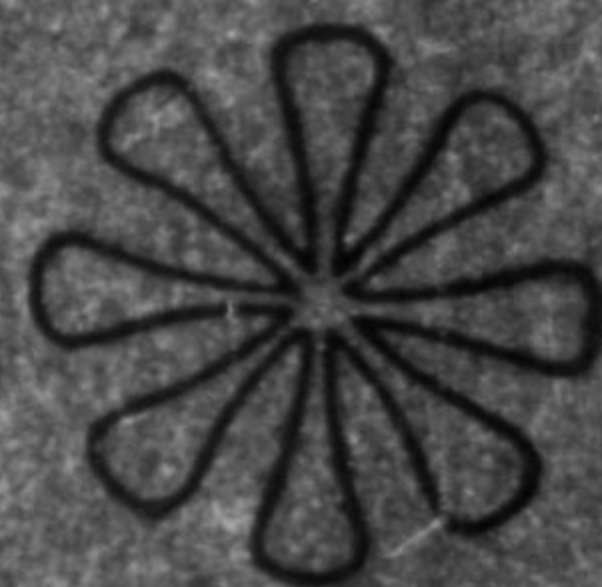


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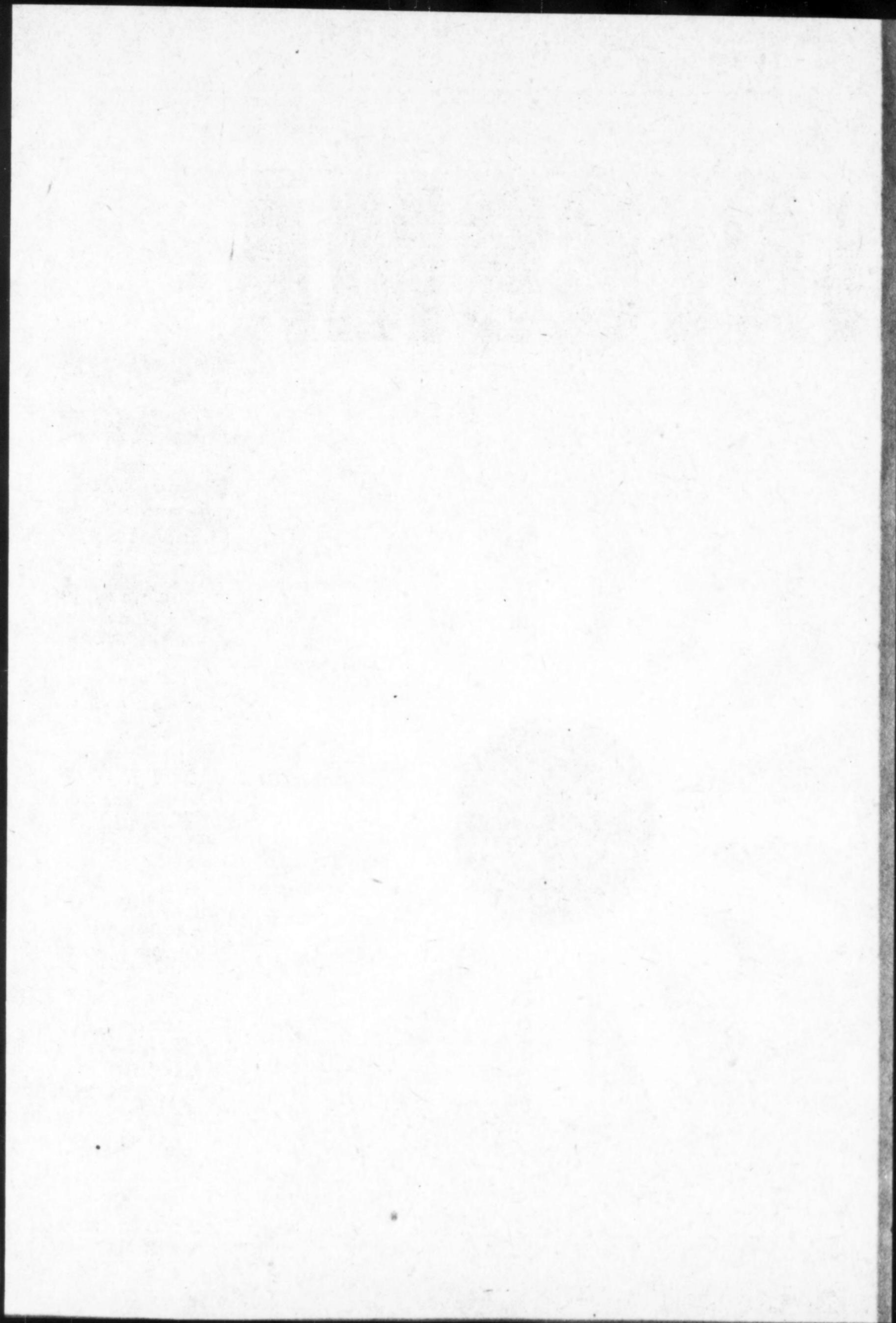
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106TH BIRTH
ANNIVERSARY**

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V.I. LENIN'S 106th **BIRTH ANNIVERSARY**

LENINISM — THE SCIENCE AND ART OF REVOLUTIONARY CREATIVITY

Speech by Y.V. Andropov at meeting in Moscow commemorating the 106th birth anniversary of V.I. Lenin.

It is 106 years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, great revolutionary and thinker, creator of our Party, founder of the world's first socialist state, a state of workers and peasants. We are celebrating this noteworthy date shortly after the 25th Congress of the CPSU, in an atmosphere of a new nationwide upsurge and mounting political and labor activities of the Soviet people.

It is with the name of Lenin, continuer of the great work of Marx and Engels, that the victorious proletarian revolution entered the 20th century to open a new era of world history. It is with the name of Lenin that the community of socialist countries has entered our age. Under the banner of Lenin, of Marxism-Leninism, the irresistible movement to freedom and justice, to socialism, to the summits of social progress, is expanding and gaining momentum.

Time has no power over Leninism. It has no power because Leninism, correctly reflecting the objective laws of history and relying on all past achievements of progressive public thinking, continuously imbibes everythings new swept in by the flow of time. Leninism implies ceaseless creativity, analysis and generalization of social transformations, it implies continued self-renovation of revolutionary thought under the impact of revolutionary practice.

"Lenin's whole life," stressed L.I. Brezhnev, "was one of ceaseless creativity, creativity in theory, in politics, in organization of the class struggle, in Party and government construction. He fostered the qualities of doer and creator in the great Party that is worthily carrying aloft the banner of Lenin, the banner of communism."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards loyalty to Leninism as an inalienable law of its theoretical and practical activities.

That is just why the Party sees as inseparable a strict scientific approach and consistent revolutionary spirit, depth of analysis of social phenomena and devoted service to the interests of the people. That is why the Party links the creative development of theory with the practical actions of the masses, with the outstanding tasks of building communism in our country, with the progress of world socialism, the whole international communist and workers' movement.

For the CPSU, for proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world, Leninism has been and remains a genuine science of victory, a science and art of revolutionary creativity opening up new horizons before mankind.

1. TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU — A HISTORIC LANDMARK ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM

Every time on this solemn day we, as it were, report to the bright memory of Vladimir Ilyich. Our report today includes historic accomplishments and the inspiring perspectives so profoundly and vividly revealed by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Congress was an important landmark on the road of Soviet society's advance toward communism. Its documents fully reflect the specific features of the historic stage through which the development of Soviet society is passing, the specific quality of the tasks and problems put forward by life.

The Congress revealed that our country's opportunities have grown tremendously. Soviet society is firm and monolithic as never before. Strong and inviolable as never before is the unity of all classes and social groups, all nations and peoples, all generations of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union now has powerful productive forces. A doubling of the economic potential in the last 10 years — that is the present stride of our national economy. Never before have we had such an army of highly skilled cadres. Soviet science has become a direct productive force, a reliable accelerator of social progress. Together with the other fraternal socialist countries the Soviet Union exerts an ever stronger and deeper influence on the course of world events, on the whole system of international relations.

Relying on that firm foundation, the Party has proceeded with the realization of plans that should lead to new achievements in com-

munist construction, to the further consolidation of the cause of peace and the international positions of socialism.

If we take internal policies, and economic policies in the first place, involved is the further raising of living standards of the working people, development of industry and a program of advancing agriculture, increasing the output of consumer goods, an organic linking of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, a sharp increase in the effectiveness of public production as a whole.

If we take external policies, involved is the further strengthening of the socialist community, the development of our cooperation with countries liberated from the colonial yoke, consolidation of the turn from tensions and cold war to a state in international relations when the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems will become their unshakable basis.

The 25th Congress demonstrated once again that Lenin's teaching and cause have worthy followers. The report made by our Party's General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev was permeated with the spirit of Leninism and Leninist methodology. Stressing the historic significance of what has been achieved and giving due credit to the selfless efforts of the Soviet people, the Party put to the fore questions not yet resolved, tasks still to be carried out. The strategic line of the CPSU formulated in the Central Committee Report and unanimously supported by Congress represents an example of the creative, Leninist approach of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau to the fundamental problems of internal and external policy.

We all remember with what heartfelt warmth and gratitude the Congress delegates spoke of Comrade Brezhnev's outstanding role in elaborating and carrying out the Party's political line. In the final analysis, the art of a Communist politician, of a Leninist politician consists in detecting and comprehending the requirements of the time, in sensing and translating into concrete deeds what the people of labor want. And they want to live better and in conditions of peace. A profound understanding of these seemingly simple but at the same time important problems requiring the most serious and complex political decisions — therein lie the sources of the purposefulness and consistency so characteristic of Leonid Ilyich and all his activities. Emphasis on questions of the commonweal and the well-thought-out posing of the most urgent problems of development of the Soviet economy inseparably linked with it, which has become known worldwide as the Peace Program — all this is associated with the name of

the General Secretary of the CC CPSU whose activities, whose work has won nationwide recognition and support.

Soviet people see the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress as a majestic program of continued advance to the supreme, goal, which Lenin defined as ensuring "*full well-being and freed, all-round development for all the members of society*" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54).

Among the diverse big and small problems which demand solution at every given moment, the supreme forum of Soviet Communists singled out raising the effectiveness and quality of all our work. These tasks, the key tasks of the present stage in the development of Soviet society, were profoundly substantiated by L.I. Brezhnev. They were spoken of in the report by Comrade A.N. Kosygin and in the speeches of Congress delegates.

The Congress took a broad, comprehensive approach to the problem of raising effectiveness and quality, which in many ways determines the dynamics of economic growth, the rate of increase of the popular well-being and perfection of societal relations and the political system.

Of course, the Party has always, at all stages of socialist construction, been concerned with effectiveness and quality. Without that it would have been impossible to raise labor productivity or achieve the present socio-economic level. But formerly it was nevertheless necessary to place greater emphasis on quantitative aspects of the matter. Today we view the correlation between quantity and quality from the heights already attained, through the prism of our new opportunities and new requirements.

