure you, comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to spare no effort to strengthen the friendship between our peoples and bring them closer together.

We fully agree with your motto: "Two congresses — one goal." The 25th Congress of the CPSU and the 11th Congress of the BCP, like the congresses of other fraternal parties, serve the common goal, the interests of the working people, the cause of socialism and communism, and peace.

Our 25th Congress once again demonstrated the inviolable unity between the Party and the people, and the unity of Communists in their support of the Leninist Central Committee. It rightly stated that the ninth five-year plan was another major step in building the material and technical basis of communism. Soviet industrial output increased by 43 per cent; the average annual farm output went up, and per capita incomes rose by nearly one-fourth.

The congress unanimously approved the Party's political, economic and social strategy expounded in the Central Committee report delivered by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. The chief task set by the Party in the new five-year period is to further raise the Soviet people's living and cultural standards on the basis of dynamic and proportionate growth of production, its higher efficiency, and better quality of work in all sectors of the economy.

Firm orientation toward the final results of economic activity, perfection of planning, careful and realistic consideration of potentialities, more skillful application of economic incentives and levers — these are the most important means of raising economic efficiency.

Though only a short time has passed since the congress, it can be said that the Party's plans, which have become plans of the whole

people, will be realized and that our country will reach a new landmark on the road to communism. An earnest of this is the present political enthusiasm, the unprecedented scope of socialist emulation, and the new labor initiatives.

We highly appreciate the fact that firm support was expressed in the report of the BCP Central Committee for the CPSU's activity in the international scene and for the 25th Congress program of further struggle for peace and cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The international influence of the community of socialist states is growing from year to year; their fraternal cooperation is developing effectively; the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are playing an active role. These are the results of our collective efforts, said Kulakov.

The Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and the other fraternal parties do their utmost to consolidate the positions of world socialism, the unity of the world communist and working-class movement and all revolutionary forces of today, and fight against right and "left" opportunism, against the anti-socialist ideology and policy of Maoism.

The Soviet Union and Bulgaria, together with the other countries of the socialist community, are consistent in their policy of strengthening world peace and security. Together with all progressive forces, we have been working hard to put an end to the cold war. And now détente has become the main trend in international relations; the promotion of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems is bringing all nations good and tangible results.

We have done a great deal to improve the international political climate. A number of knotty problems, which for decades strained the situation in the world, have been settled; good conditions have been created for achieving an end to the perilous arms race and for remoulding international relations on the basis of trust and reason.

But we are aware of the numerous difficulties hampering a radical improvement of the international political climate, and we also know what forces create them.

It must be said that the overcoming of these difficulties is not helped by the statements of politicians who, for one reason or another, call détente in question. Some claim that détente yields little result because it has not substantially changed the pattern of international relations. Others contend that détente is beneficial

to the socialist countries only and that the position-of-strength policy should remain the basis of inter-state relations.

We do not share such views. Moreover, we firmly reject all attempts to build international relations on the position-of-strength policy. Our country calls for the practical implementation of all the principles and agreements adopted by the all-European conference; it wants the spirit of Helsinki increasingly to determine relations between states in Europe and elsewhere.

"In its foreign policy," Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stated in his report to the 25th Congress, "the Soviet Union intends to search patiently and consistently for new ways of promoting peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems, and for ways of achieving disarmament. We shall steadily step up our struggle for lasting peace."

This approach accords with the interests of all nations; every step that promotes détente, its materialization, is valuable. In this connection we note the constructive role played by Bulgaria in strengthening international and European peace.

Comrades, in Russian and in Bulgarian we write and understand in the same way the words so dear to us — peace, motherland, freedom, friendship. In fighting for peace and the right of nations to freedom, independence and social progress, we are inspired by the awareness that our goals are humane and noble. And we believe that the joint actions of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces will help to establish a lasting and just peace on earth.

We wish your congress fruitful work; we wish the Communists of Bulgaria fresh success in their constructive activity for the good of the people, for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism.

In conclusion, Fyodor Kulakov acclaimed the Bulgarian Communist Party as the militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Bulgarian people, and hailed the inviolable Soviet-Bulgarian friendship, peace and communism.

Cheers were heard in honor of the CPSU and those present rose when Kulakov conveyed the greetings and good wishes sent by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to the congress delegates, to the Communists and the whole people of Bulgaria.

Amid applause Fyodor Kulakov handed the presidium of the congress the message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee to the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Pravda, March 31, 1976.

CONFERENCES, PLENUMS

PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Central Committee plenum, held on March 12, examined new features in the global political situation and the world communist movement. In his report, Central Committee secretary Erwin Scharf characterized the various aspects of the capitalist crisis in the light of the new world balance of forces. This is reflected also in the disarray in the Socialist International concerning relations between Social Democrats and Communists. The problems facing the Communist parties should also be viewed in the light of this new relation of forces and opportunities. Scharf emphasized that Austria must continue actively to support détente and disarmament, whatever reactionaries in the capitalist world might do to the contrary.

After thorough discussion, the Central Committee unanimously approved the report and decided to publish it under separate cover. The Central Committee assessed the results of the 25th CPSU Congress as a decisive positive contribution to furthering the worldwide struggle for détente, democracy, national independence and socialism.

A report on the activity of the Political Bureau was made by Karl Reiter.

Volksstimme, March 13, 1976

CPA CONFERENCE ON QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY

"United action against the crisis burden" was the motto of the CPA Conference on questions of economic policy, held on March 13 with the participation of 225 party functionaries of the left and trade union bloc from all over the country. In his keynote report Party Chairman Franz Muhri emphasized that insecurity and the prospect of losing one's job still remains problem number one at many enterprises. To ensure full employment, he said, it is not enough merely to maintain

the present level. It is necessary to create more than 300,000 new jobs, because by 1980 about 200,000 young people will enter the labor market and some 100,000 factory and office workers will lose their jobs as a result of improved techniques.

Franz Muhri rejected as misleading the government's contention that the reason for economic difficulties emanates only from abroad. In recent years, purchasing power has been lagging behind production growth due to the skyrocketing profits of the private and state-monopoly sectors. Instead of combating inflation with the help of measures against profit-based businesses, the government took only restrictive measures and thus even hampered economic growth.

Austria has no such mass unemployment as some other capitalist countries, Muhri said, and this is due to a number of factors: "We have more energy sources of our own, a highly developed tourist industry, and our economic links with the socialist countries are much more extensive than those of the other West European states; this alone provides more than 100,000 jobs in Austria."

