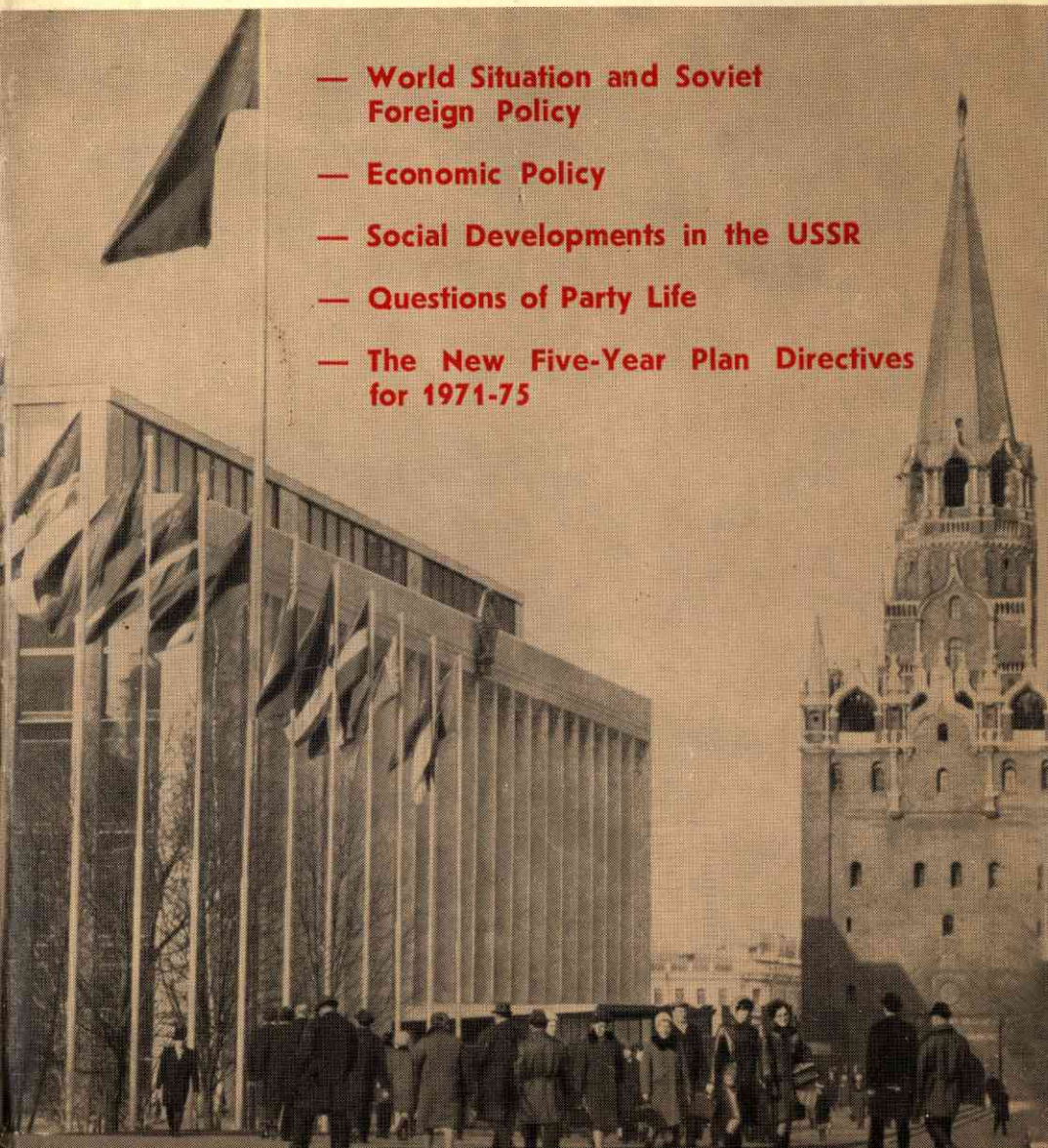


24th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

What the Congress Discussed and Decided

- World Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy
- Economic Policy
- Social Developments in the USSR
- Questions of Party Life
- The New Five-Year Plan Directives for 1971-75



24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

MARCH 30—APRIL 9, 1971

*WHAT THE CONGRESS DISCUSSED
AND DECIDED*



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FROM PUBLISHERS

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is composed of the more politically conscious and active representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia.

The Party charts the general path of advance of our country and defines a political line for each stage of its development. Decisions on these important questions are made by the supreme organ of the Party, the Party Congress. Once the decisions are approved the Party organizes the working people in an all-out effort to translate these decisions into life.

The decisions of the Congress serve as a guideline for every Party organization and for every Party member. The Programme and the Rules of the Communist Party are adopted by the Congress which also hears the reports of the Party Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission on the work done. In the periods between Congresses the leading bodies of the Party and the local party organizations carry out the general political line of the CPSU adopted at the last Congress.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has a membership of 14.5 million, or nine per cent of the adult population.

The Communists form the backbone of every collective in both town and countryside. They are always the first to tackle the most difficult problems, support everything that is progressive, and lend a helping hand. They fight against survivals of all that is conservative and obsolete, that holds back our progress towards a happy future.

A Communist must be active. His work and his very life serve as an example for others. He never stands aloof from problems of importance, whatever they may be. The Communist Party is strong because it has indissoluble ties with the people, because it is part of the people. "The interests of man come first"—this is the slogan of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow from March 30 to April 9, 1971. The entire work of the Congress and the decisions adopted by it were given full support by the Soviet people and drew favourable comments in all parts of the world.

The entire Party took part in selecting delegates to the Congress. Delegates are elected by secret ballot at Party regional and territorial

conferences and republican congresses. It is only these conferences and congresses that are in a position to elect their fellow Communists (one delegate from 2,900 members of the Party) who will represent them at the Congress in discussions of the fundamental problems facing the Party and the nation.

Delegates to the regional conferences and the republican congresses are elected at meetings of local party organizations. No person, whatever his position, is entitled to a casting vote at a Party Congress if he has not been elected delegate at one of the local Party conferences.

This election procedure is based on the principle that unity at a Congress can be assured only if the local organizations are unanimous in their choice of delegates. And their will, thanks to the same principles of election of delegates to Party conferences and congresses, expresses the will of the broadest masses of Party members.

Who are the people that were elected to the 24th Congress at local conferences and congresses attended by 1.6 million Communists?

Of the 4,963 delegates to the 24th Congress only 314 were elected at the city Party conference in Moscow; the remaining delegates represented sixty-one nationalities from all parts of the country.

The largest group of delegates were workers, 1,195 in all: metal smelters, builders, coal miners, textile workers, etc; 370 were managers of industrial establishments, construction sites, and various organizations; 870 delegates were from the countryside, two-thirds of whom work on farms and fields, and the remaining one-third are collective farm chairmen and state farm directors, agronomists, veterinarians, and engineers.

Scientists and workers in culture and art were represented by 96 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 363 persons holding doctorates and candidate degrees, and 138 researchers. Attending the Congress were 120 writers, composers, artists and actors, among them Mikhail Sholokhov, Nikolai Tikhonov, Nikolai Gribachev and Konstantin Simonov (writers), Tikhon Khrennikov (composer) and Nikolai Tomski (sculptor).

Nearly 25 per cent of the delegates (1,205 in all) were full-time Party workers. Out of this number 493 are secretaries of local Party organizations at factory shops, collective farms and various institutions. These Communists work side by side with their colleagues and carry out their duties on an honorary basis. Five hundred and fifty-six delegates were elected officials of Soviets of Working People's Deputies ranging from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to village Soviets. One hundred and twenty-six delegates represented the trade unions and the Young Communist League.

The delegates to the Congress included 1,204 women (24.3%). In some delegations the percentage of women delegates was even higher. For example, the delegation from Ivanovo Region of the Russian Federation, known for its textile mills, included 40% of women.