Today we are able to cope with many truly gigantic projects we had long been considering but were unable to tackle. Each one of them, whether it be the plan for the development of the Non-Black-Earth zone of the Russian Federation, the West-Siberian, Karatau-Jambul or South-Tajik complexes, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, or the Baikal-Amur Railway, represents a major contribution toward the development of the Soviet economy. They stand for millions of tons of grain, oil, metal and other products the country needs. They also stand for new towns, roads, schools and hospitals, theatres and stadiums. All this is not just an increment to the economic potential, it represents the transformation of huge areas, whole branches of the economy, profound qualitative changes in the country's productive forces.

While mobilizing the working masses for the solution of the fundamental tasks of the 10th five-year plan the Party, in accordance with Leninist principles, elevates management of the economy to the level of the new requirements. Today our rate of growth, our rate of advance depends in large measure on perfecting management in the very broadest sense of the word, that is, on improving the quality of planning, the effectiveness of organizational efforts, better utilization of economic incentives and levers. Cooperation with other countries and, of course, primarily the expansion of socialist economic integration, acquires new meaning.

We all realize that implementation of the Congress decisions will not be a simple or easy task. A great deal of work, of complex work, will have to be done. The Party sees further expansion of the labor activity and initiative of Soviet people as a prerequisite for the fulfillment of its plans. Working people's concern for improving the affairs of their collectives and the country, their political consciousness and activity find the broadest and most complete realization in the countrywide socialist emulation movement, in the movement for a communist attitude toward work. Higher labor productivity and discipline, the drive for higher quality of output, for the speedy introduction of the achievements of science and technology, for saving time, labor and materials — these are the decisive spheres of the creative efforts of the masses. The Soviet people's labor enthusiasm has assured the first victories on the fronts of the 10th five-year plan. the plan of industrial output for the first quarter of this year has been fulfilled by 102 per cent. Rural workers are successfully carrying out spring cultivation.

The All-Union Communist Subbotnik was a fine demonstration of the initiative and patriotism of Soviet people. Working people taking part in it did thousands of important and useful things. But there is more to it than that, for the Subbotnik was an expression of the people's great esteem and eternal love for Lenin, loyalty to our glorious traditions and the fact of historic significance that socialism has become truly the vital concern of all Soviet people.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin saw the Party's strength in its cohesion with the people. Soviet people know that the CPSU does everything in the name of man, for the good of man. That slogan is inscribed on our banner and written down in our Party Program. The very meaning of the Party's activity, of the activity of Communists is to assure its consistent implementation. Thus Lenin taught us. Thus do we act.

2. SOVIET SOCIETY AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

In defining the current and long-term tasks of economic and socio-political development, the Party proceeds from the fact that we have built a developed socialist society in our country which is gradually evolving into a communist society. The specific features of this stage have been profoundly reflected in the work of the 25th Congress. Its decisions combine definitions of the new factors of social progress and new approaches to key problems, immediate practical tasks and long-term program objectives. These decisions theoretically illumine the Party's policy for the long-term historical prospect, in the words of Lenin for the perspective "of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations, of a new society" (Vol. 29, p. 419).

Developed socialism is the highest achievement of social progress to date. At the dawn of Soviet power Lenin spoke of transforming the economically backward, devastated, illiterate Russia into a highly developed industrial socialist state, a country of total literacy and high culture. Then it was only a dream. But Lenin's dreams, while far in advance of the time, were never out of touch with reality. And today the world recognizes Lenin's dreams embodied in living reality in the basic features of developed socialism, in the impressive picture of its accomplishments revealed by the 25th Congress.

All the gains of the Soviet people are inseparable from the activities of the Leninist party. The higher our society ascends up the stairs of social progress, the broader the scope of our creative activity, the more imposing the internal and external tasks we are tackling, the greater the Party's role as the leading and guiding force of society, as the political vanguard of the working class, all working people, the nation as a whole.

Soviet society is in the process of continued advance, a process embracing, along with the economy and culture, the development of social relations and the political sphere. In this connection the Party sets the task of further perfecting our socialist statehood, style and methods of work in all spheres of public activity.

Our state is a state of the whole people. It is such not only because it carries out the will of the whole people but also because the whole activity of the organs of state power, subordinated to the interests of the working people, is carried out with their daily support and direct participation. The processes of developing the political system, the political superstructure of society directed by the Party, organically

combine the strengthening of socialist statehood with the development of socialist democracy.

In resolving this task our Party will continue to rely on the Leninist principles that have successfully stood the test of time.

Lenin taught that the socialist revolution and socialist transformations can be successfully carried out only under the leadership of the working class. Lenin saw the demonstration of that truth, the elucidation of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society, as the main feature of Marx's teaching.

It is natural that the main efforts in Lenin's own titanic activities as theoretician and practitioner of the proletarian revolution were aimed at the creative development and implementation of that fundamental idea of Marxism. The question is of the profound elaboration of concrete ways, forms and methods of leadership on the part of the working class and its party, of the revolutionary struggle and implementation of socialist transformations, ensuring the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Whatever form the working class' political leadership of the society takes, it is an expression of the deepest interests of the working majority and rests on the broadest social base, on broad class alliances involving all the progressive, healthy and honest forces of society in the process of socialist transformations. It is not accidental that Lenin regarded separation from the masses and sectarianism as as great a threat to the cause of socialism as reformism and unprincipled concessions to the class enemy.

Lenin taught that the victory of socialism, its development and successful advance along the road of building a communist society are unthinkable without the broadest power of the people, without the development of democracy. The working class linked itself with the ideals of democracy at a time when it was still forced to fight for its rights under the yoke of capitalism. "The proletariat," Lenin said, "is in the van of the struggle for democracy and heads that struggle" (Vol. 9, p. 27). Socialism is democratic by its very nature because it cannot exist, cannot develop without involving the multimillion-strong masses of the working people in active political creativity, in the management of society. This has been fully confirmed by the experience of our country.

This conclusion is in no way contradicted by the fact that in the course of the struggle for the victory of socialism in our country the leading role of the working class at a certain stage took the form of dictatorship of the proletariat. This scientific concept has been

fiercely attacked, distorted and vulgarized with the sole purpose of representing dictatorship of the proletariat as the antithesis of democracy. In fact Lenin counterposed dictatorship of the proletariat not to democracy but to *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie* which is by its very essence inseparable from the rule of capital. As Lenin saw it and in reality such a dictatorship, that is the political power of the bourgeoisie relying on the apparatus of compulsion created by it, exists even in countries with the most developed bourgeois democracy.

As for Soviet society, already in the period of proletarian dictatorship it made a tremendous step forward in the development of democracy, turning state power into a powerful lever of social change effected by the people in the name of their own fundamental interests. The consolidation and development of socialism, the evolution of the state of the whole people from the state of dictatorship of the proletariat is continuously accompanied by a process of expansion and protection of democracy.

Lenin taught that democracy always had and has a class character. There is no democracy *per se*. There is either bourgeois democracy, or socialist democracy. Of course, the working class, the Communists attach great significance to the democratic rights and liberties won in stubborn struggle in conditions of capitalist rule. But this does not change the class character of bourgeois democracy or the fact that only socialism can assure genuine government of the people.

Socialism has done away with exploitation and social oppression once and for all. The total elimination of national oppression is our country's great accomplishment. We were the first to ensure political equality of women in practice. The fact that education and culture which for centuries had remained the privilege of the propertied minority is accessible to all citizens, is a tremendous achievement of socialism. The Soviet country was the first to ensure all members of the society vitally necessary social rights alongside political rights. It is socialism that effectively involves millions of working people in running the state, in participation in public decision-making through the Party and the Soviets, through the trade unions, through public organizations, through the press and nationwide discussions of important laws and decisions, through the whole socialist way of life.

All these are tremendous achievements of Soviet society, tremendous achievements in the development of socialist democracy. All that has been achieved in this respect has placed socialism far ahead of the most democratic bourgeois states.

But the Party and the Soviet state have no intention of resting on

their achievements. In the political sphere, as in the economic, the new levels attained by Soviet society offer a better view of the tasks we face and our new possibilities.

It is only natural that in our country it is the Communist Party which elaborates, poses and consistently resolves questions of developing democracy in our country. And not only because the Party concentrates and embodies in its political decisions the basic interests and requirements of all classes and social groups, of all nations and peoples, of all generations of Soviet society. The Party of Leninist Communists is itself a profoundly democratic organization uniting more than 15 million advanced representatives of the working class, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia. The great work carried out by the Party to strengthen the Leninist norms of Party life and educate the whole multimillion-strong collective of Communists in the spirit of those norms has led naturally to the assertion of a comradely, creative and at the same time exacting and principled atmosphere in Party organizations.

At the present stage of the country's development a number of important lines of work, the significance of which was stressed by the 25th Congress, have been put to the fore.

One of them is, as before, the realization of all the possibilities of socialist people's power inherent in the mass organizations of the working people, in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the first place, which constitute the political basis of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The further advance to communism also calls for a higher role for the trade unions, Komsomol, creative unions of the intelligentsia and other public organizations in political, economic and cultural affairs.

The Party sets the tasks in the field of further strengthening legality. Soviet laws embody the will of the working class and all working people. It is important to observe them scrupulously. This demand is incumbent on all citizens irrespective of the office they hold or the type of work they perform. Firm socialist legality ensures the interests and rights of Soviet people as well as the interests and rights of the society as a whole.

Of course, Soviet laws give no one the "right" to harm the society, violate public order or keep honest people from living, working and resting in peace. Universal respect for the law and the inevitability of sanctions for breaking it, fostering in Soviet people intolerance toward any anti-social manifestations are all important aspects of socialist public life.

The strengthening and perfection of the socialist way of life calls for stepping up the struggle against everything that contradicts the Leninist principles regarding attitude toward work and toward people. It is a question first and foremost of the struggle against bureaucracy, which Lenin called the worst internal enemy of the new society, of shielding Soviet people from indifference and discourtesy, from formalism and bureaucratic presumptuousness. The Party is intolerant to all such manifestations, there can be no place, there should be no place for them in a society building communism.

The 25th Congress reaffirmed that criticism and self-criticism is an inalienable feature of our life. It is a powerful, extremely effective tool of socialist democracy. The Party holds that a businesslike critical analysis of the state of affairs in any sphere undertaken openly, in a healthy atmosphere, self-critical analysis of existing shortcomings should be an organic part of the work style of every organization, of every collective.

Our objective is for every citizen to feel and understand that the solution of public affairs, the very development of the society, depends on him personally, on his work, on his political activity. While granting all citizens rights and freedoms, socialist democracy also demands a high level of consciousness and self-discipline, social responsibility and civic activity. The higher the consciousness, the less the need for restrictions of any kind. Hence, the growing importance of all aspects of educational work.

The tasks set by the 25th Congress in the sphere of further developing and perfecting the political system of Soviet society are great and diversified. Consistently and unswervingly resolving these tasks, strengthening the state, perfecting socialist democracy, the Party gives precedence to the interests of the Soviet people, to the interests of communist construction. "We reject everything that contradicts these interests, and no one can make us believe that this is a wrong approach," Comrade Brezhnev stressed. "We firmly know the direction we are moving in in perfecting our political system. We are fully convinced of the correctness of the course we have chosen."