Big capital has taken the offensive to make the working people shoulder the burden of the economic difficulties and to ensure, as before, maximum profits for a small minority. When negotiating labor contracts or renewing them, the entrepreneurs insisted that they should not compensate for the rising cost of living. When the decisions on wages were being adopted, the trade union leadership of the Socialist Party and the Christian trade unions yielded to this demand, and as a result many wage- and salary-earners will suffer a loss in real wages. The entrepreneurs and the top leadership of the Austrian People's Party demanded new preferential taxes. The government made them an additional present in the shape of a tax cut amounting to 7,000 million schillings. Simultaneously, the 1976 budget envisages that the working people will have to pay an additional 8,400 million in turnover taxes and 5,400 million in income taxes compared with the previous year.

To this policy we Communists counterpose an alternative of struggle for anti-capitalist reforms, and joint actions and movements to safeguard existing jobs and to create new ones, ensure a further rise in living standards, defend and extend the social and democratic gains, and implement measures that would assure an economic growth rate of at least 5 per cent annually.

For this, Comrade Muhri pointed out, the following demands have to be met: a purposeful structural and investments policy within the framework of the Land and community federations; public funds to

be used for the satisfaction of vital needs and requirements such as a broad housing program, expansion, primarily of cheap mass transport facilities in populated centers, accelerated construction of hospitals, out-patient clinics and other medical institutions. Government economic policy should be geared to expanding enterprises of the nationalized industry specializing in finished products.

To guarantee jobs as well as the present living standards and to improve them, economic relations with the socialist and developing countries have to be further expanded.

A decisive impulse to raising the purchasing power of the masses should be given by ensuring full employment: guaranteeing and raising real wages, conducting an active social policy, effective measures against the rising cost of living and to bring down prices, as well as by a social redistribution of the tax burden.

Militant working-class unity of action is what the leaders of the Socialist and People's parties fear most of all, Muhri further noted. At the heart of united action should be Socialist-Communist cooperation. That is why lies are daily spread, alleging that we Communists oppose democracy and freedoms, whereas in actual fact it is the Communist Party that comes out in defense of and for the extension of existing democratic rights for the working people and, moreover, for a democratic road to socialism in keeping with the national specifics of our country and envisaging qualitatively new democratic rights and freedoms, unthinkable in the narrow framework of the capitalist system. It is important precisely in this situation to strengthen contacts and to hold personal discussions with our class brothers in the Socialist Party and to explain that the fundamental contradiction is not between the Socialists and Communists, as Bruno Kreisky sees it, but between labor and capital.

Dr. Kreisky declared at the congress: "Ours is a welfare state in which there can be no question of simply eliminating undesirable manifestations of the existing social structure. Our Social-Democratic ideas of a welfare state demand that structural changes be effected through the conscious implementation of a social policy ruling out from the outset any undesirable manifestations."

This is representing things in too rosy a color, because the standard of life of our working people is adversely affected precisely by the attempt to shift the burden of the crisis onto their shoulders. The so-called welfare state which, in Kreisky's view, is rapidly "approaching its realization," is continuously shaken by the crisis phenomena inherent in capitalism. "The struggle at the top for

spheres of influence," against which the Federal Chancellor warns us, has already become a reality, and changes in the social structure designed to prevent "undesirable consequences," demand implementation of an anti-capitalist policy. The Socialist government is now further away from this than ever.

Experience thus shows that to bring about positive changes in Socialist Party policy demanded by a large number of Austrian working people, criticism inside the Party from the left alone is not sufficient. For such changes there must be joint actions of the Socialists, Communists and all working people adhering to the People's Party and, primarily, there is need for a stronger Communist Party!

Abridged from *Volksstimme*, March 14, 1976.

SUMMARIES

AUSTRALIA

At its recent plenum in Sydney the Central Committee of the Australian Socialist Party approved the activity of the Party delegation at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. General Secretary Peter Simon stressed the topicality and importance of the program of continued struggle for peace and international cooperation, the freedom and independence of peoples, advanced in Leonid Brezhnev's Report at the forum of the Soviet Communists.

Simon reaffirmed that the ASP firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and supports the CPSU and other detachments of the international communist and working-class movement.

The Central Committee members, speaking in the debate, highly assessed the foreign policy moves of the CPSU and the Soviet state toward extending international détente and mutually advantageous cooperation between countries.

The Plenum adopted a program of struggle for peace in Asia and in the Indian Ocean and Pacific areas. It pointed out that Australia should fully support the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. The need was also noted of launching a broad campaign for the dismantling of all U.S. bases in Australia and in the Indian Ocean and Pacific areas.

BRAZIL

The Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, meeting in clandestinity, discussed the internal political situation in the country and its role in the international scene, according to the newspaper *Granma*. It emphatically condemned the intention of imperialism to turn Brazil into its bulwark in Latin America.

In spite of repressions, recently a tendency toward joint action of different opposition forces can be observed in the country, the plenum stated in its resolution. The Communists must therefore organize working class action and increase mass political activity, using every legal means for this purpose.

At the present stage, the plenum noted, the main aim of the Communist Party is to form a united anti-fascist patriotic front that will fight for the restoration of democratic freedoms, respect for human rights, repeal of repressive laws and release of political prisoners. The plenum called for stronger action in defense of the interests of the working people and for the consolidation of national independence.

The Communist Party urged world public opinion to mount a broad movement of solidarity with the Brazilian people.

FRANCE

France is in a serious economic social and political crisis. The living conditions of most of the people are worsening. Unemployment has become a real social drama, and pressure on the franc is increasing. This was stated by Politbureau member and Central Committee secretary René Piquet at a Central Committee meeting of the French Communist Party. The main point on its agenda was struggle for the policy formulated by the 22nd Congress.

French society is bedevilled by the social crisis, as evidenced by the strikes that embraced all sections of the working people. The strike struggle is assuming an ever wider scope. The Communists, who lead the strike actions, are demanding satisfaction of the working people's demands.

The crisis is also felt in the political field, Piquet said. The right forces suffered a reverse at the recent cantonal elections, and the big bourgeoisie is alarmed at this defeat. Expressing its concern for the political consequences of the crisis of the capitalist system, the authorities are hastening the process of creating a supra-national Europe.

Speaking of the problem of the left alliance, Piquet noted that the

Communist Party is aware that great efforts are needed to raise the political consciousness of those who want a change in order to unite the majority of the French people around the common government program of the left forces. Implementation of this program will help overcome the crisis and create conditions for an alliance of the French people with the aim of pursuing a new policy.