Most of the delegates were in the 41-50 years age group (41.6%

of the total). Nearly six per cent of the delegates were over 60 years old, and 5.1% were under 30.

The educational level of the delegates reflects the great cultural and technological progress achieved by the Soviet Union.

Almost 58 per cent of the delegates have a higher education, and 27% a secondary and incomplete higher education. Among the delegates were 1,586 engineers, economists, and technicians; 555 agronomists and livestock experts, 483 teachers, doctors and lawyers.

Only 25.6% of the delegates (1,272 persons) had earlier participated in the work of national forums of Communists; 3,691 delegates were elected for the first time. This shows that the Communist Party invites fresh forces to take part in the work of its highest body. This also means that the Party is applying ever more consistently democratic principles in its every-day activities.

The delegates to the Congress represented all republican, regional and territorial organizations of the Communist Party, all the branches of the national economy, all spheres of public life, all sections of builders of a new society, all generations of Soviet people. This enabled the delegates to discuss important questions in a businesslike way, and work out decisions that would best serve the interests of the people.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU defined the political line of the Party and adopted the economic programme of the nation for the coming five years.

The problems discussed and the decisions made at the 24th Congress are summed up in this book.



IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 24th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

March 30. The Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Six thousand people, including delegates and guests, filled the hall long before the opening session. At 10 a.m. Nikolai Podgorny, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, declared the 24th Congress of the Party opened. He said that the representatives of the Communists of the entire country had "assembled at their highest forum in order to sum up the results of the work done by the Party in the preceding five years, discuss important tasks, and outline the means and



methods of their implementation." On behalf of the delegates attending the Congress and all Soviet Communists, N. Podgorny greeted the delegations of Communists and Workers, National-Democratic and Left-wing Socialist Parties. He then introduced each one of the foreign guests amidst outbursts of applause.

The delegates stood for a moment of silence for the comrades-in-arms who had died since the 23rd Party Congress: Kliment Voroshilov and Nikolai Shvernik (USSR), Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam), Ferenc Münich (Hungary), Johann Kopenig (Austria), Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban Revolution, and others. The Congress participants paid tribute to the memory of Gamal Abdel Nasser, one of the outstanding leaders of the national liberation movement.

The delegates then elected a presiding committee, a secretariat and

editing and credentials commissions. The agenda was adopted by a unanimous vote: the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (speaker Brezhnev), the report of the Central Auditing Commission, the Directives for the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development for 1971-75 (speaker Kosygin), and the election of the central organs of the Party.

The floor was then given to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev. His report was listened to with keen attention and was repeatedly punctuated by applause. The speech was broadcast by all radio stations in the Soviet Union. The live telecast by Moscow Television of the opening session was watched by millions of people. It was beamed to Siberia and the Far East via communication satellites. The "Intervision" and the "Eurovision" TV systems transmitted it to the countries of Europe.

■ *continued on p. 21*

THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

Five years have passed, Leonid Brezhnev said, since the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In implementing the plans outlined by the Party, the Soviet people have scored great successes in communist construction. The Soviet Union has made a big stride forward in a direction which expresses the essence of the CPSU's activity—the direction towards a better life and higher cultural standards of the Soviet people. The last five years have been years of successful development of socialist relations and Soviet democracy under the conditions of socialism, years of the further flourishing of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of considerable strengthening of the political and defensive might of the country.

In the sphere of international relations, Leonid Brezhnev continued, these have been years of great socio-political changes, years of sharp confrontation between the forces of peace, freedom and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression, on the other. More than once the horizons of our planet have been darkened with the clouds of war threat, but each time imperialist encroachments met with resolute rebuff.

During these years the international position of the Soviet Union has become stronger, and the role of the world socialist system has increased. There has been further consolidation and deepening of the alliance of the three main revolutionary forces of today—socialism, the international working-class movement and the national liberation struggle.



**Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.**

International Position of the USSR. Foreign Policy Activity of the CPSU

As Comrade Brezhnev pointed out in his report, the peaceful nature of the Soviet state is determined by the nature of the socialist system. The aims of Soviet foreign policy, as formulated by the 23rd Party Congress, are to create, together with the other socialist countries, international conditions favourable for the construction of socialism and communism; to strengthen unity of the socialist countries, to promote friendship and solidarity among them; to support the national liberation movement and develop all-round cooperation with the emergent states; consistently to champion the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to give resolute rebuffs to aggressive imperialist forces, and to work for the prevention of another world war.

The entire activity of the CPSU Central Committee in international affairs has been directed towards attaining these goals.

Questions pertaining to further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, the speaker went on to say, have always been given serious attention by the CPSU Central Committee.

The world socialist system, which emerged a quarter of a century ago, has become the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Successes in the building of socialism largely depend on the correct combining of the general and the nationally specific features of social development.

During the past five years the economic potential of the socialist states has grown considerably, the political foundations of socialism have been consolidated, the people's standard of living has improved and culture and science have made great headway.

Past experience has enabled us to develop a more comprehensive and realistic approach to finding ways of overcoming objective and subjective difficulties arising in the process of building the new society and establishing new, socialist-type relations between states. At the same time, certain complications still occurred in the socialist world, and this was reflected in the development of relations between some states and the Soviet Union. But this has not changed the prevailing tendency—that of strengthening friendship and cohesion of the socialist states.

The fraternal Parties and states have achieved major successes *in coordinating their foreign policy activity*, with the Warsaw Treaty Organization serving as the coordinating centre.

Equally important are *cooperation in the economic sphere* and the expansion and perfection of the socialist countries' economic ties. Over the past five years the Soviet Union rendered the fraternal countries technical assistance in building or reconstructing more than 300 industrial and agricultural projects.

Soviet supplies cover 70 or more per cent of the requirements of the CMEA countries, Cuba, the DRV and the KPDR for some of the most essential types of raw materials and fuel. On the other hand,

during the past five-year period the Soviet Union received equipment for 54 chemical plants from the CMEA countries and increased its sea-going tonnage by 38 per cent with the latter's help. The Soviet Union also imports large quantities of consumer goods from the fraternal countries.

These economic relations are built on a long-term basis, Leonid Brezhnev noted. The fraternal countries have coordinated their national economic plans for 1971-75. They are building the second section of the "Druzhba" pipeline which will make it possible to pump some 50 million tons of Soviet oil to the fraternal countries. In 1964, the fraternal countries received 8.3 million tons of Soviet oil. A unique gas pipeline is being laid to deliver Siberian gas to Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria and Hungary. The integrated "Mir" power grid means considerable savings in electric power for the CMEA countries. The International Bank for Economic Cooperation has been operating successfully, and a common investment bank of the CMEA countries has been set up.

All these measures ensure high rates of economic development for each fraternal country. In the past five-year period (1966-70) the industrial output of the CMEA countries increased by 49 per cent. However, the potentialities inherent in socialist labour division have not been fully utilized. The CMEA countries have agreed that it is necessary to work towards socialist economic integration on the basis of the latest achievements in science and technology.

The USSR's bilateral relations with the other socialist states have been strengthened. Close cooperation and friendship characterize our relations with Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Concerning the question of socialist solidarity, Comrade Brezhnev pointed out that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, both in its armed struggle and peaceful endeavour can, as in the past, rely on Soviet support. As a result of efforts on both sides, great successes have been achieved in the development of Soviet-Cuban relations. The Soviet Union, continued Comrade Brezhnev, is a true friend and ally of socialist Mongolia, and it has extended its ties with the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Soviet-Yugoslav relations continue to develop. The Soviet people hope that socialism will become stronger in Yugoslavia, that Yugoslavia will strengthen its ties with the socialist community.