The Soviet Union has traversed a great road in the political sphere just as it has in economic and social spheres. Our Party is sufficiently strong and sure that it is right to evaluate this role objectively, without embellishments. It was not an easy road. We had to build socialism in incredibly difficult conditions under constant enemy pressures. Being the first, the Party and the Soviet people had no previous experience to rely upon, they had to learn mostly through

practical deeds, and not only from their successes but from their errors and failures as well. The Party says so frankly, boldly reveals shortcomings and corrects them, taking the necessary steps to prevent any deviations from Leninist norms.

But however difficult our road may have been, nothing can detract from the world historic victories won by the first socialist state, by the Party created by the great Lenin. Therein lies the great value of the experience of socialist construction accumulated by the Soviet Union and which remains the subject of the closest study all over the world.

Our experience is open to all. Without imposing it on anyone, Soviet people naturally are gratified when our friends, the fraternal parties, make use of it in their work, when they use it creatively, making their own contributions to the common treasury of the world experience of revolutionary struggle, enriching it with new tactical devices, new approaches to the solution of economic and socio-political tasks. Soviet people well remember Lenin's words: "All nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different regions of social life" (Vol. 28, pp. 69-70).

Life has shown how true and profound this idea of Lenin's is. Life has also shown that for all the diversity of conditions, for all the differences in forms of transition to socialism, there exist basic regularities in this historic process which can be neither repealed or bypassed. One of them is that socialist transformations require the establishment of state power of the working class and its allies. A power capable of defending revolutionary gains. A power capable of effectively performing its creative functions, of liberating the mighty creative forces of the people, of assuring itself the most active support of the broadest masses of the working people. Therein lies the universal international import of Lenin's teaching on the socialist state and socialist democracy which was first put into social practice by the working people of our country under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the great Party of Lenin.

3. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

The 25th Congress of the CPSU once again demonstrated that the Party's external policies, like its internal policy, are distinguished by unswerving loyalty to the ideas of Lenin. All our foreign policy, from

Lenin's Decree on Peace to the Program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation adopted by the 25th Congress, is permeated by Leninist ideas and directed at their implementation.

"From the very beginning of the October Revolution," Lenin said, "foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us" (Vol. 28, p. 151). And this question was placed by the victory of October on an entirely new plane, as a question of the principles and conditions on which the first socialist state in history would build up its relations with the capitalist world. The special urgency of the question was determined by the fact that at a time when the Soviet Union was, in Lenin's words, "in international isolation," it was a question of the life and death of the revolution, of the very existence of the new society borne by it.

The elaboration of the foundations of Soviet foreign policy took place in an extremely difficult international situation, complicated by acute clashes of different views and positions within the Party itself. It required the genius and unbending will of Lenin, the wisdom and political maturity of the Party reared by him to work out and then consistently put into effect the only correct policy, the policy of peaceful coexistence or, as they called it then, "peaceful cohabitation" of two systems of property, of opposite economic and socio-political systems.

At that time there was of course no question of precluding wars from the life of the people. As a great realist, Lenin understood that the imperialist powers would not leave Russia alone, that the peace won in bitter struggle would be merely a "postponement of war," merely a peaceful breathing space.

Our country received that breathing space. We won two decades. This helped us win the most terrible, the most bloody war ever experienced by the human race. The defeat of fascism and subsequent profound socio-political changes in the world fundamentally altered our country's international position and resulted in the emergence of the socialist world system.

Today the Soviet Union is accompanied on the road of socialist and communist construction by other fraternal countries. We are united by a community of goals and interests, a community of ideals and policies. The socialist community has an ever greater impact on the whole course of world events, on the minds and hearts of millions of people.

Unshakable guarantees had been created so that no aggressor or coalition of aggressors will ever prevail over socialism, and they are

being consolidated from year to year. Nevertheless, the question of the methods and bases of relations between the socialist and capitalist world has not lost its significance or acuteness, insofar as it is a question of war or peace. And that, as the 25th CPSU Congress reaffirmed, remains the main issue of our time.

But today this far from new question is posed in an entirely different way. This is due to the new developments in world relations as socialism becomes stronger and builds up its worldwide influence, as the working-class movement surges ahead, and the national liberation struggles score new victories. This is also due to the appearance of new weapons of tremendous destructive force which make the consequences of war truly catastrophic. Thereby on the one hand, real prerequisites are created, and on the other, the dire need to reduce and ultimately completely remove the danger of a new world war, to extend, if one may say so, the limits of peaceful coexistence. Today the Party sets itself the goal not just of winning a peaceful respite but of assuring a firm and just peace on earth.

The last few years have been marked by an important turn from the cold war to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. These achievements were won in acute struggles, in intense, hard work. As our Party foresaw, the road to the consolidation of peace has not been an easy one. But we have advanced and shall continue to advance along it, sparing no effort, nor swerving from the goal we have set ourselves. This was forcefully reaffirmed by Comrade Brezhnev at the 25th Congress.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, as is known, implies negotiations, agreements, the search for mutually acceptable, frequently compromise, solutions, the establishment of mutually beneficial cooperation with capitalist states. Thus it was in Lenin's time, thus it is today.

At the same time ours is a class policy both in principles and objectives.

It is a class policy in the first place because it is based on the vital interests of socialism, the interests of socialist and communist construction. The new society needs peace, it is easier to build a new society in conditions of détente and a reduced arms burden.

Ours is a class foreign policy also by virtue of the fact that while pursuing a consistent, persistent and sincere policy of peace, the Party at the same time remains firmly on the positions of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the peoples' struggles for freedom and social progress. There is no contradiction in this. We do not

expect détente to induce the monopoly bourgeoisie and governments at its beck and call to side with the proletariat's revolutionary struggle or the oppressed peoples' national liberation struggles. The Soviet Union issues no such demands to the West. But neither should the Soviet Union be issued demands to refrain from solidarity with those waging a struggle against exploitation and colonial oppression.

The Soviet Union has no intention of interfering in the affairs of other countries, it has no intention of "exporting" revolution. Revolution, Lenin said, is a consequence of internal social development. It cannot "break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement" (Vol. 27, p. 480). Every people determines its future for itself. But if it chooses the road of struggle, if it is forced to fight against colonialism or repulse the attacks of foreign interventionists and hired killers, our sympathies are invariably on its side.

Ours is a class policy also because it proceeds from a realistic grasp of the profound differences between countries with opposing social systems, which makes the competition between the two systems, the struggle of ideas objectively inevitable. But we are firmly convinced that this should not undermine the stability of peace or the good relations the Soviet Union offers to other countries.

Our country wants the competition between countries with different social systems to be genuinely peaceful, to be devoid of military rivalry, to be of a constructive, not destructive, character. Such competition opens up broad vistas for mutually beneficial cooperation.

As for ideological struggle, Communists hold that no one can "abrogate" it just as no one can "abrogate" the class struggle in general. Ideas are a reflection of the interests of classes, of their objectives and ideals, of their concepts of social development. Insofar as these interests and notions clash, the ideological struggle is inevitable.

The principles of peaceful coexistence require, however, that the struggle of ideas is not used as a pretext for interference in each other's internal affairs. It is here that one encounters a rather strange picture.

The very forces, the very spokesmen of the capitalist world who accuse Communists of impeding détente by insisting on the inevitability of the struggle of ideas have no intention for their part of giving up the ideological struggle against socialism. We are constantly confronted with campaigns of lies and slander, with attempts to conduct propaganda in forms that blossomed so abundantly in the

cold war period and which certainly ought to be discarded today, in the period of détente.

Obviously, détente also presumes the expansion of cultural ties, the expansion of contacts between people, the exchange of information. Our country has signed quite a few agreements on these issues and has every intention of strictly abiding by them. But it should be recalled about what and for what these agreements were concluded. The question is of measures designed to strengthen mutual trust and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

We did not agree, however, to assist in acts aimed at harming socialism. Neither have such plans of the reactionary circles anything in common with the respective sections of the documents signed in Helsinki.

One more thing must be borne in mind in speaking of peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle. The relaxation of international tensions itself continues to remain a subject of acute ideological struggle. Probably no other issue currently arouses such debate and arguments.

Arguments concerning détente have become part of the internal struggles developing in many Western countries. The enemies of détente are trying to step up their activities. In the heat of the struggle we often hear statements which in content and even in form are reminiscent of the cold war. The world has heard such statements for a quarter of a century. They have demonstrated only that cold war policies, "positions of strength" policies are futile and dangerous. They are dangerous for everyone, they are dangerous for the cause of peace. They are dangerous and futile for the West itself.

In the nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. There can be no doubt that whatever the development of events in the foreseeable future, the interests of the peoples, the objective processes in the development of world relations will require the preservation and deepening of détente, the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The objective nature of these processes does not, however, relieve governments or politicians of their responsibilities. Delays in the development of the détente process, to say nothing of backsliding, even temporary, can be costly and result not only in useless expenditures of material resources but also in dangerous aggravations of the international situation.

Today we are witnessing the formation of an international alliance of the foes of peace and détente. Along with the military industrial

complex, imperialist reaction, fascists and colonialists, it includes the Maoist leadership of China. Peking openly sets itself the inflammatory objectives of subverting détente, sowing mistrust and hostility among states, and provoking military conflicts.

The struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and détente has become the broadest mass democratic movement on earth. This doubles the responsibility of Communists, who are in the vanguard of all democratic progressive movements. In keeping with the glorious traditions of proletarian internationalism, the Communists counterpose their united front, their solidarity, their ability to rally the broadest masses of the working people to the international alliance of the foes of peace and social progress. Today there is probably no better way to pay homage to the memory of Lenin than by being up to these demands and tasks and working indefatigably in the name of their implementation.

We are living in a unique and glorious epoch when the brightest dreams and boldest plans of the people of labor are being translated into life. This gives special historic meaning to the struggle and creative actions of the working class which history has placed in the vanguard of social progress, to the struggle and activities of Marxist-Leninist parties. Hence the undying significance of Lenin's heritage of profound ideas, of the ever-living method of revolutionary creativity.

In commemorating every year the birthday of Lenin we as it were again and again draw from the clear well of Leninism. We learn from Lenin, we learn the science and art of creatively resolving the problems posed by life.

Our Party, our country have begun implementing the majestic tasks set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress decisions are an embodiment and creative development of Lenin's ideas. By working to implement them, we confidently follow the Leninist road.

Long live the great Soviet people, advancing along the Leninist road of building communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Leninists!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the international teaching of the working people of the world!

Pravda, April 23, 1976.

CONGRESSES

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The 15th Congress of the CPCz was held in Prague from April 12 to 16.

The Communist Party is tackling major tasks of building a new society. Congress outlined new prospects and defined ways of achieving the aims set.

The delegates represented more than 1,380,000 full and probationary members of the Party. There were many young people among the more than 1,200 delegates. Alongside them were the veterans who had laid the foundations of the Party, battled against bourgeois pseudo-democracy and withstood the nazi terror, who had roused the masses to the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and the May 1945 uprising of the Czechs, and who brought about a glorious victory, the triumph of people's power, in February 1948. By their experience the veteran Czech and Slovak Communists are teaching the youth to be consistently loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to friendship with the CPSU and the Land of the Soviets.

On behalf of the Central Committee Gustav Husak declared the 15th Congress open. The steering committee and other leading bodies were elected unanimously.