René Piquet strongly condemned U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of France, expressed in Washington's warnings against the participation of Communists in the government.

GDR

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is concluding preparations for its Ninth Congress scheduled for May 1976. The conferences held in most of the districts reviewed the work done in carrying out the Eighth Congress decisions, and approved the draft pre-congress documents — the Program and Rules of the Party and directives for economic development in 1976-80.

The delegates unanimously stressed the historic significance of the decisions passed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, fully approved the Central Committee's policy, and declared their resolve to spare no effort in fulfilling the tasks to be set by the Ninth Congress.

Addressing the Berlin district conference, First Secretary Erich Honecker noted that the life of the working people had changed substantially in the past five years. In accordance with the new five-year plan, he said, the economic and social policies will be continued, as before, in close interaction with each other.

Valuable suggestions were made during the countrywide discussion of the draft documents of the Ninth Congress, Honecker pointed out. They will help to organize work more effectively and to meet the material and cultural requirements of the people in a better way.

Honecker said that the 25th Congress of the CPSU was an event of historic importance. It gave convincing answers to the main problems of the world revolutionary process and of the further struggle to strengthen peace. It has been proved time and again that those who want to move forward, to fight for socialism and build it, can do this only jointly with the Soviet Union. We have always been guided by this principle and will continue doing so in the future, he added, in forging ahead with the construction of a developed socialist society and in creating the requisites for the gradual transition to communism.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NEW SITUATION IN ARGENTINA

Statement of the Argentinian Communist Party

Yesterday, on March 24, the armed forces removed from power President Maria Estela Martinez, replacing her by a military junta made up of the commanders of the three branches. The event was not unexpected. The situation had grown extremely grave, "posing a threat to the nation and endangering its future," as one of the communiques of the armed forces read. The reactionary supporters of Lopez Rega and his protectress, Maria Estela Martinez, who trampled underfoot the program for which the people voted in 1973 and whose implementation had begun at the preceding stage, although timidly and inconsistently, are greatly responsible for the situation created. The members of the trade union top clique, who stifled the workers' movement, are also responsible for this situation.

An intensive campaign insisting on "straightening the course" preceded the intervention of the military on March 24. It was actually necessary and imperative to change the course but not in the direction indicated by the *La Prensa* and *Clarín* newspapers, by the Permanent Assembly by Big Owners, by branches (APEGE, formerly ACIEL which had left unfortunate memories behind), by the Integration and Development Movement of Frigerio, by Alsogaray and Manrique, by the alliance of the power of money and unscrupulous politicians, who have no support among the people.

On the eve of the dramatic events of March 24, fascist bands flooded the country in crime. Death haunted the streets and roads, the factories, universities and hospitals, it penetrated the homes. Never before have we witnessed such cruelty in our country.

The Communist Party has always opposed coups d'état. Experience has shown that all coups d'état carried out after 1930 were aimed at protecting the non-productive latifundias and at making the country less independent. Will the disastrous tradition be broken this time?

The Communist Party is convinced that the coup of March 24 was not the most suitable way of solving the deep political, economic, cultural and moral crisis. We are faced with a new reality and should judge events by what they are. We will stick to facts and to our way of assessing them by comparing them to words and promises.

The people responsible for the events on March 24 stated in their first documents their aims, which we could summarize as follows:

Loyalty to representative democracy, social justice, restoring the constitutional institutions, reconfirmation of the control functions of the state over the sectors of economy relevant to the development of the country and its defense, guaranteeing the right of the country to take independent decisions. Although it does not share all stands laid down in the official documents, the Communist Party cannot but agree with the above-mentioned formulations, as they coincide with the formulations in its program, whose aim is the development of the country and its economic independence, security and the right of the country to take independent decisions, protection of its sovereignty, social justice. We do not have in mind security of the Brazilian type, the kind of security McNamara offered the Latin American countries. The deplorable developments in Brazil are a case in point: "security" was achieved there through social injustice, murders and imprisonment, through loss of sovereignty and an aggressive policy. Such a course could lend fictitious strength to a nation which is in fact weak and rotten inside.

We lay stress on this, because we cannot pass over in silence the desire of the USA and its accomplice, the Brazilian top clique, to establish their sway over the La Plata basin, to exercise control over the humid pampas, over the South Atlantic coast and the Antarctic region; we cannot but take into account their appetites for the oil in the coastal shelf, for the uranium and other national riches. The very thought of turning Argentina into a trading post is inadmissible.

The military junta announced that one of its aims was to fight corruption, whose corrosive action is felt everywhere; and it has, in fact, penetrated quite deep in certain circles. This is a vitally necessary step. But the Communist Party warns that there is a danger of cutting only the branches and leaving the trunk, of attacking the effect and not the cause, of remaining on the surface and not going to the source. You can punish a corrupt person or a great number of corrupt persons without uprooting corruption itself, for its roots are in the latifundias and international monopolies.

The junta also stated its intention of putting an end to subversive

acts. The stand of the Communist Party on the activity of the so-called ultra-leftists is well known. It has always opposed such activities. As some of the documents of the military also admit, the best way to fight the guerrilla actions is to do away with the social causes which give rise to them. But are provisions made for investigating and punishing most severely the bands of fascist criminals unpunished until now? If not, it will not only fall short of the people's expectations, but will also leave the danger of a civil war hanging in the air.

The Communist Party considers the ban on the activities of political parties to be a grave error. The democratic political parties can and should, under the new circumstances, make a significant contribution to finding the best solutions for channelling the process within the framework of the constitutional provisions, by respecting human and civil rights and, above all, the freedom of opinion. Public opinion insists on the release of the prisoners who were jailed for no justifiable reason and without having been tried and sentenced, as well as on the abolition of capital punishment.

The struggle to build a multi-party coalition contributed greatly to the solution of the national problems. The fact that it was formed even though in an unfinished state, is an expression of political maturity. The reason why it failed all the same to play its role was that the coalition took shape on the brink of the abyss. This, however, did not deprive it of its tremendous political importance.

The Communist Party assesses positively the fact that the military junta rejected a solution in the style of Pinochet. However, nobody should let up vigilance. There are Pinochetists both in the armed forces and outside them. The internal and external enemies are on the alert. The imperialists and fascists dream of a military coup à la Pinochet, accompanied by a blood bath. May the will and the democratic unity of our people prevent such mediaeval phenomena.