In the past eighteen months there were some signs of normalization of relations between the USSR and the CPR as the result of the initiative displayed by the Soviet side. But the anti-Soviet line in propaganda and policy, which was endorsed by the 9th CPC Congress, is being continued. While condemning this line pursued by the Peking leadership, Comrade Brezhnev said that improvement in the USSR-CPR relations would accord with the basic, long-term interests of both countries, with the interests of socialism, of the struggle for freedom for all nations and the consolidation of peace. Therefore we are ready to work not only for an improvement of relations but for the restoration of good

neighbourly relations and friendship between the USSR and the CPR. Comrade Brezhnev expressed confidence that this will eventually be achieved.

Dealing with the recent political crisis in Czechoslovakia the speaker pointed out that imperialism and its henchmen had something more in mind than the overthrow of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia under the cover of "improving socialism." They aimed at weakening the entire positions of socialism in Europe and paving the way for further attacks against the socialist world. Experience proved that fraternal unity of the socialist countries is the most effective barrier against the forces attempting to attack and weaken the socialist camp, to rob the working people of their socialist gains.

Comrade Brezhnev noted that imperialism is trying to adapt itself to today's world situation. This, however, will not lead to stabilization of capitalism as a system. *The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen*, said Comrade Brezhnev. Even the most advanced capitalist states are not free from economic upheavals. The monetary and financial system of capitalism is undergoing a crisis. Inflation and unemployment continue to grow.

Imperialism's foreign policy over the past five-year period provided fresh evidence of its reactionary and aggressive nature. Militarism has acquired an unprecedented scope in the imperialist countries, particularly the United States. During the past five years US military spending totalled some 400,000 million dollars.

At the same time imperialism is faced with mounting attacks by the revolutionary forces led, as before, by their battle-trying vanguard, the international working-class movement. Forces that have emerged in the course of the national liberation struggle, primarily newly-independent, anti-imperialist states in Asia and Africa, are also increasing their offensive. The most important thing, the speaker said, is that *struggle for national liberation in many countries has begun to turn into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist.*

Today, Leonid Brezhnev continued, there are already quite a few countries which have taken the non-capitalist path of development, the path of eventually building a socialist society. The offensive of the forces of national and social liberation takes various forms. The property of the imperialist monopolies is being nationalized. In the UAR, for example, the state sector is responsible for 85 per cent of the country's industrial output; in Burma the state sector controls over 80 per cent of the extractive and about 60 per cent of the manufacturing industry. Measures to nationalize imperialist property have been carried out in Algeria, Guinea, the Sudan, Somalia and Tanzania.

Important agrarian transformations have been carried out in the UAR, Syria, the Sudan, Somalia, Algeria, the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville).

Progressive social changes are not of the same scope in all former colonies and dependent countries. However, the struggle against the forces of reaction is underway everywhere. Leonid Brezhnev noted

the recent nationalization of the big banks and the impressive victory over the Right-wing forces at the latest election to the House of the People in India. This shows that the people of that country resolutely oppose the reactionary pro-imperialist forces.

Important social changes have taken place in Ceylon and Nigeria.

Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that the USSR fully supports the just struggle waged by the patriots of the countries which are still under the colonial yoke.

The political and economic cooperation of the USSR with the liberated countries has been further developed in recent years. Soviet trade with them is growing. Dozens of industrial and agricultural enterprises have been constructed in many countries of Asia and Africa with Soviet participation. The USSR also contributes to the training of personnel for these countries. These activities are carried out in the mutual interests of the countries concerned.

Great changes are taking place in a number of Latin American countries. The speaker emphasized that the victory of the Popular Unity forces in Chile was a most important event, which infuriated the internal reaction and Yankee imperialism. But the people of Chile are fully determined to follow the way they have chosen. The working people of other Latin American countries come out in support of the progressive course taken by Chile. The governments of Peru and Bolivia are fighting against enslavement by the US monopolies. Lenin's prediction that the peoples of colonies and dependent countries, starting with the struggle for national liberation, would ultimately fight against the very foundations of the exploitative system is coming true. This constitutes the heaviest blow at the positions of capitalism as a whole, as a world social system.

Success in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and, above all, of their vanguard—the *world communist movement*. In this connection Leonid Brezhnev spoke of the great importance of a number of international meetings of representatives of Communist Parties and particularly the Moscow Meeting in 1969.

With regard to the situation in South-East Asia the speaker emphasized that the so-called Vietnamization of the war—the plan to have Vietnamese kill Vietnamese in Washington's interests, and the extension of aggression to Cambodia and Laos will not get the United States out of the mire of its dirty war in Indochina. The only way of solving the Vietnamese problem is clearly indicated in the proposals of the DRV Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, proposals which have the firm support of the Soviet Union.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries, Leonid Brezhnev continued, the Soviet Union has taken all the necessary steps to halt and condemn the Israeli aggression. Israel's rejection of important peace moves recently made by the United Arab Republic, Israel's open claims to Arab lands clearly show who is frustrating a peaceful settlement in

the Middle East. At the same time the unseemly role of American imperialism, and of international Zionism as an instrument of the aggressive imperialist circles, is becoming even more evident.

The Soviet Union will continue to give firm support to its Arab friends. It is prepared to join other powers who are permanent members of the Security Council in providing international guarantees for a political settlement in the Middle East.

Speaking about the situation in Europe, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that the improved Soviet-French relations have had an important positive impact on the entire course of European affairs. New prospects are opening up as a result of a considerable change in relations with the FRG. The treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG have confirmed in no uncertain terms the inviolability of borders including those between the GDR and the FRG, and the western borders of the Polish state.

The convening of an all-European conference could contribute to the improvement of the situation in Europe as a whole. The preparation for this conference is being carried into the sphere of practical politics.

The struggle to stop the arms race in the field of both nuclear and conventional weapons, the struggle for disarmament, including general and complete disarmament, will continue to be one of the most important aspects of the foreign policy activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

Leonid Brezhnev observed that an improvement in Soviet-American relations would correspond to the interests of the two nations, to the interests of a lasting peace. However, he said, the Soviet Union cannot pass over the US aggressive actions in various parts of the world. The principled Soviet policy with regard to the capitalist countries, including the USA, is to practice consistently and fully the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous contacts, to cooperate with those states that are prepared to do so in strengthening peace, and to render relations with them as stable as possible.

The Soviet Union has to consider whether it is dealing with a real desire to settle problems through negotiations or with new attempts to conduct a policy from "positions of strength."

"Whenever the imperialists need to cover up their aggressive schemes," said the speaker, "they try to revive the 'Soviet menace' myth. They look for evidence of this threat in the depths of the Indian Ocean and on the peaks of the Cordilleras. And, of course, nothing but Soviet divisions prepared for a leap against the West are to be discovered on the plains of Europe, if these are viewed through NATO field-glasses.

"But the peoples will not be deceived by the attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union intentions which are alien to it. We declare in all responsibility: we have no territorial claims on anyone, we threaten no one, and have no intention of attacking anyone. We stand for the free and independent development of all nations. But let no one, for his part, try to talk to us in terms of ultimatums and strength.

“We have everything necessary—a genuine peace policy, military might and the unity of Soviet people—to ensure the inviolability of our borders against any encroachments, and to defend the gains of socialism.”

The CPSU regarded the following as the major concrete tasks in the struggle for peace in the present situation:

First. To eliminate the hotbeds of war in South-East Asia and in the Middle East and to facilitate a political settlement in these areas. In order to give an immediate rebuff to any acts of aggression and to any international arbitrary action, the possibilities of the United Nations should also be fully used. Repudiation of the threat or use of force must become a law of international life.

Second. Proceeding from the final recognition of the territorial changes in Europe as a result of the Second World War, to bring about a radical turn towards a détente and peace on this continent. To ensure the holding and success of an all-European conference. To spare no effort to ensure collective security in Europe. The CPSU confirms its readiness to have the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance annulled simultaneously, or as a first step, to have their military organizations liquidated.

Third. To conclude agreements banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons; to work to stop nuclear tests and promote the setting up of nuclear-free zones. The Soviet Union advocates nuclear disarmament of all states possessing nuclear weapons. It supports the idea of convening a conference of the five nuclear powers.