The agenda included: Report of the CPCz Central Committee on the Activity of the Party and Development of Society after the 14th Congress and the Further Tasks of the Party; Report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission; Report on the Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of Czechoslovakia in 1976-1980; election of central Party bodies.

General Secretary Gustav Husak delivered the keynote report. (Published below.)

Speaking on behalf of 120,000 Communists of the capital, Antonin Kapek, Presidium member and first secretary of the Prague Party Committee expressed full support for the Central Committee and

readiness to fulfill the tasks set in its report for the coming period. The Prague Party organization, he said, had been successful in eliminating the consequences of the activity of the right revisionists. This had led to a qualitatively new political situation characterized by a closer moral and political unity of the working people headed by the working class. Notable successes were achieved in developing Prague, as well as the entire republic, because the line of the 14th Party Congress was supported by all sections of the population. They saw it as an earnest of the realization of their hopes and aims.

The correctness of the 14th Party Congress line is confirmed by the all-round progress of Slovakia, said Jozef Lenart, Presidium member of the CPCz Central Committee and First Secretary of the CP of Slovakia. Decisive results were achieved in balancing the economic levels and living standards of both republics of Czechoslovakia. This is due to the correct political course of the CPCz Central Committee.

The head of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Political Bureau member and CC secretary A.P. Kirilenko, was warmly greeted by the delegates and guests. (Speech published below.) The delegates enthusiastically hailed the cordial greetings and good wishes from General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev to the Communists and people of Czechoslovakia, expressing the sentiments of the Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people toward their Czechoslovak friends.

The congress was also addressed by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and by the leaders of other fraternal parties.

The report on the main directions of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia in 1976-1980 was delivered by Lubomir Strougal, Presidium member of the CPCz Central Committee and Chairman of the Government.

As noted in the report, one of the major tasks of the sixth five-year plan is to increase the national income by 27-29 per cent in comparison with 1975.

The Chairman of the Government pointed out that the new five-year period will see a further rise in living standards. Real incomes will go up by 23-25 per cent. The system of social maintenance will be improved, with more allocations for public consumption funds.

The coming period, the report says, will also see the further de-

velopment of Czechoslovakia's economic ties with the CMEA member-states, as well as more vigorous participation in socialist economic integration.

The rapporteur emphasized the importance of close economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union for the further development of Czechoslovakia's economy. The USSR will continue to be Czechoslovakia's biggest partner in the economic, scientific and technological and foreign-trade spheres. Trade between the two countries will increase by 48 per cent during the five-year period.

To work efficiently, produce high quality goods — that is the prime task of the sixth five-year plan.

Speaking from the rostrum, the delegates unanimously approved the reports of Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal, supported the proposed program of Party activity. The 15th Congress endorsed a broad program of constructive endeavor in all spheres of public life. The domestic and foreign-policy course of the CPCz Central Committee was unanimously approved. Congress analyzed what had been achieved and carefully examined all that has to be done in the next few years. It is a landmark on the way to building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

An important result of Congress is the further rallying of the Communists around the Central Committee. The forum of the Czechoslovak Communists contributed to the strengthening of the socialist community. Attended by representatives of many fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and a number of progressive parties and movements, it became an important event in cementing the unity of all revolutionary forces. The successes of socialism, as demonstrated by the 15th Congress, are a source of joy to everyone concerned with the happiness of the working people, the cause of peace and freedom of the peoples.

The first plenary meeting of the newly elected Central Committee re-elected Gustav Husak General Secretary of the Party.

Elected to the Presidium were: Gustav Husak, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, Josef Lenart and Lubomir Strougal; as alternate members of the Presidium: Jan Baryl and Miloslav Hruskovic.

Elected as Central Committee secretaries were: Gustav Husak, General Secretary, Vasil Bilak, Jan Baryl, Josef Havlin, Josef Kempny and Jan Fojtik; members of the Secretariat: Marie Kab-

rhelova, Cestmir Lovetinsky, Jindrich Polednik and Oldrich Svestka. The Central Control and Auditing Commission elected Milos Jakes to be its chairman.

The delegates unanimously approved the drafts of resolutions on the keynote report, the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, and the main directions of economic and social development. They also endorsed the text of the Congress declaration on solidarity with the fighters against imperialism, fascism and reaction.

General Secretary Gustav Husak delivered a concluding speech.

REPORT BY GUSTAV HUSAK

Five years have passed since the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It marked the conclusion of the process begun by the April and May (1969) Central Committee meetings which expressed the will of the majority of the Party and people to proceed along the Leninist road of building socialism. The congress drew lessons from one of the most complex stages in our Party's history and worked out a program for the further all-round development of socialism.

It was a program of consolidating the socialist system and the power of the working people headed by the working class, of increasing the leading role of the Communist Party, its Marxist-Leninist unity and its cohesion with the people. It was a program of strengthening the socialist foundations of our society, its production and social relations, expansion and modernization of the material and technical base, and raising the efficiency of the national economy which are central to the growth of the living and cultural standards of the people and of their confidence in the morrow. It was a program of promoting socialist democracy, education, science and culture and of educating the socialist man. It was a program of struggle for peace and social progress in the spirit of the conclusions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which we endorsed at our 14th Congress.

In tackling these tasks we creatively applied Marxist-Leninist theory and were guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism. We extended our alliance, friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. We extended our cooperation with the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. This enhanced the international position and prestige of our Party and socialist state.

We consistently implemented the program of the 14th Congress. Today we can tell the congress with pride that this program has been fulfilled.

MAIN RESULTS OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THE 14TH CONGRESS PROGRAM

The road traversed by our Party and society over the past five years was neither simple nor easy. Many obstacles had to be overcome and complex problems solved in developing our society. We had to eliminate the consequences of the disruptive activity of right-wing opportunism in many spheres of our life, Husak continued. For this reason, the Party's struggle against right-wing opportunism as the principal danger has been, and is, both correct and necessary. It is common knowledge that many of the negative phenomena of the crisis period had deep roots. It was therefore essential to remove also deformities in the economy, political life, ideology, in solving the nationalities problem, which had accumulated long before 1968.

Simultaneously, we never lost sight of the new tasks, concentrating our efforts on them, as well as on the constructive program of building a developed socialist society. In implementing the congress program, the Party passed a serious test, demonstrating its ability to win over the working people and to successfully lead them forward.

This was a period of extensive political and ideological struggle to strengthen the socialist consciousness of the people, to educate the socialist man, to strengthen and further all the fundamental values of socialism, for unbreakable friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. It was a period of fruitful work of the entire Party, all state, economic and public bodies and organizations, the National Front and the millions of our working people. The active support of the broad masses of the people for the policy of our Party shows that we have set out on the correct road. We can therefore justifiably look upon the 14th Congress as a historic watershed in the life of our Party and country. We highly assess the activity of our working people, seeing it as an expression of their profound patriotism, their devotion to the Party and the cause of socialism.

We gave prime attention to the national economy as the basis for consistently raising standards, for the all-round development of the individual and the entire society.

The results achieved in economic and social policy make the past five years the most successful period in the history of socialist construction in our country. We fulfilled and in many spheres exceeded

the targets of the fifth five-year plan. Our economy was developing smoothly, dynamically and proportionately. Czechoslovakia is extensively participating in international socialist economic integration. The material and technical base of our country was further strengthened and developed. The economic potential increased by roughly one-third. Headway was made in intensifying the national economy and increasing its effectivity. We achieved decisive progress in levelling the economic and living standards of both national republics, thereby drawing nearer to the historic program goal of our Party.

The national income during this period increased by 32 per cent instead of the planned 28 per cent, while its volume is greater than that of the first two five-year plans taken together.

On the basis of increased production and higher efficiency we were able to fully implement the vast social program of the 14th Congress and to substantially raise living standards. While the overall level of retail prices remained stable, the wages and other cash incomes of the population went up by 66,000 million crowns (i.e., by 29 per cent). The incomes of cooperative farmers essentially reached the level of wages in other branches of the national economy. During the five-year period around two million people moved into new modern dwellings. A total of 614,000 flats were built, which is 114,000 more than envisaged by the congress directives.

We improved the system of social maintenance and increased benefits for large families, providing better conditions for young people to start families. Together with the favorable political and economic development of our society, these measures helped to overcome the persisting decline in the birth rate. Czechoslovakia now holds a leading place in Europe in population growth. Over the past five years our population has increased by almost half a million and next year will see the birth of the 15-millionth citizen of our socialist homeland.

The 14th Congress directed our work toward strengthening the leading position of the working class. We consistently carried out this task.

The all-round progress of our socialist society after the 14th Congress led to the further drawing together of the working class, cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, to the further elimination of the distinctions between town and countryside, to a closer moral and political unity of our people under the guidance of the Communist Party.

Gustav Husak noted the importance of the correct application of the Leninist nationalities policy. The unity and fraternal cooperation

of the Czech and Slovak nations and all national minorities of our state has been substantially strengthened.

The Central Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat devoted much attention to consolidating and developing the socialist state, promoted its many-sided activity and ensured the participation of the people in running the affairs of society, thereby deepening socialist democracy.

The period following the 14th Congress saw the increased activity of the National Front and its heightened prestige in society. We value the positive contribution of the other political parties — the Socialist and People's parties, the Slovak Renaissance Party and the Freedom Party. We showed concern for the strengthening and proper functioning of the federal system of government, which has proved its validity.

We can rightly say that the influence of socialist ideas and Marxist-Leninist ideology grew stronger in our society.

In conditions of a class-divided world we enhanced the might of the People's Army and reinforced our bonds of alliance in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty as a reliable guarantee of our freedom and sovereignty.

In implementing the program of the 14th Congress, we proceeded from our responsibility not only to the socialist homeland, but also to the international revolutionary movement.

We always worked on the premise that the progress of socialist Czechoslovakia is inseparably linked with the consolidation of the socialist community. Our primary concern was to extend friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, our most loyal friend and reliable ally, the guarantee of our security, peaceful work and happy future.

We also strove to extend the solidarity and united action of the international communist and working-class movement in keeping with the conclusions of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The period after the 14th Congress saw an important change in international relations. The coordinated policy of the socialist countries made it possible for Czechoslovakia to achieve progress in such issues as annulment of the Munich diktat and normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, and in solving other serious problems that had awaited settlement since the war. We also played our part in the convening and successful conclusion of the European Security Conference.

In the period under review, the Central Committee and its bodies dealt with all aspects of developing our society. However, the work and further building of the Party were always to the fore. Our advance was made possible thanks to the Party's greater strength, unity and action ability, the deepening of its guiding role in society and the strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist character. Today, on the eve of the 55th anniversary of our Party, we see more clearly than ever the universal validity of the Leninist principles. It is thanks to them that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has proved to be the most progressive revolutionary force in the history of our peoples. Side by side with the glorious Party of Lenin, our Party has played its part in the great struggle of the international working class for a bright future.

We are building the new social system on the basis of scientific socialism, the general laws of socialist construction, our own experience, the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, by creatively applying Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.

In analyzing the reasons and sources of the successes of the Party and socialist Czechoslovakia, Husak said that the country's adherence to the socialist community ranks very high on the list. Together we are solving many tasks and problems, sharing our experience and thereby multiplying our strength.

We thank the fraternal parties for their internationalist solidarity and cooperation. We want expressly to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people for their true friendship, unbreakable alliance and all-round assistance and understanding.