The people expect that the sad events of the 1933-1966 period will not be repeated, nor would be the unreasonable attempt in 1955 to do away with Peronism in our national reality by persecuting, above all, the noble and patriotically-minded working people, adherents of Peronism. Nobody must fall under the influence of those who are interested in things getting confused and who talk about "Soviets and guerrilla actions of factory workers." The workers are fighting, with full justification, for their just economic demands, in defense of their inviolable right to work and to a decent life. In this connection we should stress the importance of trade union democracy, of the preservation of a democratic general confederation of labor, which is

independent of the owners, the state and the political parties. The working class insists on the immediate resumption of democratic life in the trade unions.

Further on, the people expect that the military junta will not succumb to the enticing words of irresponsible demagogues about "partyocracy" and "votocracy." Let the dangerous error of under-rating the degree of political awareness of the working class and the people be avoided. It is a harmful illusion to try to solve the national problems behind the people's back while ignoring their opinion expressed in democratic and free elections. Alsogaray talks about the "collapse of mass democracy." The Integration and Development Movement of Frigerio branded "partyocracy." Is that movement a monks' order or a political party? They detest universal suffrage because they would get nothing by it. Those who talk irresponsibly about "votocracy" prove to be in favor of plutocracy, of the power of those who monopolize the riches.

The road of Argentina to its national greatness runs zigzag. This, however, should not prevent us from noting that, although the situation may seem chaotic, certain steps have been made from which there is no retreating. The idea of social justice has struck deep roots. Ever larger numbers of people are convinced that the home market should be expanded, and that the foreign market, too, should be expanded in all directions. The concept is becoming ever more widespread about the necessity of independent development and the protection of our sovereignty, which is the basis for pursuing a foreign policy without any ideological discrimination.

The crisis in Argentina runs much deeper: this is not the crisis of an interim, incompetent, corrupt government. It is the country's economic and social structure, resting on two decayed pillars: the latifundias and the international monopolies, that is in crisis. Profound changes are coming to a head in Argentina, which nothing and no one can check.

The armed forces are justifying their acts by claiming that it is their duty to save the nation. This is not, however, their task alone, it is the task of all Argentines both civilian and military. No single party, public sector or the armed forces on their own can cope with the grave political situation. There is no doubt that the emergency state in the country should be dealt with by emergency measures. The Communist Party expressed its stand on that question in its document of March 9, and put forward constructive proposals in its minimum platform published in the *Nuestra Palabra* of March 23.

In order to draw up a feasible platform for dealing with the difficulties, it is necessary to form a National-Democratic Convention which should serve as the basis of a government of civilians and military in a broad democratic coalition.

The Communist Party recognizes the role played by the armed forces in the life of the country. If the military junta is to be an interim step toward the government which the country needs, it means that we have made a step forward. Then the barrier between the armed forces and the people will be removed.

We do not believe in the ruin of Argentina predicted by all sorts of fortunetellers and marauders. The Republic is not about to be liquidated. The Communist Party has faith in the country, in its beautiful landscape, its huge resources, its noble and courageous people. It believes that the armed forces will remain true to San Martin's behest: "My promises to the peoples for whom I fought have been fulfilled: to win their independence and to let them choose their rulers. The presence of a fortunate military, however disinterested, is dangerous to the newly-founded states." We shall only add: and to the states rent by a profound crisis.

Central Committee of the Argentinian Communist Party
Buenos Aires, March 25, 1976.

STATEMENT BY YUSUF DADOO, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The principal problem confronting South Africa at the moment is the racial oppression by the white minority of the people of our country, that is, the blacks. Struggle against this oppression is conducted by two main organizations: the African National Congress (ANC, the "national" movement of the blacks) and the South African Communist Party, the party of the working class of the Republic of South Africa. Blacks constitute the majority of this working class. The common aim of our two organizations — the national movement and the Communist Party — is to overthrow the white racist regime through a national-democratic revolution in the context of our country.

The ANC and the Communist Party are banned organizations, working in clandestinity, which presents great difficulties in view of the repressive machine at the disposal of the racist regime. But despite this, we were able to set up an underground organization. We have formed cells, we put out propaganda material, we are mobilizing our people.

As a result, the struggle of our people has been greatly invigorated in the past two years. We have witnessed an enormous wave of strikes of African workers, who, it will be recalled, are denied the right to strike. A call to strike or participation in one is considered a crime. Nevertheless, the movement has become more active, spreading to the entire country, including the mines, which are the main source of economic exploitation by the whites.

The black work force is subjected to super-exploitation for the benefit of the capitalistic and monopolistic interests of imperialist countries, in particular Britain, with its vast interests in our country, and the United States, which is increasing investments in South Africa, as well as France, Japan and West Germany. The point is that because of the racist regime's policy of cheap labor, investments in South Africa produce huge profits. That is why these investments are continually increasing. It also creates difficulties for our struggle.

It should also be remembered that the South African racist regime is the bastion of imperialism and neo-colonialism on the African continent. Consequently, it not only oppresses the majority of our people, but also presents a grave danger to the independence of the newly-free countries on our continent.

The recent debacle of Portuguese colonialism and the big victories of the liberation movement in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola have shaken the imperialist foundation of the South African regime. The frontiers of the former Portuguese colonies are no longer frontiers of territories friendly to the South African government, but of countries that support the liberation movement in our country.

That is why the South African government is forced to reckon with an intensified struggle in our country and with the historic changes in the neighboring countries. That is the meaning of its new policy which seeks to gain the good will of certain independent African states.

Because of its economic might and advances compared with those of the other African states, the South African Republic is capable of providing technical and economic aid and supplying manufactured goods to the rest of Africa. Vorster uses this to weaken support by

the independent states for the national-liberation movement in our country.

But though it produced some results in relation to certain neo-colonialist African states, this policy on the whole has failed, because the very existence of a racist regime in South Africa has disastrous effects for the entire African continent.

Our struggle has assumed a variety of forms. We utilize them wherever possible to set up legal people's organizations. These opportunities are of course limited due to the government's repressive measures. We use semi-legal and other methods. Regarding armed struggle in South Africa, it naturally should be, and will be, part of the mass political struggle, because the blacks make up the main majority of the working class; industrial development depends wholly on black labor. This is our principal trump card.