Fourth. To step up the struggle to stop the arms race. To convene a world conference to examine disarmament in all its aspects. The Soviet Union advocates dismantling foreign military bases, reducing the size of the armed forces and the amount of armaments in regions where confrontation is particularly dangerous, above all, in Central Europe. The Soviet Union is ready to reach agreement on a cut in military spending, to be effected, by the great powers first and foremost.

Fifth. The UN resolutions on the elimination of the remaining colonial regimes must be fulfilled. Racialism and apartheid must be condemned and boycotted without exception.

Sixth. The Soviet Union is willing to develop cooperation in every sphere with other states that wish to do so.

Major Questions of the Party's Economic Policy at the Present Stage

For the CPSU and the Soviet state economics is the main policy just as Lenin predicted, the key factor in Soviet society's steady advance to communism, in the strengthening of the Soviet Union's position on the international scene.

In the economic sphere, Leonid Brezhnev said, the main result of the five-year period (1966-70) was that the scale of the national economy has increased considerably, that its development has been accelerated and the qualitative indicators improved. The five-year period has yielded much more impressive results than the preceding period (1961-65). The country's national income, which went into consumption and accumulation, has increased by an annual average of 7.1 per cent as compared with the 5.7 per cent of the 1961-65 period. Labour productivity, the most important indicator of production efficiency, has gone up 37 per cent against 29 per cent for the preceding five years.

While noting these successes, the Communist Party, said Leonid Brezhnev, is perfectly aware of the shortcomings and unresolved problems, of the fact that the assignments for some items have not been fully met and that in some industries the rate of building up capacities is inadequate. Many ministries have failed to fulfil their plans for the introduction of new machinery and to reach the figure planned for higher labour productivity. The rates of payment and basic salaries of some categories of employees have not been increased as the plan envisaged. The production of some foodstuffs has fallen short of the demand.

To some extent these difficulties were caused by objective internal and external factors. Nevertheless, the speaker called upon the delegates to examine carefully the shortcomings caused by slips in work, defects in planning and production, in the introduction of new technology and utilization of reserves.

In discussing questions of the Party's economic policy, Leonid Brezhnev noted a number of features that distinguish the present stage in the development of the national economy. The most significant of them is its unprecedented scale. The speaker emphasized that a tremendous economic potential has been built up, based on diversified industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, progressive science, skilled personnel, specialists and economic managers. The economy produces daily nearly 2,000 million roubles' worth of the social product, that is, ten times the amount turned out at the end of the 1930s. We set ourselves and accomplish tasks that we could only dream of before.

The high level of economic development makes even more serious demands on planning and management. It also enhances the interdependence of all the links of the economy and the importance of long-term planning, of working out a system of intersectoral contacts and of improving the materials supply system.

Significant features of the present-day economic development of the Soviet Union stem from the rapidly developing scientific and technological revolution. A number of specific features stem from major changes in the international situation. One major change is the process of economic integration of the socialist countries. The economic and scientific-technological competition of the two world systems—an aspect of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism—is another factor the role of which has grown immensely.

Leonid Brezhnev touched on the tasks of the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75). The new five-year period, he said, is to signify an important stage in Soviet society's further advance to communism, in the construction of its material and technical basis and in consolidating the country's economic and defence potential. *The main task of the five-year plan is to secure a considerable rise in the living standards and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, its greater efficiency, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labour productivity.*

In the coming five years the national income is to be increased 37—40 per cent, with the consumption fund going up 40 and the accumulation fund 37 per cent. Industrial output will rise 42-46 and the average annual agricultural output 20-22 per cent, while real per capita incomes will go up by nearly one-third.

The speaker outlined the specific proposals concerning the people's wellbeing, submitted by the CPSU CC for the delegates' consideration.

It is envisaged to increase *the working people's cash incomes*. Three-quarters of the increase in the population's real incomes will be due to the planned rise in labour remuneration.

During the five-year period the minimum wage of factory and office employees will be raised to 70 roubles. The basic salaries and wages of the middle-bracket category of employees will be increased in a number of economic sectors. There will be higher rates of payment for farm machinery operators. Higher salaries will be provided for teachers, doctors and medical personnel, and for workers in other fields. Territorial wage differentials will be introduced or increased in a number of regions.

As a result, within the five-year period the monthly pay of factory and office employees will rise to 146-149 roubles, and of collective farmers, to 98 roubles.

More tax privileges will be introduced.

The increase in cash incomes will be accompanied by a considerable growth of *the social consumption funds* which, increasing by 40 per cent, will come to 90,000 million roubles. These funds will be used for the further improvement of medical services, the standards of education and upbringing of the rising generation, for improving the living conditions of large and needy families, of women working in industry, pensioners and students. Other important social measures will also be carried out at the expense of these funds.

Housing construction will continue on an even larger scale, alongside the general urban and rural improvement work. Housing space totalling 565-575 million square metres will be built during the next five-year period, improving the living conditions of approximately 60 million people.

Continuing, Leonid Brezhnev said that resources constituted the second basic issue in the economic policy of the CPSU. The main thing we should count on is higher production efficiency.

Primary importance will be attached to the acceleration of scientific

and technological progress. We have set ourselves, the speaker said, a task of historic importance: *to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, to develop on a broader scale such forms of fusing science with production that can only exist under socialism.

The speaker went on to outline measures aimed at raising production efficiency.

The third cardinal issue is the improvement of the management of the economy. The growing scope and qualitative changes of the Soviet economy make new, higher demands on management. This is a consequence of the rising level of knowledge and professional training of personnel, as well as the rapid development of managerial science and computer techniques.

Planning is the pivotal point, the core of management of the national economy under socialism, Leonid Brezhnev remarked. In that sphere the Soviet Union has important achievements to its credit. However, it is necessary to keep on working hard at perfecting both the theory and practice of economic planning, at further raising its scientific level.

In improving the management of the national economy the CPSU has consistently steered the course of correctly combining directives by central bodies with the use of economic methods of stimulating production which are: profit-and-loss accounting, prices, profits, credits, material incentives, etc. Their purpose also is to provide competent appraisal of the work of enterprises and their personnel. Practice has shown that in introducing the economic reform the Party has adopted the right course aimed at improving the management of the national economy.

Broader participation of the working people in production management is a major task, the speaker stressed. It is necessary that every politically conscious worker, as Lenin said, should feel himself a master at his own factory and a representative of his country. The economic policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and state is worked out by representatives of the working people in elective bodies, with the broad participation of the masses in discussing plans and decisions. The working people are also active in checking on the fulfilment of these decisions. The Party will continue promoting all these forms of socialist democracy.

The Socio-Political Development of Soviet Society, and Tasks Before the CPSU

We believe, Leonid Brezhnev said, that the policy of the Party is fruitful only when it takes precise account of both the interests of the entire nation and the interests of the classes and social groups comprising it, and directs them into a common channel.

The working class has been, and remains, the principal productive force of Soviet society. Its revolutionary spirit, collectivism, and ability

to discipline and organize itself decide its leading place in the system of social relations under socialism. The speaker quoted figures showing the rise of the educational and general cultural level of the Soviet working class. There were 386 persons with a higher or secondary education per thousand workers in 1959; today the figure is 550.

The union of the workers and *the farmers* is the political basis of Soviet society. This union has been further consolidated by the policy of the Party and its activity aimed at developing both industry and agriculture.

The growth of productive forces in agriculture, the gradual transformation of farm labour into a variety of industrial labour, the rise in the cultural level, and the farmer's new way of life are changing his social outlook and psychology. He has more traits in common with the worker. The number of collective farmers who work directly with machines and mechanisms is growing, and the farmers' educational level is rising. In 1940 only six per cent of the farmers had secondary or higher education; at the end of 1970 over one half of the rural population were graduates of secondary and higher schools.

An important social process in Soviet society, Leonid Brezhnev said, is the continued drawing together of the workers, farmers and intellectuals. And this process is becoming more and more apparent.