Speaking of the source of our successes, of our strength and confidence in tackling the increasingly complex and exacting tasks, we cannot but mention the historic 25th Congress of the CPSU. This high forum of the Soviet Communists — a party that was the first ever to succeed in leading the working people on one-sixth of our planet to socialism and the construction of communism — helped decisively to strengthen the communist movement, the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over, and to enhance the prestige and attractive power of the ideas of communism.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU creatively developed the theory and practice of scientific communism in present-day conditions, Husak remarked. It convincingly demonstrated the growing might of the first socialist state and once again confirmed the ideological and political unity of Soviet society, its solid support of the Communist

Party and the Central Committee, and the high prestige of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

It is fortunate for us Czechoslovak Communists that in building a developed socialist society we are able to work in close cooperation with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties.

PRINCIPAL TASKS AND TARGETS OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY

Economic policy is of decisive importance for building a developed socialist society and raising our people's living standards, the General Secretary continued.

The Central Committee submitted to Congress the draft Directives of the Economic and Social Development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1976-1980, with which our public had been acquainted. The draft had been considered by Party, public and economic bodies, which expressed their full support.

The sixth five-year period marks a new stage, when our economy will develop in more complex domestic and external conditions. The extensive sources of growth have been virtually exhausted. The expansion of social production, essential for the further rise in the material and cultural standards, imposes higher demands on the use of intensive growth factors, on efficiency, proportional development of productive and non-productive spheres, and environmental protection.

The achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and international socialist integration are being increasingly applied in our economy. On behalf of the Congress we wish to say that we highly assess our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Without it we would not have met our long-term raw materials and energy requirements, secured a stable market for our manufactures, achieved world standards in a number of industries and solved the tasks of scientific and technological progress.

In the next five years we shall further strengthen the material and technical basis of our socialist society and raise its scientific and technological potential.

The drafting of the new five-year plan was linked with that of a long-term prospect up to the year 1990. The socio-economic program for the coming period is consistent with the long-term trends. We envisage a dynamic growth rate of social production, providing for a 27-29 per cent rise in the national income. Higher labor productivity is to account for at least 90 per cent of this increase.

Husak then dealt with the plans of further raising the standard of life, saying, in particular, that per capita consumption would go up by 23-25 per cent in the five years.

In the framework of the program of improving the people's well-being, the Party attaches great importance to the further development of education, health services, social maintenance, culture and sports. In the plan period 607,000 million crowns will be allocated for public consumption, 38 per cent more than in the preceding period.

Modern production and advanced technical methods in construction make it possible for us to build 640,000 flats during this period.

We have begun a large-scale reconstruction and new development in Prague, which had been neglected for years.

Delineating the prospects in separate branches of the national economy, Husak emphasized that in the coming five-year period the role of industry would continue to grow. Gross industrial output will increase by nearly 34 per cent.

Agriculture and food production have an important part to play in our economy. We are justly proud of the results achieved in this field. They made it possible for us to set at the November 1974 Central Committee meeting the target of greater overall self-sufficiency in other food products.

The result and prospects of our agriculture show the strength and viability of the Leninist cooperation plan. The agricultural policy of our Party is aimed at bringing the social and economic position of cooperative farmers near to that of the other working people by approximating the two forms of socialist ownership. All the conditions are there for accomplishing new important tasks in this sphere, too.

The basic requirement for all branches of the national economy is to raise efficiency, productivity and quality.

Husak stressed the significance of higher labor productivity, fuller use of the fixed assets, especially sophisticated machinery and equipment, the need to continue the mechanization and automation of production.

The sixth five-year plan will see the growing importance of scientific and technological progress as the main factor in raising the effectivity of social labor. A decisive condition for this is a more extensive coordination of scientific and technical development plans with those of the national economy.

Dynamic economic growth and solution of new tasks require the implementation of a broad program of capital construction. We have

assigned roughly 800,000 million crowns for this purpose, 31 per cent up on the previous period.

Huge sums will be allocated for the modernization and reconstruction of existing production capacities.

With the consolidation of the socialist community and further economic integration of the socialist states, foreign economic relations acquire greater importance for our national economy. Extensive participation in the international socialist division of labor becomes the prime factor in raising efficiency and satisfying our requirements, as well as a prerequisite for a balanced economic development.

Wider cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-states is the main mode of our participation in the international division of labor. The powerful economic, scientific and technological base of the socialist community helps to form an effective economic structure and create the best possible conditions for production and marketing, for developing entire branches. This makes possible the solution of the raw materials and energy problems on a long-term basis and the concentration and specialization of production and research on a larger scale.

We also regard as an important aspect of our foreign economic relations the promotion of mutually beneficial commercial, financial, economic, scientific and technological ties with industrialized capitalist and developing nations. We are interested in developing such ties in various forms and on a long-term basis.

The solution of key economic and social problems of our society requires the elaboration of long-term comprehensive programs. The planning and economic bodies must improve the standard of long-term planning, thoroughly study development trends and the requirements of society, realistically assess the possibilities for their satisfaction, and profoundly analyze the link between social development and the effectivity of social production.

The plan for this year and for the entire sixth five-year period makes great demands on the Party, on each of us. We are convinced that we shall fulfill the tasks of economic construction.

THE PARTY'S TASKS IN DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST STATE AND IN IMPROVING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Along with the growing economic growth strength of our state and the consolidation of socialist production relations, positive changes

also took place in the social structure of our society, Husak said. The leading role of the working class and its ties with the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia grew stronger, as did the unity of our nations and nationalities. The political system of our society continued to develop. The profound democratism and humanism of our system was further revealed. The working people's consciousness, their educational and cultural standards increased and the socialist nature of our society was strengthened.

The building of a developed socialist society at the present stage tends to increase the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the demands made on all Communists, their political maturity, and on the ability of Party bodies and organizations to exercise the leading role of the Party.

It is above all the working class — the leading force of our society — which has an enormous potential of creative energy and ability. Modern history confirms that the working class, led by a party consistently guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, plays a decisive role in the revolutionary transformation of the social system, in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and in the subsequent development toward communism. Only the working class is capable of overcoming all the difficulties, problems and obstacles in the revolutionary process and in the construction of a new society, of combining the interests of the working classes and strata, and of leading them toward the realization of the most progressive social ideals, the ideals of communism.

One of the most important results of development after the 14th Congress is the firmer position of the working class as master and creator of material values, the foundation of our political system, and the growth of its political consciousness and technical and cultural standards.

The workers comprise more than 60 per cent of our population. We shall see to it that the potential of the working class is used broadly, and that it has a bigger say in politics and public affairs. We shall also see to it that its working conditions are constantly improved.

We shall always remember the principle Marxist-Leninist thesis that only a political party which recognizes the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary transformation of society has the right to be its vanguard, and is a genuinely revolutionary party, a party of scientific communism. The growth of the leading role of the working class is a fundamental law of our epoch.

The class of cooperative farmers is a firm ally of the working class.

It is a new class which formed during the process of revolutionary changes in our countryside. In one generation, the life of the people working in agriculture has changed beyond recognition. The age-old backwardness of the rural districts is now a thing of the past.

In our state the intelligentsia holds an important place along with the alliance of the working class and cooperative farmers. No other system gives the intelligentsia such ample opportunity to use its creative abilities. With the development of socialist society and its economy, the growing role of science, education and culture, the importance and obligations of the intelligentsia also increase, as well as the demands made on its ideological and professional standard.

It should be noted, Husak continued, that the great majority of our intelligentsia understands its mission correctly. It has found in it full self-realization, the sense and purpose of its life, confidence and moral strength.

The drawing together of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia determines the main direction of development of our social structure. It is also a firm foundation for the unity of our nations and nationalities.

In the previous period the Party, in accordance with the Leninist nationalities policy, paid constant attention to the all-round political, economic and cultural development of our nations and nationalities, to the extension of their cooperation, better mutual understanding and closer relations. The fact that in a short time Slovakia has become an industrially advanced part of our common Czechoslovak homeland is a big success for our Party's policy. The 15th Congress can say with justified pride that the wide gap between the economic, political and cultural levels of our nations and the various parts of our country has now been overcome. Our peoples live in harmony in their single state. Relations between them are based on the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights, on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The National Front is a political expression of the class alliance of workers, farmers and the intelligentsia, of all working people, of the internationalist community of our nations and nationalities. Through the political parties and other National Front organizations, virtually all our citizens can really exercise their political rights and freedoms. It is a broad platform of socialist democracy which we shall develop and improve.

An important organization of the National Front is the Revolu-

tionary Trade Union Movement, uniting more than six million working people.

We must always bear in mind that the future of our country rests with our youth. Our Party and our socialist state show constant concern for the education of the younger generation and for its problems. The overwhelming majority of our young people stand on the positions of socialism, seeing it as an earnest of their future.

After the 14th Congress the Socialist Union of Youth and its Young Pioneers' organization have grown considerably. Today they unite more than two million young people and children.

Women have an extremely important role to play in all spheres of our society. In socialist society, women have an equal status with men and enjoy great respect and esteem. We are confident that our women will substantially contribute to the implementation of the tasks that will be set by the Congress.

Extensive work is being done by the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. The Party will continue to support its activities aimed at strengthening fraternal relations between our two countries.

The main content of socialist democracy is active participation by the working people in the management of the state and the economy, as well as in solving the problems of our society. The Party works out its policy with due regard for the objective needs of socialist society, the interests of the working class, all working people. Therefore the broad strata of the working people, led by the Communist Party, are an active factor in shaping and carrying out our policy. In this lies the principal advantage of socialist democracy. A component of socialist democracy is not only the exercise of rights, but also a conscious fulfillment of civic duties. The strengthening of the socialist state and invigoration of socialist democracy are inseparably linked together.

In the period under review the work of all government bodies improved. They largely contributed toward the successful implementation of the line set by the 14th Congress. The Party will continue to devote special attention to developing the representative bodies — national committees at all levels, the Czech and Slovak National Councils and the Federal Assembly. It saw to it that law and order were perfected and socialist legality observed. This is important for strengthening state power and the people's confidence in our system, for exercising socialist democracy. Our laws express the will of the people and the needs of socialist society.

The Central Committee often dealt with matters concerning the People's Army, with raising the competence of its officers and the

political and combat training of the personnel. It worked to ensure that the activity of all the links of our political system, the National Front, the bodies of state power and administration should be coordinated and directed toward implementing the 14th Congress decisions.

It was not accidental that the right-wing opportunists and revisionists concentrated their attacks against our political system and primarily against its main pillar — the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The political system in which the leading role belongs to the Leninist-type party is a tremendous revolutionary achievement of the working class. Only with its help can the working people realize its fundamental interests, carry out its historic mission and rally all the working people in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

QUESTIONS OF INNER-PARTY LIFE AND STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE

The tasks of building a developed socialist society, the tasks posed by further development, are vast and complex. They set higher demands on the Party itself, its unity, its leading role in all spheres, the standard and effectiveness of its political, organizational and ideological work, on strengthening and improving its ranks, Husak said.