Among the blacks there is a middle class and a very tiny class of "petty bourgeoisie," but no bourgeoisie. Of rich blacks there are only a few. The whole of the South African Republic is in the hands of the whites, with the exception of 13 per cent of the territory reserved "by law" for the blacks, now called Bantustans — small tracts of land scattered all over the country.

Does a part of the black petty bourgeoisie support this policy? That is an important question. Until recently government policy consisted in oppressing all blacks. But in the new circumstances the government has come to realize that without the cooperation of certain sections of the black population the regime will not survive. That is why they are now trying to encourage the creation of an elite or petty-bourgeois class which will collaborate with the regime. The government is also helping some rich blacks in amassing more wealth in order to win their support.

This creates a real danger. However, in view of the government's racist policy, opportunities for the development of a black middle class are limited.

The entire apartheid policy is intended to maintain the super-exploitation of the black working class. This engenders contradictions due to the drastic shortage of skilled workers, because skilled jobs are officially reserved for the whites. The situation is now changing. The industrialists are being forced to employ blacks owing to the shortage of skilled white workers. They are, of course, paid much less than the whites. The difference in wages for whites and blacks varies in different industries; in some the ratio is 1:10.

Despite the employment of blacks in skilled jobs we foresee no

fundamental change in apartheid policy. To be sure, there is now talk of eliminating some minor aspects of apartheid, but these do not touch fundamentals.

Angola, having taken the road of independence, determining its own destiny and pursuing its own aims, presents a danger to the racist regime in our country. On the other hand, the South African Republic is participating in the imperialist strategy and the intervention in Angola was designed to defend imperialist interests on our continent.

In Angola the South African regime committed a big mistake, from its own point of view, by revealing its true nature even to the hesitant African states, not to mention its participation in the imperialist conspiracy against the African countries which undermines its maneuvers of rapprochement with them.

Moreover, the outcome of the struggle in Angola proves that the Pretoria regime is vulnerable when it is a question of fighting a liberation movement that is defending a just cause and is resolved to do everything in its power to defeat the enemy.

The South African rulers are beginning to apprehend that it is not so easy for them to survive even with the help of force, and to realize that in the year 1976 the world has changed. Angola is not isolated: progressive forces like the USSR and Cuba are helping the peoples who are fighting for their independence, for the right to self-determination, not for any self-interests, but guided by their internationalist duty.

In conclusion I should like to stress some aspects of the anti-racist and democratic struggle in our country. There is a polarization between the whites, on the one hand, and the blacks, on the other. This is a fact. In the context of South Africa the white working class is an ally of the ruling class with regard to its policy of super-exploitation of the blacks. The whites are not seen as a category of workers, but as foremen, heading production, so most blacks work under the supervision of the whites. The whites earn so much more than the blacks that they consider themselves allies of the dominant class.

But naturally, there are white clergymen, students, who understand that the apartheid policy is not in the interests of their country. Whites themselves, they are beginning to question and even protest against the repressive policy of the South African government. That is one aspect of the problem.

The other is the following: there are white revolutionaries, though few, I must admit, but nevertheless they are there, who take the side

of the liberation movement and suffer together with it. These white revolutionaries are in full accord with the policy of the black national-liberation movement and cooperate with it, as well as with the movement of the Colored people and Indians.

This is the earnest of success of the democratic movement in our country.

Abridged from *France Nouvelle*, March 1, 1976.

OUR EPOCH IS AN EPOCH OF THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Speech delivered by Mikhail Suslov, Politbureau member and Central Committee secretary of the CPSU, at the annual session of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the occasion of awarding him the Karl Marx Gold Medal.

Permit me, first of all, sincerely thank the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the high award — the Gold Medal named after Karl Marx, the brilliant teacher and leader of the working class, the founder of scientific communism.

The institution of this award in our country is evidence of the creative development of Marxism and the increasing importance of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Not one of the many social theories known to mankind can compare with Marxism-Leninism by its revolutionary impact on social development. That is only natural: organically combining stringent scientific criteria with revolutionism, Marxism-Leninism fully corresponds to the vital demands of life and social progress; it is a powerful ideological instrument of the working class, the most advanced class of the modern epoch, in its struggle to free society from exploitation and oppression, for socialism and communism.

The immortal service of Marx and Engels to humanity, as Lenin saw it, consists in that they elucidated the world-historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society on the basis of an all-embracing analysis of capitalism — economic, social and political. Marx and Engels showed that by virtue of its social position, political consciousness, organization and class solidarity, the revolutionary proletariat is the grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of a new society.

In *Capital*, Marx made a thorough study of the bourgeois economy, the laws and antagonistic contradictions inherent in it, the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, disclosing the inevitability of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He proved irrefutably that by the entire course of its development capitalism objectively creates the necessary material and social prerequisites for the revolutionary overthrow of the exploitative system and the transition to socialism.

By their creative assimilation of the achievements of science and culture, profound study of the economic and other social processes, and by theoretically generalizing the experience of the proletariat's liberation struggle, Marx and Engels brought about a great upheaval in social thought and laid the firm foundation for a consistently scientific, materialist, revolutionary world outlook of the working class. They scientifically substantiated that by virtue of its class aims coinciding with the fundamental interests of all working people, with the onward march of history, the proletariat, in liberating itself, liberates the whole of society. Thus Marx and Engels transformed socialism from a utopia into a science and showed real ways of affirming the communist ideals, providing answers to the fundamental questions posed by the entire course of historic development.

Marx and Engels were not only great scientists, they were also leaders of the international proletariat. Seeing science as a "revolutionary force in the highest sense of the word," they provided the working class with a revolutionary doctrine and elaborated important principles of the political organization of the proletariat. The founders of scientific communism indicated ways of combining revolutionary theory with the practice of a mass working-class movement. Having created international revolutionary organizations under the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" — the League of Communists and the First International — Marx and Engels laid the foundation of the international communist movement and the scientific elaboration of the working-class strategy and tactics.

The succeeding period has forcefully confirmed the brilliance and correctness of Marx's and Engels' teaching on the world-historic mission of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and in building a communist society, their conclusion that the working class represents the most advanced, most revolutionary force of social progress. It brought about the unprecedented triumph of Marxism.

This triumph is organically linked with the name of Lenin, with the theory and practice of Leninism, with the victory of socialism first in

our country, and later in a number of other countries, with the outstanding successes of the revolutionary struggle of the international working-class and liberation movement.