The Soviet *intelligentsia* considers it its mission to devote its creative energy to the cause of the people—the cause of Communism. The intelligentsia, especially its scientific and engineering section, draws its strength, to a considerable degree, from among the workers and farmers. The speaker gave an example. At the Pervouralsk Pipe Works 42 per cent of the engineers and technicians come from working-class families, 32 per cent are of peasant stock, and 26 per cent—from the families of office employees. The percentages are approximately the same at other industrial enterprises.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism is the implementation of the Party's *Leninist national policy*, a policy that promotes the principles of equality and friendship among peoples. Many of the Union republics have recently marked their fiftieth anniversaries. Next year the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be celebrated. With its political significance and socio-economic impact the forming of the USSR is an important historical landmark.

During the years of socialist construction *a new historical community of people, the Soviet people*, has been formed, Leonid Brezhnev stressed. New, harmonious relations of friendship and cooperation have developed between the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities. These relations have been formed in collective labour, in the effort to bring about socialism, and in the battles fought in defence of socialism. One of the constant concerns of the Party is that the Soviet Union's socialist democracy should steadily develop, and that every person should feel that he is a citizen in the full sense of the word, a citizen promoting the cause of the entire nation and shouldering his share of responsibility.

The moulding of the new man is one of the Party's main tasks in communist construction. During the period under review the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev said, has made every effort to create an atmosphere in Soviet society conducive to the consolidation, in all walks of life, at work and at home, of a respectful and considerate attitude to man, an atmosphere of honesty, of exactingness to oneself and others, of trust combined with strict responsibility, of a spirit of true comradeship. In a word, the Communist Party is striving to bring about better living and working conditions for everyone.

Development of the Party, and Some Questions of Inner-Party Life

The entire life of the Soviet people shows that the CPSU is carrying out with honour its role of political leader of the working class and all working people, guiding the Soviet people along the right path indicated by Lenin, Leonid Brezhnev said.

The period under review has seen further growth of the Party ranks and qualitative improvement in the composition of its membership. At present the CPSU membership is 14,455,321, or nine per cent of the country's adult population. The membership composition is as follows: workers, 40.1 per cent; farmers, 15.1 per cent; and office employees, 44.8 per cent. It should be noted that over two-thirds of these office employees are engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientists, and workers in the field of literature and art.

Three million people have joined the CPSU since the 23rd Congress. Of these, almost 1.6 million are workers. The speaker noted that the requirements for CPSU membership have been raised. The Party has begun to rid itself more resolutely of those who violate Party and state discipline, or abuse their official powers, or whose behaviour casts a slur on the name of Communist.

All these years the CPSU and its Central Committee have undeviatingly followed the line of further *developing inner-Party democracy, observing the Leninist norms of Party life, and stepping up the activity of Communists*. The Party has consistently implemented the principle of electivity and accountability of its leading bodies. The spirit of collective effort and collective leadership has taken firm root. Questions relating to Party work are discussed and decided on a thoroughly democratic basis.

In conclusion Leonid Brezhnev discussed at length measures to consolidate Party organizations, selection and training of the Party cadre, the Party's activity, and questions of the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists.

IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES

■ *continued from p. 8*

March 31. Gennady Sizov, Chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, delivered a report on the second item on the agenda.

He noted that Party organizations regularly met in the interim between Congresses to discuss crucial problems of communist construction. Decisions were made collectively and the experience of the people was taken into account.

The debate on the reports of Leonid Brezhnev and Gennady Sizov was opened by Victor Grishin, First Secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee. He spoke of the advances made by the Soviet people in the past five-year period as evidence of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU Central Committee, said the speaker, has been firmly pursuing the Leninist general line and has been equal to the tasks confronting the Soviet people. On behalf of the Moscow delegation representing over 900,000 Party members Victor Grishin moved that the political line and activities of the CPSU Central Committee be approved by the Congress.

Grishin then dwelt on the trends typical of the capital's economic development. Special attention has been paid to all-round mechanization and automation of the existing plants and factories. In the past five years Muscovites have received 26 million square metres of living space.

Pyotr Shelest, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist organization, cited data showing the Republic's economic progress. Industrial output has shown a 50 per cent increase in the past five years; 250 large enterprises have been put into operation. Speaking of creating a countrywide automated system to control the national economy (an idea given much prominence in the Central Committee report) Shelest suggested that such a system be first built and tested in the Ukraine since the Republic had attained a sufficiently high techno-scientific level for that. Shelest told the Congress that the Party Congress of the Ukraine had criticized the shortcomings that had led to a slackening of growth rates in the Republic's agriculture. One of the causes was that the farmers' demand for the latest machinery had not been met in full, the speaker said.

Dinmuhamed Kunaev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, dwelt at length on the Republic's economic achievements. All these achievements, he said, are largely due to the constant mutual assistance of the Soviet nationalities, parti-

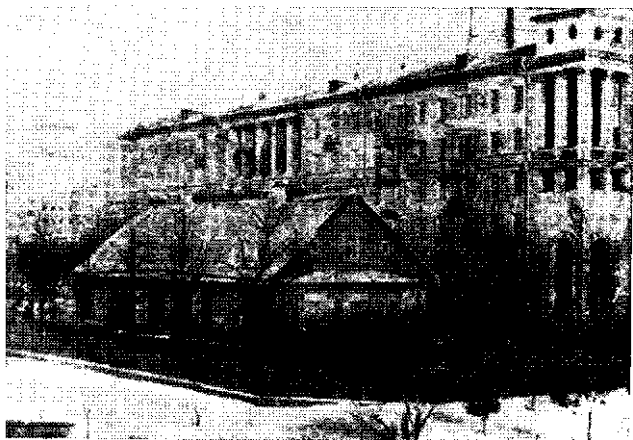
cularly the Russian people. Kunaev criticized the work of the Ministry of the Timber Industry which does not satisfy the Republic's demand for timber. He also criticized the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry which builds large enterprises but sometimes neglects to provide sufficient cultural facilities and communal services.

Mikhail Suslov, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, who chaired the session, announced that a group of French comrades had sent flowers—roses and carnations—to the Congress. They had thereby marked the centenary of the Paris Commune and wished Lenin's Party every success in its work in the name of peace and socialism. The flowers were handed to women delegates to the Congress.

Grigory Romanov, leader of the Leningrad Regional Party organization, spoke of the science-production relationships. In his view, organizationally modern industry should be based on powerful amalgamations which would include enterprises, research-and-designing and economic divisions. This pattern has proved its worth in Leningrad where 50 amalgamations have been created. They have already made appreciable advances in raising the efficiency of production and in introducing scientific and technical novelties.

Alevtina Smirnova, a weaver from Privolzhsk, a small town of Yaroslavl Region, told the Congress how the Draft Directives had been discussed at her mill. Hundreds of engineers and workers took part in drawing up a plan for a technical reconstruction of the mill and for the personnel's social development. Smirnova criticized the Ministries which delay the delivery of new machinery to the textile mills. In her opinion, the central planning agencies have not developed effective incentives systems to encourage the workers to operate their machine-tools in a more efficient manner.

The house in Minsk where the First Party Congress was held.



The floor was then given to Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, who greeted the Congress on behalf of his people who are heroically repelling US imperialist aggression.

Pyotr Masherov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, reported that in the past five-year period the Republic's industrial output equalled that of the preceding decade, and that the net profit of collective farms has doubled. The speaker said that priority development of the chemical industry in the current five-year period will enable a rapid increase in the output of consumer goods. State investment in agriculture will double. Over one million hectares of marshland will be reclaimed.