At its first session after the 14th Congress, the Central Committee adopted an important resolution on strengthening the Leninist character of the Party, on the growth and improvement of its membership. The Presidium and Secretariat regularly reviewed the results achieved in this sphere, summed up the experience of regional and district committees and local branches. This helped greatly to raise the Party's action ability, to strengthen its influence in all areas of social life.

At present, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a great political force. By April 1, 1976, it had 1,382,860 full and probationary members united in 43,506 local organizations.

From the 14th Congress up to April 1 this year 333,952 people joined the Party. The decline in the number of workers was stopped and their proportion is now on the upward trend. This is an important political achievement. Workers account for more than 62 per cent of the new members. A turn for the better took place in the age structure of the Party. This is very important too. More than 90 per cent of the

new members are young people under 35 years, and more than 50 per cent are under 25.

I would like to say a few words to those who were expelled from the Party after 1968 and 1969. Developments have confirmed that this was a necessary and correct measure. Without it, the Communist Party would not have been able to overcome the crisis in its own ranks and to lead society onto the road of further all-round socialist development.

The Party rid itself of those who abandoned the scientific world outlook — Marxism-Leninism, and who openly pursued a right opportunist, anti-socialist and anti-popular course in 1968 and 1969. Vacillating people who in a critical situation succumbed to panic, revisionist pressures and to nationalist, anti-Soviet and anti-Party sentiments also had to leave the Party. The Party also parted ways with those who were passive.

The chief responsibility for disruption in the Party and society and for endangering the revolutionary gains of our people lies with the right opportunists and revisionists in the central Party, public and state bodies. They influenced those who wavered, who succumbed to their demagogy and failed to find their bearings in time.

After the 14th Congress we adopted a differentiated approach to the expelled members and those who were struck off the lists. This political approach brought its results. Consequent on the successful policy of the Party and the progress of our society a great majority of those who were not issued new membership cards came to see their errors. By their work they contributed to the development of our society, enjoy all the rights of Czechoslovak citizens, have every opportunity to participate in political life through the National Front organizations. There is no need to change anything in this policy of differentiated approach.

On the basis of this experience, the Central Committee holds the view that whoever was not an active representative of right opportunism, who today works well and proves by deeds that he stands firmly and sincerely on the positions of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union, who actively supports the policy of our Party, can be readmitted into its ranks on the basis of individual assessment of each separate case.

Further, Gustav Husak spoke of the extensive work of the Central Committee, which in the past period was the political, ideological and organizational center of the Party, of the important activity of the

Central Control and Auditing Commission. He stressed the exceptional importance of the regional Party committees.

Higher standards of Party work, the Communists' critical judgment of their actions and behavior, better composition of the Party and work in the field of education and in the allocation of personnel, higher efficiency in all areas, including mass political work — such are the ways of strengthening the Party's leading role in society.

To carry out the task of building a developed socialist society, we must intensively improve the ideological work of the Party.

Marxism-Leninism is a constantly developing theory to which any rigidity is alien. It is an eternally fresh teaching which is enriched through revolutionary practice.

The universal validity of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is proved not only in theory, but also by the concrete practice of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other countries, by the emergence and growth of the socialist world system.

The ideology of the working class is imbued with optimism and faith in man, in his inexhaustible creative potential and dignity. It inspires man to great deeds, leads him into struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world, for communism, the rapporteur added.

This historic struggle for the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence does not imply conciliation in the ideological sphere. Though some representatives of the bourgeois world speak of the need for ideological conciliation, there are no signs of imperialism disarming itself ideologically. On the contrary, it seeks new forms and methods of expanding its anti-communist offensive and of disrupting the unity of the socialist countries. It is escalating its attacks against Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. Primarily, anti-communism takes the form of anti-Sovietism, and Maoism has become its welcome ally. This is so because the Soviet Union is the chief support of the revolutionary and national-liberation forces, of socialism, democracy and peace.

Our Party and country are constantly subjected to attacks by anti-communist forces. They attack us because we are building socialism on Leninist principles. Socialism in our practice embodies all that is noble, progressive and humane. They attack us because we are translating into reality the ideals for which the best sons and daughters of our nations fought, suffered and died, for which true revolutionaries are fighting the world over.

The present conditions of the worldwide class struggle require that

we step up the offensive on the ideological front. We must show convincingly the fundamentally democratic and humane character of the socialist world, while exposing the inhumanity and rapacity of imperialism, as well as its attacks on the basic values of socialism, often covered up by revisionist phraseology.

The struggle against right opportunism has not ended with the political defeat of the rightists and the departure of its exponents from the political scene. A principled struggle against revisionism and opportunism of all hues is still a major task, especially on the ideological front.

The prime task of ideological work remains the systematic education of people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Socialist patriotism and internationalism are interdependent. Our experience proves that there can be no genuine patriotism without conscious internationalism, that internationalists are also the most consistent, most selfless and true patriots. Proletarian socialist internationalism is one of the pillars of our foreign policy and of our firm position in the world; it is the basis of our people's fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. From it stem the class solidarity and the close links of the Czechoslovak people with the world revolutionary forces.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE CPCz IN THE SPHERE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In implementing the 14th Congress decisions, the Central Committee devoted constant attention to international problems, foreign policy and the Party's activity in the world communist and workers' movement.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy activity was and remains the strengthening of the alliance, cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we worked to strengthen the unity of the world communist and working-class movement.

Successful implementation of the tasks set by the 14th Congress facilitated the gradual development and extension of our foreign policy activity. It should be noted that this was possible thanks to coordinated actions with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries of the socialist community, as well as the favorable international conditions created by the implementation of the Peace Program adopted by

the 24th Congress of the CPSU, to which we have also contributed.

Today we can say that the international positions of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have been strengthened and its prestige has increased.

The further elaboration of the peace program at the 25th Congress of the CPSU opens for us, too, new opportunities for a purposeful foreign policy in line with the needs, interests and aims of our state. We fully support this program and will facilitate its implementation.

Of special importance for us is the normalization of the situation in Europe, particularly the relations of the socialist countries with the FRG, which was accomplished on the basis of recognizing the inviolability of the postwar frontiers in Europe. The treaty on mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG declared null and void the Munich dictate of 1938, which was imposed on our country under the threat of force.

As the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communists stressed, ways are now opening for the gradual solution of other urgent world issues in the interests of a just peace, cooperation and a peaceful life for the nations.

The outstanding successes of the socialist countries in international policy are primarily the result of extensive, creative and vigorous activity of the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and the personal contribution of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev whose principled and consistent stand and daily fruitful activity in furthering the cause of peace have won him the profound esteem of not only the Soviet people but also the Czechoslovak Communists, our people and the working people throughout the world, Husak declared.

The determining principle of our foreign policy orientation has been and will continue to be the promotion of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union. The principle is deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of our people. Cooperation with the Soviet Union is the chief guarantee of our national freedom and sovereignty, confidence in the future and the socialist development of our homeland. We sincerely rejoice that our relations have achieved an all-time level and now encompass all spheres of life. Their basis is the unity of interests of our nations stemming from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the identity of our revolutionary aims. This friendship is sealed with the blood shed in struggles against the common enemy and steeled in the everyday work of building socialism and communism. We shall do everything to strengthen and develop it further. We note with gratification that our relations and cooperation with the other socialist

states and their parties are also developing successfully in every respect.

The core of the unity and cooperation of the socialist-community states, united on the principles of socialist internationalism in the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA, is the firm alliance of the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries.

The efforts to strengthen the socialist community and maintain world peace are in sharp contradiction to the divisive policy and ideology of the Maoist leadership which is inimical to Marxism-Leninism. We see it as our duty, together with all revolutionary forces, to unmask this policy and to wage a consistent and principled struggle against it. As to our state relations with the Chinese People's Republic, we are prepared to normalize them at any time.

The Czechoslovak Communists have a vital interest in the unity, cohesion and further successful development of the international communist and working-class movement. That is why we are taking an active part in preparations for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties. We on our part will do everything so that it will live up to the expectations of the international communist and working-class movement, of all revolutionary and democratic forces. Our Party, like many other fraternal parties, is convinced that the Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has been very useful for the world communist and working-class movement. The program adopted then has been basically fulfilled. Events have confirmed its correctness. We hold that it would be useful to convene another world meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

This is our fourth decade in conditions of peace. A realistic prospect of a durable world peace is now taking shape. We shall exert every effort to facilitate the struggle for peace.

Gustav Husak said in conclusion:

The successes achieved since the 14th Congress convincingly prove that we are on the correct path. They prove that our Party is loyal to the immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching, to proletarian internationalism, that it is fulfilling with honor its historic role, that the main purpose of its activity is the happy life of the working class, all working people.

(Gustav Husak's report was heard with close attention and repeatedly punctuated with applause.)

Abridged from *Rude Pravo*, April 13, 1976.

SPEECH BY ANDREI KIRILENKO

Dear comrades,

These days the attention of Communists, all progressive is turned on Prague. Millions of people in the Soviet Union are keenly following the work of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Your congress, much as the congresses of the other fraternal parties, is a milestone in the development of your country and in our common advance toward the communist future.

We have the honorable mission of representing at your congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. May I, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, of all the Communists and working people of our Soviet land, warmly greet the 15th Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and wish it every success.

Before we left Moscow, L.I. Brezhnev asked us to convey his most sincere greetings and good wishes to the Czechoslovak Communists and people and to tell you that in his thoughts and heart he is always with you. These words express the attitude of our Party and the Soviet people toward their Czechoslovak friends.

Speaking from this rostrum five years ago, L.I. Brezhnev described the 14th Congress of the CPCz as a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia, a congress of the triumph of socialism. The past years have been a period of political and ideological struggle for the consolidation of this victory and for the all-round development of socialist Czechoslovakia.

We listened with great attention to the substantive, interesting report of Gustav Husak, which reflects the successful activities of the Communists, all working people in fulfilling the resolutions of the historic 14th Congress and which opens up inspiring prospects for the future.

Thanks to its Marxist-Leninist approach to questions of social development, its consistent struggle against right-wing opportunism as the main danger, and the strengthening of its leading role and its ties with the people, your Party has achieved the consolidation of society and secured Czechoslovakia's transition to a new stage of economic, social and cultural progress. During this period the authority of the CPCz in the international communist movement and the revolutionary liberation movement has increased.

The achievements of socialist Czechoslovakia as well as of other fraternal countries are particularly outstanding, when contrasted with

the situation in the capitalist world. The recent years are known to be a period of an aggravating crisis of capitalism, of growing inflation and mass unemployment, which heavily afflicted the popular masses.

For Czechoslovakia, it has been a period of rapid growth of production, of big achievements in science and culture, of rising living standards; it has been a period when a broad development program in education and health services, and other important social measures were carried out.

Every patriotically-minded citizen of your country can be rightly proud of these magnificent achievements, and we, your friends and comrades-in-arms, sincerely congratulate you.

If we were to say what impressed us most deeply at your congress, we would say it was your optimism, confidence in your forces, stemming from the knowledge that the chosen path is correct, that the policy and plans of your Party enjoy the support of the working people.

For Marxist-Leninists practice has always been the most reliable test of the political line of the Party and the highest criterion of truth. Experience confirms that the line taken by the CPCz is correct, that it meets the aspirations of the people, the interests of socialism. The successes with which the Czechoslovak Communists have come to their 15th Congress and the 55th anniversary of their Party are truly remarkable.