Lenin brilliantly defined the essence of the new epoch — the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the transition of humanity to socialism and communism. In the new historical circumstances he upheld Marxism against the attacks by the enemies of the working class, profoundly developed it on the basis of world-historic revolutionary practice and scientific achievements, and raised the teaching of Marx and Engels (with philosophy, political economy and scientific communism as its component parts) to a new, higher level.

By generalizing the experience of the October Revolution and the beginning of socialist construction in our country, Lenin carries forward the Marxist science on socialism and communism, provided the Party with a substantiated scientific plan of building socialism, showed the international significance of the October Revolution and the socialist transformations in the Soviet Union, and laid the theoretical foundation of Soviet foreign policy.

The entire experience of modern history has proved irrefutably that Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of the national-liberation movements, the epoch of humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of a communist society.

That is why the eternally fresh, revolutionary and constantly developing scientific communist outlook is closely associated in our time with the name of Lenin, the great continuer of the teaching and cause of Marx and Engels. It is by right called Marxism-Leninism. Since the early 20th century Marxism is inconceivable separate from Leninism, apart from it; it is inconceivable without all that the great Lenin contributed to the treasure-store of the Marxist world outlook.

Experience has fully confirmed Lenin's conclusion that the socialist revolution in Russia ushered in a new era in the history of mankind — the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

Lenin's conclusion to the effect that imperialism signifies the utmost sharpening of economic and political contradictions, the aggravation of all forms of social and national oppression, is also being forcefully confirmed. In our time the main citadels of capitalism are in the throes of an aggravating general crisis of the capitalist system.

This is evidenced by the economic upheavals, skyrocketing inflation and unemployment, increasing instability of the entire system of state-monopoly domination, intensified class struggle, as well as by the growing revolutionary and transformatory role of the working class, with all the working people and progressives rallying around it in the anti-imperialist struggle.

All this signifies that capitalism is a transitional and passing phase of history. It has no future.

Lenin's conclusion on the natural connection between the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat has also been fully confirmed. Like historic achievements to date, the prospects of the national-liberation revolutions are inseparably linked with the victory of the world working class, world socialism. These revolutions develop as an organic component of the single world revolutionary process.

The world revolutionary process is irrespressibly moving forward and expanding. The socialist revolution proper, the working-class struggle against monopoly domination and for socialism merge in it, on a general anti-imperialist platform, with the national-liberation and democratic revolutions, with the various streams of the general democratic and anti-fascist movements, with the struggle of the peasant masses, urban middle sections, intelligentsia and other social forces against monopoly oppression, reaction and militarism, for freedom, democracy and the social rights of the working people.

In our time world socialism is an historic reality. The socialist revolution triumphed in a number of European and Asian countries, and later in Latin America — in Cuba. The community of socialist states was formed, embodying a new type of international relations based on the principles of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance.

In recent years, socialism and the liberation movement have won new victories in Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) and in Africa (Mozambique, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Angola). This is evidence of the collapse of imperialism's colonial system and reaffirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The countries building socialism and communism, the Soviet Union in the first place, are a powerful base for the development of the world revolutionary process.

Our country is steadfastly following the Leninist course toward communism. Soviet society, as is known, has entered the phase of developed socialism. Not only has the new system triumphed com-

pletely and finally. It constitutes a single mature organism and moves forward in a planned way, on the basis of the developed socialist production relations. It provides full scope for the vast potentialities of socialism in the economic and cultural spheres, for the all-round development of the individual.

In all its historic achievements our Party has invariably been and will in future be guided by the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Precisely fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to its principles has made and is making it possible for our Party to correctly solve the most complex problems that face us at every stage of the movement toward communism, to find correct bearings in the maze of contradictory phenomena of the epoch, and to raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

I want to stress particularly that proletarian internationalism is not simply an element or an aspect of Marxism-Leninism, but the very essence of the theory and practice of scientific communism. Marxist-Leninist theory originated and is developing on the basis of the international experience of the working-class movement, as the expression of the international interests of the working class. In this sense the entire history of Marxism is the history of the formation and development of proletarian internationalism.

Marx and Engels were the initiators of a sound internationalist tradition in the working-class movement. They considered it a prime duty of the Marxist parties to work without let-up so that the working class would consciously imbibe proletarian internationalism, making it the basis of its strategy and tactics. Stressing the unity of the international and national tasks of the proletariat, Marx and Engels provided examples of struggle against various manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and sectarianism, showing that these tendencies throw the working-class movement back, whatever the phraseology used.

The internationalist tradition of Marx and Engels was adopted and carried further by Lenin, who upheld it against the social-chauvinists and nationalists. Lenin stressed the significance of active proletarian internationalism, its embodiment in the everyday activity of parties and individual Communists. The thing is, he emphasized, not to "proclaim internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82). Thanks to Lenin, internationalism became the flesh and blood of the Bolshevik Party and of the Third Communist International created by him.

Proletarian internationalism is the most valuable asset and inexhaustible source of vitality of the international communist movement, the basis and earnest of its victories. That is why the opponents of communism, the right and "left" revisionists, Maoists, nationalists of all hues, have now chosen proletarian internationalism as the main target of the incessant attacks. The enemies of Marxism-Leninism, contradicting logic and distorting facts, aver that proletarian internationalism is contrary to the national interests of the working class in individual countries. They are doing their worst to call in question the general laws of development of the revolution and the building of socialism and communism, discovered by Marxism-Leninism, and thereby disarm the working class, the Communist parties in face of imperialist reaction.

Vigorously countering the attacks of anti-communists and opportunists on the holy of holies of Marxism-Leninism — proletarian internationalism. L.I. Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU: "As we see it, to renounce proletarian internationalism is to deprive Communist parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon. It would work in favor of the class enemy. . . . We Soviet Communists consider the defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."

Marxism-Leninism is today the most influential force in the world, in the spiritual life of humanity. Its ideas have come to rule the minds of hundreds upon hundreds of millions. But, as V.I. Lenin noted, "the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p.584).

Indeed, with the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing interest in Marxist-Leninist theory among the broad sections of the public, and when this theory is being actively translated into life, the opponents of Marxism have begun more and more often to take on a Marxist guise. Citing separate statements by Marx, Engels and Lenin and interpreting them perversely, they slander real socialism, seeking to emasculate the Marxist-Leninist teaching of its revolutionary essence and to substitute bourgeois liberalism for Marxism.

All this imposes a responsibility on the Marxist-Leninists, the theoretical cadres of our Party, those engaged in the social sciences. To uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism means not only to discern in time the maneuvers of its enemies. It also means to see in time the new problems that are being exploited by the ideologists of anti-communism and opportunists of all shades, to correctly pose these

problems and to find ways of solving them while creatively developing Marxism-Leninism with due account of the new historical experience.