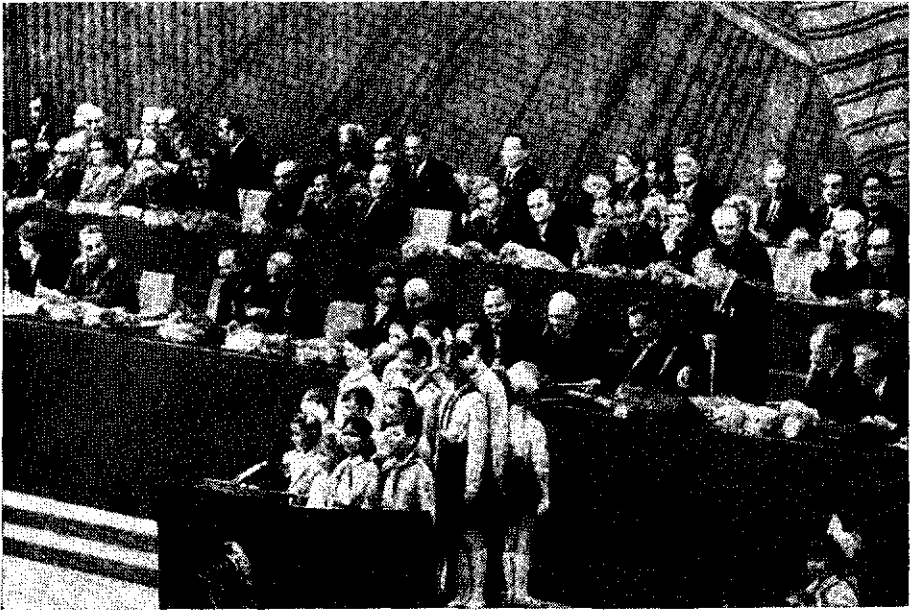
Sharaf Rashidov, leader of the Communists of Uzbekistan, said that the atmosphere of trust and demand for high standards prevailing in the Party ranks does much to ensure efficiency in the work of Party organization. He spoke about the upsurge in cotton production in Uzbekistan, about the construction of irrigation facilities on an unprecedented scale, about the extraction of gas, a new sector in the Republic's economy. Uzbek gas is now conveyed to the neighbouring Republics, to the Urals and to the central regions of the Russian Federation.

Vasily Mzhavanadze, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, quoted Lenin, who in 1921 expressed the hope that a close alliance of the Soviet Republics of the Caucasus would provide a model example of national peace unthinkable under bourgeois rule. To the applause of the delegates, Mzhavanadze said: "Such an alliance has been built and is developing." Grigory Zolotukhin, First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territorial Party Committee, said that the Party had overcome instances of subjectivism and had strengthened the scientific foundations of its policy. He also noted that the Party is plan-

TWENTY-THREE CONGRESSES

**First Congress of RSDLP, March 1898.
Foundation of Social-Democratic Party**

Seventy-three years ago, nine delegates from six social-democratic organizations gathered secretly in a quiet street in Minsk. The aim of the Congress was to form a united Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). Before this time Marxist organizations had been active, above all the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, headed by Lenin. The programme works he wrote on the significance and the tasks of a Marxist party determined, in essence, the ideological direction of the Congress. The Congress proclaimed the formation of the RSDLP and elected a Central Committee consisting of three people.



**Young pioneers greeting the Congress delegates
at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.**

ning a more sweeping programme than ever before for promoting living standards.

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Georges Marchais, Deputy General

The Manifesto issued on behalf of the Congress said: "The Russian proletariat will throw off the yoke of the autocracy in order to continue, with still greater energy, the struggle against capitalism. . . until the complete victory of socialism."

**Second Congress of RSDLP, July-August 1903.
Rise of Bolshevism**

After the first Congress, however, the Party in fact did not exist as a single all-Russia organization of the working class. This was not solely due to the fact that the entire Central Committee was immediately arrested by the tsarist authorities, but also, and above all, because the ideological and organizational disunity of the local social-democratic organizations had not been overcome. Within the RSDLP there arose the rather strong trend of the Russian Bernsteinites, the "Economists," who denied the need for political struggle by the proletariat, and therefore the need for a party as the leading force of the working-class move-

Secretary of the French Communist Party, and Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, greeted the Congress.

April 1. Vladimir Dolgikh, First Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Party Committee, told the Congress how once empty expanses of Siberia had been transformed into giant construction sites. Then Yevgeny Proskurin, a steel-maker from Zaporozhie, said that the personnel of his plant had achieved a considerable increase in steel output without enlarging the shops, through a more efficient operation of the existing facilities, better labour organization, improvement in manufacturing processes and modernization of plant.

Yakov Ryabov, First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Party Committee, spoke at length of the successes scored by the steel-makers, machine-builders, and construction workers of the Urals. He also stressed the need for better coordination in the work of individual production sectors and the country's economic regions.

Mstislav Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, after expressing, on behalf of Soviet scientists, complete support for the Party's domestic and foreign policy, concentrated on the breathtaking prospects of the country's scientific development. Among the most promising trends in the development of science and technology which will yield benefits in the immediate future he mentioned the application of electronics on a wide scale in designing and in controlling manufacturing processes, the building of atomic power stations using fast-neutron reactors, the generation of electricity by direct conversion of thermal energy, synthesis of new compounds, utilization of the hitherto unused elements of the periodic table, the study of the effects of low and high temperatures, vacuum, high pressures, electromagnetic fields and various radiations. M. Keldysh spoke about the extensive ap-



"The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" by Y. A. Vinogradov. The speaker is Lenin.

V. M. Fyodorov, Party member since 1917 and a former member of a submarine crew, is one of the Congress delegates.



plication of some new processes such as electrical slag-remelting and casting, production of rolled stock from liquid aluminium and steel, and electron-beam and laser techniques.

Comrade Gustav Husak, leader of the Czechoslovak delegation, and Comrade Janos Kadar, leader of the Hungarian delegation, addressed the Congress at the morning session.

At the evening session, Ivan Kazanets, USSR Minister of the Iron and Steel Industry, spoke of the achievements of Soviet steel-makers and the plans for the future. He said that the design of a 5,000-cubic-metre blast furnace was nearing completion, and new shops with 300-350 ton converters would be built. Complete automation of all pro-

ment. To overcome this there had to be three years' work (from 1900 to 1903) by the illegal all-Russia political newspaper *Iskra*, founded by Lenin, which played a decisive role in the ideological defeat of "Economism" and the convocation of the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

At this Congress 26 social-democratic organizations were represented. Its guiding spirit was Lenin. The Congress assembled in Brussels, and continued its work in London. Throughout the proceedings there was a fierce struggle between the consistent revolutionaries, and the opportunists over a number of programme, tactical and organizational questions. The Congress adopted a Programme which set the Party the immediate aim of securing a democratic republic (minimum programme), and the ultimate aim of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat for the socialist reorganization of society (maximum programme). Rules were also adopted which defined the Party's organizational forms.

The principal result of the Congress was the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party. In the elections to leading bodies, the Congress



Georgy Beregovoi, Soviet cosmonaut and a Congress delegate, talking to Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA.

cesses will improve the working conditions of steel workers.

Fyodor Goryachev, Secretary of the Novosibirsk Regional Party Committee, devoted his speech to workers' participation in factory management. Forty-eight thousand people took part in the work of the two thousand factory and shop production conferences in the region, he said.

The sitting wound up with speeches of greeting by heads of delegations of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Romania and Cuba—Todor Zhivkov, Nicolae Ceausescu and Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado.

April 2. The Congress heard and approved the report of Ivan Ka-

split up into the supporters of Lenin (the majority—bolshinstvo) and those of Martov (minority—menshinstvo), in other words, into the revolutionary and the opportunist groups, which have gone down in history as the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks conducted a determined fight against the Mensheviks' opportunism on organizational questions and for the rallying of the Party on the basis of the Congress decisions. This was the origin of Bolshevism as a trend of political thought and as a political party.

Third Congress of RSDLP, April 1905.