Lenin said that the strength of the socialist state lies in the consciousness of the masses, in their active and committed part in running their country. This has been confirmed by the experience of world socialism.

The achievements of Czechoslovakia are, to a decisive extent, the result of the work and political activity of the working class aware of its vanguard role in the building of a new society and of its historic responsibility for the revolutionary cause. They are the result of the massive contribution made by the cooperative farmers, a reliable ally of the working class. The intellectuals also have a great share in these achievements. They regard service to the people and work for the benefit of socialist society as their civic duty.

The Czechoslovak women play a big part in society today. Young people have full scope for their energy as they carry on the revolutionary and labor traditions of the veteran fighters for socialism.

Socialism, socialist democracy create conditions for all social strata to display their creative abilities and join efforts in tackling the tasks of revolutionary construction. The joint activities of all democratic

parties, trade unions, the Socialist Youth Union, the Women's Union and other mass organizations, associated in the National Front led by the Communist Party, cement society and contribute to the implementation of all your plans.

The 15th Congress, proceeding from the general laws of socialist construction and creatively applying them to the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia, has set forth on the basis of previous achievements the program of building a developed socialist society. This is a great and complex task covering all fields of social life. We know from our own experience that its implementation requires a higher efficiency of the economy and a further perfection of socialist democracy, intensive labor and political activity of the people and extensive educational work to enhance the socialist consciousness of the masses and assert communist morale.

No doubt, the creative forces of the Communist Party and the people will continue to develop in the struggle for achieving these inspiring goals. The tasks outlined by the 15th Party Congress will be implemented. An earnest of this is the consistent and principled policy of the CPCz, the unity of the Party and the people, the Communists' solid support of the Central Committee headed by Gustav Husak, a prominent figure in the world communist and workers' movement, an undeviating Marxist-Leninist, internationalist and great friend of the Soviet Union.

Dear comrades,

The experience of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia is an important part of the worldwide experience of the struggle for communist ideals. Your successes increase the prestige and positions of world socialism.

The principled significance of your congress lies in the fact that it has confirmed and further developed the line of extending Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, the line of its active participation in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Czechoslovakia is making a tangible contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries.

We can state with great satisfaction that an ever deeper and wide-ranging cooperation has been developing between the USSR and Czechoslovakia in recent years. Numerous concrete facts in the economic field provide ample proof of this. In the past five years alone the goods turnover between our countries has increased 1.5 times and amounted to almost 15,000 million rubles. In the new

five-year plan it will reach approximately 25,000 million rubles. It is important that besides the supply of traditional products, including such valuable raw materials as crude oil, natural gas, iron ore and copper, the trade in manufactured goods and the mutual deliveries of machinery and equipment, technological lines and complete plants are growing too.

The prospects of our economic cooperation are, to a considerable extent, linked with the development of specialization and cooperation, which favorably influence the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the rise of labor productivity. The Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, implemented step by step by the fraternal countries, includes at the present stage even the drafting of long-term integrated programs in the key branches of the economy and creates favorable conditions for the economic progress of all CMEA member states.

Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation is now characterized by broad ties between Party and public organizations, by practical cooperation of ministries and departments, of industrial enterprises, state farms and collective farms, by vigorous activities of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union and the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, by direct contacts between hundreds of thousands of people. The friendly and fraternal links between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have grown stronger and broader year by year. In future, too, we shall in every possible way safeguard and strengthen this great achievement of our nations.

I would like to emphasize the significance of the regular, close contacts between the Central Committees of our Parties, between the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCz, and between L.I. Brezhnev and G. Husak. The complete harmony of views, the mutual respect and confidence prevailing in the relations between our parties, make it possible to successfully develop Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and, together with the fraternal parties of the other socialist-community countries, to elaborate and pursue a common policy in international affairs.

Comrades, more than 30 years have passed since the last shots of the Second World War in Europe were fired in Czechoslovakia. This long span of life in peace was not gained easily, it was not a gift from heaven, so to say. The fact that no bombs fall on Europe and the guns are silent is above all the result of the consistent struggle of the socialist community for peace and the security of nations.

Our common will, our active peace-loving policy and our initiative have decisively contributed to the big positive changes in Europe and the world. This is evidenced by the treaties and agreements concluded between socialist countries and the FRG, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and important treaties and agreements reached between the USSR and the USA. An event of worldwide significance was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which endorsed the results of the Second World War and the postwar development on our continent.

The concerted efforts of the fraternal countries and their truly internationalist mutual assistance have played a tremendous part in strengthening the international positions and influence of world socialism. This is convincingly demonstrated by the glorious victory of the heroic people of Vietnam, the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the failure of the imperialist blockade of Cuba and the final annulment of the Munich dictate in relation to Czechoslovakia.

We have every reason to say that the coordinated policy of socialist states, serving their national interests, the common interests of socialism and the interests of world peace, has fully proved its worth. This inspires us to carry on this policy with energy and perseverance.

Comrades, we are very glad that the high forum of Czechoslovak Communists wholeheartedly supports the program of further action for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of nations, proclaimed in the report of L.I. Brezhnev to the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

We highly appreciate the constructive foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, its great contribution to European and world peace, its consistent internationalism.

Our parties, confidently planning their foreign policy and setting themselves high and noble goals, are clearly aware of the obstacles which imperialist reaction raises in the way of an enduring and just peace. The aggressive circles of NATO are instigating the arms race. There still exist seats of armed conflict. We are witnesses of underhand plotting to split the forces of the national-liberation movement and weaken their cooperation with the socialist countries. The direct partner of imperialism in its dangerous covert maneuvers to complicate the international situation is the present Chinese leadership. In their struggle against the socialist community, in their blind anti-Sovietism, the Maoists associate themselves with the most vicious reaction.

The enemies of socialism and peace shun no means to discredit the socialist system and our common peace-loving policy. For this purpose they make use of various renegades and counter-revolutionary emigrants who find refuge in the subversive centers of imperialism, such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

It is therefore very important, as Gustav Husak convincingly stated in his report, to tell the peoples the truth about socialism, about the socialist way of life, and to counter the fabrications of hostile propaganda.

We are firmly convinced that imperialist reaction will fail to reverse the main trend of international development, the trend of strengthening peace and the security of nations. The forces fighting for the materialization of détente, for a fundamental improvement in international relations are today stronger than ever before. The countries of the socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement, the developing nations, democratic public at large are determined to establish lasting and just peace throughout the world, peace that rules out dictate, violence and despotism and guarantees the right of every nation to freely decide its future development.

Comrades,

Our main thoughts, as well as yours, are turned to the future, to the implementation of the large-scale plans of construction. The 25th Party Congress of the CPSU, whose ideas and conclusions enrich the theory of Marxism-Leninism, outlined a vast program of further advancement toward communism in our country. What are its main goals? They are a steady rise in the material and cultural standards of the people through expansion of the economic potential, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, higher efficiency of social production and better quality of products; continued promotion of socialist democracy, broader participation of the people in running the affairs of society, and creation of more favorable conditions for a harmonious development of the personality; consistent implementation of the Leninist nationality policy, the all-round strengthening of friendship between our nations and of their fraternal alliance.

The ideas of the 25th Congress of the CPSU have a positive impact on political and social life in our country. A thorough discussion of the congress results in the Party and public organizations, as well as in working collectives, showed that the Party and all the Soviet people unanimously approve the decisions of the congress, the directives and tasks set forth in the Central Committee's report delivered by L.I. Brezhnev, and are guided by them in their work.

The congress signified that our country has entered an important stage during which the advantages of a developed socialist society will stand out even more strikingly. We are sure that the set goals will be achieved because our Party and our people are united, because the Soviet people have boundless faith in their Party and take an active share in implementing its policy, and because we march shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal countries of the socialist community.

From this rostrum many a kind word has been said about the Soviet people, our Party and its 25th Congress, about the great importance of the activities of our Central Committee and its General Secretary, L.I. Brezhnev, for the cause of peace and socialism. Our sincere thanks, dear comrades! We highly value your sentiments of friendship, they will give us fresh strength.

Comrades,

Among us are the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, as well as of the national-liberation movements of many countries. This is a vivid confirmation of the international nature of the revolutionary process developing in our epoch.

Communists in different countries do not have the same conditions for their work. This naturally gives rise to a variety of tactical forms of revolutionary struggle and requires a creative approach to the solution of problems and tasks. At the same time Marxist-Leninists are convinced that the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction must be strictly observed. They justly believe that the strength and influence of the Communist and Workers' parties are to a great extent determined by their close cooperation in the struggle for the common aims.

Hence the striving for united action, for a closer unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe that a conference of European Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress on our continent will make a significant contribution toward this aim. Together with other fraternal parties, the CPSU will contribute to the success of this conference.

Proletarian internationalism is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, of the policy of the Communist parties and of all their activity. As L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the 25th Party Congress: "We, Soviet Communists, consider the defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist."

Our Party, always faithful to its internationalist duty, resolutely

condemns terror against Communists and other democrats. We know that despite all repression reaction will fail to suppress the will of the fighters for the happiness of the people. This is best demonstrated by the steadfastness and courage of our dear comrade, Luis Corvalan. Together with you, dear friends, and the progressive world public we demand: freedom for the prisoners of fascism and reaction!

Comrades,

We all have a deep interest in that every nation should more fully and intensively develop its abilities and talents and enrich the treasury of experience, knowledge and culture of the great family of socialist countries. Your Party is making a worthy contribution to this truly historic cause, the success of which will, in a decisive measure, predetermine the bright future of mankind.

Long live the militant solidarity of the CPSU and the CPCz, the indestructible friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia!

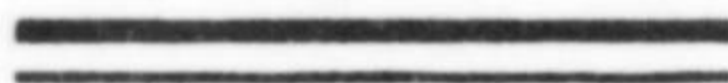
May socialist Czechoslovakia grow stronger and flourish!

Long live peace!

Long live Communism!

(Kirilenko's speech was heard with great attention and punctuated by applause.)

Pravda, April 14, 1976.



COMMUNIQUE OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador met in plenary session on January 24 and 25 to discuss the internal political situation, the work and tasks of the Party, and ways of implementing the Party Development Plan in commemoration of its 50th anniversary.

The plenum defined the main political line of the Party for the immediate future, with emphasis on the conclusions set forth in the Executive Committee's communique of January 14, 1976:

1. Redouble our efforts in the struggle to achieve the national and social liberation of our people.

2. Adhere to the position formulated in February 1972 and endorsed by the Ninth Congress in November 1973: vigorously support all measures facilitating the realization of the people's aspirations for a revolutionary transformation of the country, and to oppose everything prejudicial to the legitimate interests of the masses and serving the interests of the oligarchy and imperialists who plunder our wealth and exploit the labor of our people.

3. Fight for the immediate implementation of the program announced by the Party on September 4, 1975, after the abortive fascist coup headed by Gonzalez Alvear.

4. Develop the struggle by relying on mass actions, the basic factor in the revolutionary transformation of the country, without which the people's victory is inconceivable.

5. Work for the unity of all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces in this struggle in order to speed up revolutionary development in the country and to achieve social progress, independence and complete sovereignty.