Marxism-Leninism is a single, integrated, international teaching, the components of which are mutually interconnected, interdependent. To use Lenin's apt expression, Marxism is, as it were, forged from a single piece of steel. It is a world outlook of which not a single essential part can be removed without thereby rejecting the entire theory, without digressing from the truth, the dialectics of life. Marxism can be developed only on the basis of its fundamental principles discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin and confirmed by experience. These principles are of lasting international significance.

Today the treasure-store of Marxist-Leninist ideas is enriched by the CPSU and other fraternal Communist parties, by the collective efforts of Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Our Party considers persistent effort to develop Marxist-Leninist theory that is organically combined with an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology as an important integral part of its internationalist duty to the world communist movement.

Early in the century Lenin said: without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This proposition fully retains its validity. Today we can also say that without Marxist-Leninist theory it is impossible to build socialism and communism. Marxism-Leninism is the scientific foundation of guiding the complex task of communist construction. Generalizing the constructive endeavors of the masses, the CPSU creatively develops this teaching.

The recent 25th Congress of the CPSU is an example of bold and creative solution of cardinal issues of present-day development of society and the theory of scientific communism.

The "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy" delivered by General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev, and other congress materials define from Marxist-Leninist positions the future economic, social, political and ideological tasks and sum up the extensive collective experience of the Party, the entire Soviet people.

This experience has passed through the laboratory of collective thought of the Party active, the theoretical cadres, and is reflected in scientifically and politically thought-out propositions, dealing primarily with such theoretical problems of a developed socialist society as the methods of building the material and technical base of communism, the ways and forms in which socialist social relations grow

into communist relations, the steady rise of the people's well-being, all-round development of the personality, great increase in efficiency and quality, intensification of social production, the progress of science and technology, and the socialist life-style.

The 25th Congress devoted much attention to theoretically generalizing the experience of the states of the entire socialist community, the experience of the international communist movement as a whole. It clarified from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism the tasks of the working class, all working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism in the present situation. It contributed meaningfully to the elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory of international relations, to solving the vital problems of the world revolutionary process, the world communist movement at the present stage, to the scientific substantiation of its strategy and tactics.

The 25th Congress has armed the Party, the people with an understanding of the concrete objectives, a clear political line, strategy and tactics for the further advance toward communism. It demonstrated the monolithic unity of our Party, its boundless loyalty to the people, its firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The 25th Congress once again forcefully showed that only Marxism-Leninism gives the key to the cognition of the most complex phenomena and processes, the development laws of the present-day world, to all its problems — economic, social, political and ideological, including science and technology, their present and future prospects.

Marx in his time showed that scientific and technological progress, combining the tendency to transform science into a productive force proper, requires the revolutionary transformation of social relations, the abolition of the capitalist economic system, and can develop its potential to the full only in conditions of socialism.

The present-day scientific and technological revolution opens up before society unprecedented opportunities for using science to tame the forces of nature and to preserve it, for solving social problems. This revolution reveals the profound anti-humane nature of the capitalist system, accentuates all its contradictions, while laying the material prerequisites for communist civilization. There is a pressing need to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, which gives full range to this revolution and to the meaningful use of its results for the benefit of man.

A great scientist, Marx never saw science as an end in itself, but as a means of bringing nearer the bright future for all people. Wilhelm Liebknecht, a co-worker of Marx's who knew him well, very aptly said of him: "A revolutionary of science, a revolutionary through science, he attained the very apex of science in order to bring it to the people and to make it accessible to them."

Having made science accessible to the people and consciously using its results for the benefit of all, socialism gave a powerful impulse to its progress. In present-day conditions the social role of all natural and social sciences is increasing. Therefore, the rapid advance of science and utilization of its achievements in practice, higher effectiveness of scientific research is not only an intrinsic law of science but a pressing objective requirement of socialist society.

To raise the effectiveness of research, it is important that all Soviet scientists master the Marxist-Leninist methodology, elaborate it further and follow it in every field of scientific knowledge. This is especially important now, in view of the increasing knowledge about nature, society and man, and with the broad differentiation of the sciences and their growing integration, as well as the unprecedented role of science in all spheres of life.

There is no doubt that the Soviet scientists and their headquarters — the Academy of Sciences, first of all, will greatly contribute to fulfilling the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, to carrying out the plans of communist construction, to the struggle for peace and social progress the world over.

Almost a century has passed since Karl Marx died. But his name and ideas are the focus of the socio-political and spiritual development of humanity. They are with us, in the ranks of fighters for the liberation of mankind from capitalist exploitation, for peace, democracy and socialism, for the triumph of the cause of communism the world over.

In conclusion, I would like to recall Lenin's words about Marx and Engels, words which express the position of every genuine revolutionary: "They are real people! We must learn from them. On this we must stand." And we will never relinquish this stand, the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. It is an eternally fresh, developing revolutionary science — our banner, our weapon, the well-spring of all our victories.

Kommunist, No. 5, 1976.

EGYPT: A RISKY COURSE

It is common knowledge that recently Egyptian policy is marked by an increasing recurrence of unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union. This foreign-policy line culminated in the abrogation of the 1971 Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation by the ARE National Assembly on the proposal of President Anwar Sadat.

Where are the roots, the source of such a line? Why this sudden surfacing of politicians and journalists infected with anti-Sovietism in Egypt, why are statements at press conferences, articles in newspapers and magazines distorting the history of Soviet-Egyptian relations being encouraged? Lately, we have witnessed malicious designs intended to delude millions of Egyptians, people in other Arab countries and world opinion, to misrepresent Soviet policy in the Middle East, fan anti-Soviet sentiments among the Arabs and, in the final analysis, to disrupt the Soviet-Arab cooperation that has been built up and strengthened over the decades.

To get a better idea of what is taking place, one might recall certain facts of recent history, because manifestations at one or another stage of friendly, as well as unfriendly actions, toward our country are inseparably linked with the general trend of Egyptian policy.

Shortly after the victory of the July 1952 revolution in Egypt, President Gamal Abdel Nasser proclaimed the guiding principles of Egyptian foreign and domestic policy. These principles are set out and specified in detail in the basic program documents of the country, such as the National Action Charter (1962), the Declaration of March 30 (1968), and others.