Line: armed uprising

This was at a time when the first bourgeois democratic revolution was developing in Russia. The shooting by the tsarist authorities of a peaceful workers' demonstration in St. Petersburg (on January 9, 1905) reverberated throughout the country. There were mass strikes on an unprecedented scale by the working class, and the peasants rose to

A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Party, on a visit to the First Ball-Bearing Factory.



pitonov, Chairman of the Credentials Commission. The credentials of all the delegates were accepted.

Antanas Sneckus, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, mentioned that his republic now turns out 31 times more industrial production than in bourgeois times. The speaker noted the important role of the current economic reform in raising labour productivity and stepping up production. He noted the universal approval of the plans of economic development. No other country can boast as clear and practicable a programme for raising the living standards of the working people as can the Soviet Union.

active struggle. The Party had the task of defining its line of political conduct in the revolution. This was all the more necessary because the Mensheviks, who were still formally within the Party, followed a policy of conciliation with the liberal bourgeoisie. They were pushing the working class into subjection to the liberals, who were attempting to avert revolution with the aid of a few reforms (the creation of a constitutional monarchy).

All organizations of the RSDLP—Bolshevik and Menshevik—were invited to the Congress, which was held in London with 38 delegates taking part. The Mensheviks, however, refused to participate in the proceedings, and gathered in Geneva for a special conference of their own. The Congress decisions were based on the fact that in view of the current situation in Russia the task of preparing and carrying through an armed uprising of the entire people was of prime importance, the only means by which the autocracy could be overthrown and the minimum programme carried out. A resolution written by Lenin said that the Party organizations must conduct propaganda for the uprising



The people of Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, welcoming a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party headed by its First Secretary, Janos Kadar.

The next speaker was Marshal Andrei Grechko, USSR Minister of Defence. "The Soviet Army has amply demonstrated its historic mission as defender of all that is advanced and progressive against the forces of reaction and aggression," said the Marshal. "Today this worthy mission of the Soviet Armed Forces, that mighty factor of preserving peace and security in the world, is particularly necessary and real.

"We covet no territory. The Soviet people builds up its army not for aggression but for the defence of the Soviet state and other countries of the socialist community. Our Armed Forces are always ready to punish the aggressor in any territory whence he would dare to violate the frontiers of our Motherland."

and make practical preparations for it.

The Congress decisions oriented the Party to the hegemony (leading role) of the proletariat in the revolution and on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, in order to nullify the conciliatory policy of the liberal bourgeoisie and secure the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

**Fourth Congress of RSDLP, April 1906.
Principal question: the Party's agrarian programme**

The Fourth Congress was held in Stockholm, at a time when revolution in Russia was on the descent. It has gone down in history as the Unity Congress. There were 62 organizations represented at it. Bolshevik delegates totalled 46, Mensheviks 62. This governed the character of the resolutions adopted—they were not of a sufficiently consistent revolutionary nature.

Then spoke Alexander Georgiyev, First Secretary of the Altai Territorial Party Committee. On behalf of its 148,000 Communists, the delegation of the Altai Territory enthusiastically approved the policy and practical activity of the Communist Party Central Committee. A passionate speech of greeting was made by Yumzhaigiin Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

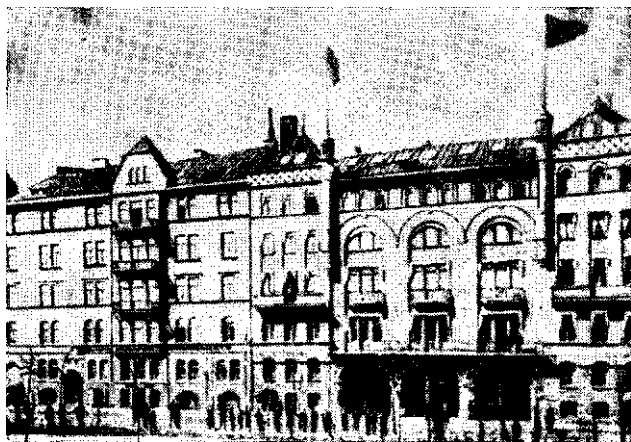
The delegates greeted with tumultuous applause Nguyen Van Hieu, Member of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, who addressed the Congress on behalf of the people of South Vietnam who are waging a heroic fight against the US aggressors and their puppets.

The delegates and guests warmly received the speeches of Mijalko Todorovic, Member of the Presidium Executive Bureau of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Kim Il, Member of the Central Committee Political Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea.

At the close of the sitting, speeches of greeting were made by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and Rajeshwara Rao, General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India. The audience greeted the envoys of fraternal parties with stormy applause.

April 3. More facts and figures were cited as new proof of the achievements of the Soviet Union in work, in raising living standards, and in social and cultural fields. Among the speakers were Alexander Kovalenko from Orenburg Region, Dzhabar Rasulov from Tajikistan and Turdakun Usabaliev from Kirghizia. Vladimir Konotop of Moscow

People's House in Stockholm where the Fourth RSDLP Congress was held.



Region dwelt on the growing activity of the Communists and the strengthening of their links with the people. All the necessary conditions have been created within the Party and throughout the country for creative, confident and fruitful work, on the basis of trust and respect, he said.

The speech of the writer Mikhail Sholokhov was repeatedly interrupted by applause. He spoke of the worthy new replacements in the ranks of Soviet writers. The older writers are glad to know that their new colleagues are gifted, questing and original artists, he said.

Fitter Alexander Viktorov of Moscow spoke of the great interest of the workers of his plant in the Draft Directives for the new five-year plan, particularly the sections dealing with education and cultural advancement.

Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, delivered to the Congress warm greetings from Finnish Communists and friends of the Communist Party. He was followed by Abdel Mohsen Abal Nour, representative of the Arab Socialist Union of the United Arab Republic, who expressed gratitude for the Soviet Union's noble stand with regard to the Arab peoples.

"The peoples of the world know from their experience that they can rely on our policy, on our determination to defend the cause of peace," said Andrei Gromyko, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs. "Good relations are developing between the USSR and most of its neighbours, in fact, between the USSR and most countries of the world," he stressed. "Today no significant issue can be resolved without the Soviet Union or contrary to its will. Should anyone try to prove that such matters could nowadays be settled without the Soviet Union he would be regarded as a freak. The proposals of the Soviet Union on questions such as strengthening the peace and European security, putting an end

The Congress concentrated mainly on the agrarian question. This was an urgent problem owing to the demands of the peasants who were fighting for the abolition of the estates of the big landowners and the satisfaction of their need for land. The people could be victorious over tsarism only if there were an alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which constituted nearly 80 per cent of the country's population. In his report to the Congress Lenin outlined an agrarian programme aimed at a decisive revolutionary break up of the whole of the old landowning system by means of the radical democratization of the socio-political order and the nationalization of all land. Lenin's programme was based on the prospect that the bourgeois revolution would be carried right through and subsequently be developed into a socialist revolution.

Leonid Brezhnev,
General Secretary
of the Central
Committee of the
Communist Party
of the Soviet
Union, among the
Congress delegates.



to the arms race, the anti-colonialist struggle and many other matters are the centre of political discussion, and they are a help in finding correct decisions. . . The Soviet Union and its allies propose that all international issues be resolved in a peaceful manner, through negotiations. This is the only realistic method of conducting affairs.”

Antonina Gorskaya, a teacher from the Komi Autonomous Republic in the far north of Russia, spoke of the accomplishments of her Republic since the revolution in industry, science, culture, literature and art, and of the concern and solicitude accorded to school teachers.

**Fifth (London) Congress of RSDLP, May 1907.
Attitude to bourgeois parties**

This was the last Congress at which Bolsheviks assembled with Mensheviks. After that their ways parted, for the Mensheviks slid finally onto the path of reformism. A total of 150,000 Party members in 145 organizations were represented at the Congress. There were 89 Bolsheviks and 88 Mensheviks present. The keynote of the Congress was severe criticism of the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks. The central question was the Party's attitude to bourgeois parties. In essence this was a question of who could and must exercise hegemony in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The events of 1905-07 had confirmed the Bolsheviks' assessment of the driving forces of the revolution. The proletariat had come forward as the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, while the liberal bourgeoisie, on whose hegemony the Mensheviks had oriented themselves, took up counter-revolutionary positions

▲ *continued on p. 44.*

"Higher education alone is no longer enough for a teacher. To ensure systematic improvement of teachers' qualifications the network of refresher institutes must be extended and staffed with competent instructors. . . I am happy to know that the work of teachers is so highly valued by the Party and the people," she said.