In conformity with these main directions, defined after a thorough analysis of recent events, the plenum noted that the first days of the activity of the Supreme State Council were unfavorable for the revolutionary transformations demanded by the people.

There is evidence of a tendency toward conciliation with the oligarchy, and of an erroneous position expressed among other things by the appointment to high posts of people adhering to an anti-national stand, by the unlawful amnesty for participants in the September coup and their civil abettors, whom even the armed forces justly qualified as fascists, and by the prohibition of a congress of the working people of the El Oro Province, which met in Portovelo. Such an attitude is unacceptable and fraught with danger for the future of the trade union movement.

These facts, the plenums noted, contrast with correct positions, such as the complete nationalization of the deposits in Ancon, the firm stand with regard to participation in the OPEC, reaffirmation of the validity of Article 25 of the Agrarian Reform Law, and the declaration on respect for democratic norms regarding the revolutionary forces. This is evidence of contradictions in the government, which must be solved in favor of the people and in conformity with statements by representatives of the armed forces about their resolve to transform the country.

Increasingly dangerous in these circumstances is the stepped-up activity of imperialism and the domestic oligarchy, which uses its power and resources to hold up the process of advance and bring about a reverse in those limited areas where we had made progress.

These forces continue to utilize all means against the people: raising the cost of living, denying rights to the working people and demanding a "return to constitutional order," which simply signifies, as our Party noted, a return to the former situation where the dominating classes wielded power as they saw fit, transgressing on the people's rights and humiliating it.

In recent years, the meeting noted, the political consciousness of the Ecuadoran people has risen. They increasingly come to see where their real interests lie and find correct forms of struggle for their satisfaction. This is particularly true of the unitary process in the trade union and peasant movements, resulting in the cancellation of the proposed higher charges in city transport.

The government's vacillation and its actions prejudicial to the people give rise to frustration. Sensing the deception since the promised revolutionary process is not making headway, the people are persistently seeking a revolutionary solution, which we, the popular, anti-imperialist and patriotic, civil and military forces must provide. It is imperative to unite our forces and fight for the popular program, for the country's salvation.

On the basis of these considerations, the plenum concluded that it is necessary to unite all forces in order to mount a militant and resolute struggle for the implementation of the profound revolutionary aspirations of the people.

A fundamental element in this struggle is an all-out mobilization of the masses for the achievement of the aims set. This should be linked not only with the concrete and immediate tasks, but with the greater objectives facing our people.

For the people to emerge victorious in this confrontation with imperialism and the oligarchy, we must exert every effort to bring to reality the great and just slogan advanced by the Ninth Congress of our Party: unity of the anti-imperialism, democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle for the social and national liberation of the Ecuadoran people. Conditions are there for developing this unity, as well as for the immediate revolutionary transformations.

The Central Committee concluded that unity of the anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces should be seen as the multiform activity on all fronts and in the most diverse forms; but it must be based on the general program, to which our Party has contributed the formulations mentioned above. We pointed out that, in developing unity, the Communist Party should maintain its independence as a guarantee of the consolidation of this unity.

The variety of fronts and forces in this process of unity implies not only creation of a political alliance on a national scale, but that unity can and must be achieved in diverse forms and in every province and region — among the forces that have coinciding views on the program objectives.

The plenum drew the conclusion that the Communists must strive for political unity with the broadest possible forces and that in the framework of this political alliance united action of the Communist and Revolutionary-Socialist parties is of the utmost importance.

At the same time the negative role of the Maoist tendencies was noted. They cause division and discord in the popular movement and bring together forces which hold provocative positions and are often in the service of imperialism and the oligarchy. Therefore a frontal battle against these tendencies is becoming necessary. At the same time we must work among those who have mistakenly come to such positions.

The plenum reiterated the importance of achieving broad united action in the trade union and peasant movements as a step toward their organizational reconstruction. The need was stressed of exerting

every effort and all abilities to speed up this process, and the Executive Committee was recommended to adopt measures to overcome any difficulties.

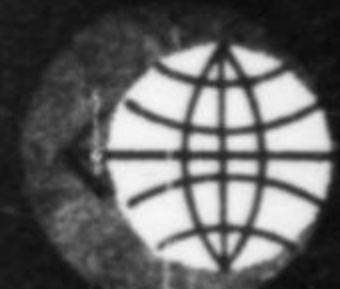
A primary immediate objective, it was noted, is to carry out a genuine democratic agrarian reform and, expressly, the struggle for the practical implementation of Article 25 of the Agrarian Reform Law, which must be applied to all uncultivated lands without any delay or the pretext of time limits.

It was reaffirmed that the Party should work to achieve a broad unity of the peasant movement and for the latter to establish close ties with the working-class movement, representing a powerful revolutionary transformatory force.

The meeting examined the question of carrying the Party development plan into life, noted the successes and shortcomings in its implementation and adopted a special resolution on this question.

Guayaquil, January 25, 1976

Abridged from *El Pueblo*, January 30-April 5, 1976.



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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

FRIENDSHIP AND FRATERNITY CAN BE BUILT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY

Speech by Deputy Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, at Knesset session on March 31, 1976.

The reason why our Communist faction proposed a vote of no-confidence in the government concerns the very foundation of our lives in this sovereign country. We propose it because we consider the government responsible for the deliberate and premeditated use of the most brutal measures, including pogroms, against the Arab population, designed to suppress the legitimate general strike in defense of their territories, which they declared on March 30.

March 30 has gone down in history as a day of general strike by the Arabs of Israel against the requisitioning of their lands, for equality, respect for the rights of the individual and citizen, for democracy and peace. But these were not the only aims of the strike. March 30 is inscribed in history also as a day of bloody pogroms perpetrated by the authorities against the Arab population of the country. The pogroms were planned beforehand to "teach the Arabs a lesson," in line with the official thinking that "the Arabs understand only the language of force."

Direct responsibility for the incidents devolves on the government, or rather, the ministers who, last Thursday, adopted a decision to assault the Arab population on the day of their strike. They are Prime Minister Rabin, Minister of Defense Peres, Minister of Police Hillel and others, as well as their known and unknown advisers. It is they who bear the responsibility for what happened yesterday, for the tragic death of six Jews and the dozens of wounded innocent citizens. The official media are trying to conceal the facts, like they did 20 years ago during the massacre in Kufr-Kassem. Today, through the same device of falsification and slander, distorted reports find their way into the press, radio and television.

In reality, it was an attempt to suppress a legitimate general strike. There is no law in Israel that forbids the Arabs to call a strike while permitting the Jews to do so . . . If someone intends to adopt such a law, let him say outright if he considers this as equality of rights.

The sanguinary assault on the Arab population had not been provoked. It broke out in the night with the frontier guards units entering the villages of Arraba, Deir-Hanna and Sahnin. Nor had there been any provocation when the soldiers, joining in the fray, began to throw tear-gas bombs and to beat bypassers. The only response to the troop actions was when youngsters began to throw stones at them. Then the pogrom began. The troops opened fire at the population. There are reports that in Sahnin three were killed and many wounded for violating the curfew. However, I have at my disposal evidence given by clergymen and other eyewitnesses which contradicts the original version. The victims were shot in their homes and not in the street.

I as a Jew and an Israeli citizen have always endeavored to bring about fraternity and friendship between Jews and Arabs . . . (Vilner continues his speech despite the harassment of the Likud* group.) Who has done more than we have to promote unity and fraternity between Jews and Arabs? But fraternity and friendship can be built only on the basis of equality and mutual respect. Only in this way can peace, as well as healthy and friendly relations between the Arabs and Jews in Israel, be achieved.

I ask: What crime did the authorities see in the youngsters building barricades — can that be a pretext for shooting at people? When the Jewish population of Rosh Haain barricaded the main highway, how did the police react then? Did they open fire? No, of course not. Were the drivers of the Egged transport cooperative shot at when they barricaded a street during the strike? Have any shots been fired at the Eilat dockers who have been obstructing work at the port for already a month? Did the police shoot down the Gush Emunim extremist group during the skirmishes with soldiers? And the strikes in the schools? Wasn't it the Ministry of Education that organized political strikes in the schools? Wasn't it they who involved the pupils in meetings directed against the Soviet Union? If such things are allowed in the State of Israel, why then are not the Arab pupils, who share the life of their people, permitted to protest against the requisitioning of Arab lands? All this was a premeditated, planned provocation on the part of the authorities, which, as noted by the press, was

*A bloc of ultra-right opposition parties in the Knesset — *Ed.*

designed to perpetuate the extremist course of suppressing any strikes by the Arab citizens.

What happened yesterday is reminiscent of the events in Kufr-Kassem, though in different circumstances. Informing the Knesset on December 12, 1956, of the events in Kufr-Kassem, Ben-Gurion said: "Such a thing will never again happen in Israel." But it did happen yesterday. At one time the authorities had to bring to trial Lieutenant Malinki of the frontier guards — the very same frontier guards. The verdict of the court presided over by Judge Galevi (now a Knesset member), stated: "Not a single person, least of all a soldier or policeman, has the right to kill or to give orders to kill another person. This is permitted only in exceptional cases, defined by law and implied by the unwritten universal human code."

No law anywhere on earth permits the killing of people who have involuntarily violated the curfew. The court decision specified that such actions are permissible only in "exceptional cases," only after a decision had been reached to use force as the last resort.

I want to say that the attempt to depict the present events as organized by the Communist Party of Israel will fail. You are clearly misguided. It is not just a matter for the Communist Party. Yesterday all the Arab citizens struck despite the threats. No measures were barred to suppress the strike. The government, army, frontier guards, police, the Ministries of Education and Internal Affairs, and whoever else could be found were called in to break up the strike. In spite of all this, its scale has surpassed all expectations. In the course of the strike demands were put forward to stop the requisitioning of Arab lands and for an end to the system of discrimination. At the same time, not a single Arab citizen came out against Israel's right to sovereign existence.

Horowitz (Likud): But you come out against the existence of Israel.

Vilner: That is a foul incitement against the Arabs and our Communist Party. We are Israeli citizens. But we denounce your crimes against the Arab people. Not a single one of us, not a single Arab citizen considers al-Jalil an occupied territory. We demand peace on the basis of the borders . . .

Chairman of the session Shahal: Member of the Knesset Vilner . . .

Vilner: That is very important. . . . We demand peace on the basis of the borders of June 4, 1967. Neither we Communists nor the Arab citizens question al-Jalil's belonging to Israel. It is the government which has doubts about this and is pursuing a policy of national

discrimination and repression against the Arab population, treating it as if it were the population of an occupied territory. You also organized a criminal assault on the home of Knesset member Tawfiq Zayad.*

The chairman attempts to interrupt Vilner on the pretext of a time limit. But Vilner goes on: The frontier guards are still continuing their attacks against the Arab population. But the information media are concealing this. In the town of Taibe, the doors of houses were torn down, and many people were arrested. We propose a vote of no-confidence in the government, which is responsible for the killing of Arab citizens, for the pogrom.

At this Vilner's speech was interrupted. Several Knesset guards surrounded him, forcing him to leave the rostrum.

Abridged from *Al-Ittihad*, April 6, 1976.

*Member of the CPI Central Committee, Deputy of the Knesset, a well-known Arab poet. In December 1975 he was elected mayor of Nazareth. — *Ed.*