Their aim was to transform Egypt into a developed, modern state with an advanced economy and culture, and high living standards. The social essence of the changes consisted in eliminating the feudal system, big private property in town and country, and removing the former big owners from the political scene. The working people's alliance which included five categories of the population — the fellahs (peasants), workers, intellectuals, the army and the national bourgeoisie — was proclaimed the basis of power. Hundreds of nationalized and newly-built enterprises were included in the public sector, which was declared the foundation of further economic development and social transformations in the interest of the working people.

As to Nasser's foreign policy, it was aimed at strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty, and was anti-imperialist in the broadest sense of the word.

In implementing this policy, the Egyptian government looked forward to strengthening relations with the Arab countries which pursued a similar policy, and with the states of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place. Egypt received continuous help and support from our country. Of particular importance was our cooperation in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, and establish a firm and just peace in the Middle East.

However, in recent years we have witnessed a marked change in Egypt's foreign as well as domestic policy orientations. Anyone visiting the banks of the Nile cannot but see how confident the bourgeoisie has now become, and that the country has once again flung its doors open to foreign capital. One after another laws limiting the activity of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and barring the way to foreign entrepreneurs are being revised. "The capitalists," *Al-Ahram* wrote recently, "are increasing their power to be in a position to dictate to the state and become the ruling class, which they were before the revolution."

Materials appearing in the Cairo press make it explicitly clear that having recuperated, and encouraged by the West, the Egyptian bourgeoisie is beginning to loosen the public sector and to reach out for ministerial portfolios. Thus, not long ago, proposals were made in newspapers that some of the state-owned enterprises be sold to private companies, and private owners be enabled to acquire shares in factories of the state sector. *Al-Ahram*, which we already mentioned, recently called on the government to "renounce the projected plan so as not to take the responsibility for weakening or destroying the foundation of the Egyptian economy." The correct decision, in the opinion of the author of the article, is in fully retaining the rights of the state in the public sector.

Naturally, in mounting this offensive Egyptian private capital and the rightist forces would like to consign to oblivion the ideas of Nasser, which have the support of public at large, to discredit the name of the late president, so popular among the masses. To cite the Paris *L'Humanité*, the criticism of his so-called mistakes "is actually spearheaded against the social, economic and political changes effected since 1961."

This conclusion is, to a large extent, valid also with regard to foreign policy. Under pressure from the old bourgeoisie who have raised their heads and are lamenting the times of King Farouk, and the new bourgeoisie who have made fortunes through speculation,

contraband and shady deals, the present-day Egyptian leaders are turning to the USA and other capitalist states, joining hands with the conservative Arab regimes, while increasingly distancing themselves from the progressive Arab states and the principles of joint action with them in settling the Middle East crisis. Separate deals with Israel have virtually excluded Egypt from the common front of struggle for the liberation of the occupied lands and the rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

Cairo is planning to combine the petrodollars of the Arab monarchs with the technical potentialities of multinational imperialist companies, with Egypt supplying cheap labor. Fawning before the West, some circles of the Egyptian bourgeoisie do not even hesitate to sacrifice the country's national interests, including its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The unilateral decision to abrogate the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty is a proof of the shift in Egyptian policy toward the capitalist West.

That is precisely how this step is estimated by the press of many Arab states, and the progressive and even bourgeois press of all continents. The *New York Times*, for instance, was quite outspoken when it said that this decision draws Egypt into the Western orbit. Such a policy, the Algerian *el Moudjahid* noted, was initiated when Cairo "opened the door to free enterprise and international capital."

The role of the present Egyptian leadership in this situation is rather unseemingly: now it launches, all of a sudden, attacks against our country, now it assures that nothing has essentially changed in Egyptian-Soviet relations and that cooperation will continue. There is a far cry between this viewpoint and reality: the decision to abrogate the treaty, undeniably, introduces new complicating elements into Soviet-Egyptian relations. Clearly, it also raises obstacles to a political settlement in the Middle East, the struggle for the liberation of the occupied lands and satisfaction of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

And can one take seriously the accusations levelled against the Soviet Union? The question of arms supplies to Egypt, for one? I should like to recall the words of the late President Nasser that had it not been for the Soviet supplies Egypt would have been virtually unarmed in face of Israel after the June 1967 war.

Egyptians and Arabs in other countries know only too well that it was the Soviet anti-aircraft mounts that screened the towns of the Nile valley in 1970 when the Israeli planes were bombing the outskirts of Cairo. And was it not with Soviet arms that the Egyptians and

other Arab soldiers fought in 1973, was it not Soviet-made missiles that brought down the Phantoms, Skyhawks and Mirages of the aggressor over the Suez Canal and Damascus? During that trying period, Egypt was supplied with no small amount of arms both by air and sea.

Moreover, it would be wrong to speak only of cooperation in the military sphere, which is but a link in Soviet-Egyptian and Soviet-Arab relations in general. Let us recall, for instance, that 400 different projects have been or are being built on Arab soil with Soviet participation. Is this not a real contribution to the progress of the Arab peoples?

Not by chance has the Syrian *ab-Saoura* noted that the abrogation of the treaty showed that the Egyptian leaders are pursuing a line that is inimical to the Arab masses and runs counter to the wishes and strivings of their own people. Abou Meizar, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, expressed the same opinion. He stated that any actions directed at undermining Arab-Soviet friendship are contrary to both the strategic and tactical objectives of the Arabs, including the Palestinian people.

According to the Egyptian and foreign press, the anti-Soviet foreign-policy orientation is coming up against opposition by some people and lack of understanding on the part of others. The same is true of the National Assembly and the Arab Socialist League. Evidently, the many years of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation have not been in vain, and people see the real fruits, feel the tangible advantages of this cooperation. Hardly anyone, even by resorting to lies and distortions, can convince them that the Soviet Union has suddenly changed, that the United States has turned its back on Israel, which is occupying Arab lands, including almost nine-tenths of the Sinai territory, or that the U.S. will help both Israel and the Arab states at one and the same time. It is common knowledge that the interests of imperialism and of the liberation movement are directly opposite. Egypt knows this from its own experience.

Disruption of cooperation with the Soviet Union weakens the position of the Arab states on the international scene in face of the old and new colonialists. This is fraught with grave consequences in conditions of the continuing Israeli aggression, backed by influential circles of imperialism and Zionism. As to the Soviet Union, its policy is as before directed toward the all-round strengthening of relations with the Arab nations, support for their just struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and a Middle East settlement on a just political basis.

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