The Congress was then greeted by a delegation from the Soviet Armed Forces.

The delegates and guests warmly received Rodolfo Ghioldi, Member of the Central Committee Executive of the Communist Party of Argentina, who hailed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in his speech of greeting.

April 5. The discussion of the CC CPSU report was continued in a business-like atmosphere. All delegates considered that another major step had been made towards building the material and technical basis of communism, towards strengthening the country's might and raising the living standards.

This was borne out by numerous examples cited by the first secretaries of the Tatar Regional and Primorsky Territorial Party Committees, Fikryat Tabeyev and Victor Lomakin, and Nikolai Ponomarev, District Committee Secretary from Kustanai Region in Kazakhstan. The delegates unanimously approved the policy of the Central Committee to further develop inner-party democracy, and its resolve to create an atmosphere favourable for the encouragement in all spheres of social life, at work and at home, of a considerate and solicitous attitude to man, of integrity, of the setting of high standards for oneself and of a spirit of true comradeship.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Leonid Brezhnev made a brief speech.

The Congress unanimously adopted a Resolution on the Report of the CPSU Central Committee. The policy and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the proposals and conclusions contained in the Report were fully approved.

By that time the number of letters and telegrams received by the Congress had exceeded 250,000. This mail was an expression of active support for the Party's policy, and good wishes for the Congress. The voice of the people merged with the voices of the delegates. Speeches of greeting were made by foreign guests—John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain; Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela; Michael O'Riordan, National Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland; William Kashan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and Claude Ernest Ndalla, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour.

■ *continued on p. 43*



Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

ON THE DIRECTIVES FOR THE NINTH FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE USSR

April 6. The Congress heard a report by Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the Directives for the five-year plan of economic development of the USSR for 1971-75. Long before the Congress, the Draft Directives were published for nation-wide discussion. Whole newspaper pages were given to remarks, proposals and letters received in connection with the Draft Directives. In the last few months the Directives were discussed at meetings and conferences all over the country. The results of these debates were summed up in the report which laid down the main lines of the country's economic development for the next five years.

Results of the Fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan

The basic socio-economic and political tasks of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-70) set by the Party's 23rd Congress have been accomplished, Alexei Kosygin said.

In the country's political life, the five-year period has seen further consolidation of the socialist system, of the ideological and political unity of Soviet society, and of the Soviet people's cohesion with the Communist Party and its Central Committee. The alliance between the working class and the peasants, and the friendship and fraternal cooperation of all the peoples of the Soviet Union have grown still stronger.

In the sphere of economic development, the fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan has raised the national economy to a higher level. The growth rates in scientific and technological progress, of production and labour productivity have increased. Social production has become more efficient, the sectoral structure of the national economy has been improved, and conditions have been created for the further boosting of the country's entire economy.

In the social sphere, the living standards and the cultural level of the population have risen. As in the past, full employment of the country's employable population has been maintained. An important step has been made towards the accomplishment of such basic social tasks as the gradual elimination of the distinctions between town and country, and between manual and mental labour.

All this required vast resources, of which the only source was the national income created by the working people. The national income has increased by 41 per cent in the eighth five-year period as against 32 per cent in the seventh five-year period.

The rates of growth of the accumulation fund and the consumption fund have been brought closer together in the eighth five-year period. Compared to the seventh five-year period, the consumption fund increment has nearly doubled, while the accumulation fund continued to grow. Consequently, in a developed socialist society accelerated national-economic development can go hand in hand with rapidly rising living standards of the people.

In the last five years the total national income has reached 1,166,000 million roubles (840,000 million roubles in 1961-65). Three-quarters of the total has gone into consumption. The growth of the national income and its distribution in the interests of the working people have made possible the accomplishment of the social tasks set by the Directives of the 23rd Congress.

In 1970, the turnover of retail trade stood at 153,600 million roubles, showing a 48.4 per cent increase over the 1965 figure. However, the growth of the output of some goods lagged behind the rising cash incomes of the population.

One of the major tasks of the eighth five-year period was a considerable increase in housing construction. A total of 11,350,000 flats

have been built; international statistics show that in the past five years no other country in the world has built as many homes.

The rise in the living standards of the people has been achieved through the successful development of socialist production, which was largely promoted by the economic reform approved by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

In 1970, the total industrial output was valued at 373,000 million roubles, an increase of 50 per cent in five years. Major qualitative changes have taken place in industry on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements.

The past five years have also seen a major consolidation of the material and technical base of the collective and state farms; marked progress has been made in rural electrification; crop yields and the productivity of livestock farming have been increased, and the output of all farm products has grown. State purchases of these products have risen accordingly.

An extensive programme of capital construction has been fulfilled, the country's basic production assets having grown by nearly 50 per cent. Capital investments in the national economy have reached 352,000 million roubles (in 1969 prices)—nearly as much as was invested in the preceding eight years.

Alexei Kosygin also notes that there were certain shortcomings in matters of capital construction. Construction periods of some enterprises and projects ran beyond the prescribed times, which caused losses and unproductive investments. The volume of uncompleted construction was too large.

Technological progress, improved organization of production and a higher level of workers' qualifications have helped to step up the growth rate of labour productivity. This accounted for 84 per cent of the increment in industrial production in 1970.

The speaker deals in detail with the unsolved problems and difficulties which came to light in the course of the preceding five years. Though the basic targets of the five-year plan have been met, certain assignments have not been fulfilled in industry, agriculture and construction.

Key Targets of the New Five-Year Plan

Alexei Kosygin emphasized that the *main task of the new five-year plan is to ensure a substantial rise in the living standards and the cultural level of the people.*

In the ninth five-year period, the average annual national income is to reach 325,000 million roubles, the total for the five years being planned at 1,625,000 million roubles.

A considerable increase in state allocations for improving the welfare of the people was characteristic of the past five-year period. This feature is also present in the new five-year plan. In the eighth

five-year period the increase was 57,000 million roubles, while the target for the ninth five-year period is 75,000-81,000 million roubles.

The new five-year plan envisages still greater improvement of the people's welfare, their working and living conditions, and further intensification of the country's production and its higher efficiency on the basis of a substantial acceleration of scientific and technological progress.

In the new five-year period, *high growth rates for the whole of the national economy are to be maintained*. The national income is to go up 37-40 per cent, industrial output 42-46 per cent, and the average annual agricultural output 20-22 per cent.

Production of the means of production is to increase by 41-45 per cent, and that of consumer goods by 44-48 per cent.

The Soviet Union, the most powerful socialist country, is a leader in the world-wide scientific and technological revolution. In the ninth five-year period, major advances will be made in realizing the possibilities provided by the scientific and technological revolution.

Alexei Kosygin touched on the key questions relating to the implementation of a single state technological policy, in particular, the development of fundamentally new instruments of labour, materials and production processes, the acceleration of the renewal of obsolescent plant, and the maximum substitution of machines for manual labour. The scale of chemicalization of the national economy is to be considerably extended.

The CPSU has taken the course of intensifying production. This primarily means faster growth of labour productivity.

The planned growth of production and its higher efficiency create a reliable foundation for implementing a *broad social programme* which includes:

- a system of measures to improve the living conditions of all sections of the population;

- a more rational use of manpower resources and further improvement of the working conditions;

- a greater increase in the people's incomes, together with an improvement of the systems of remuneration and economic incentives;

- a substantial increase in the allocations for the upbringing of the rising generation, assistance to families with many children and improvement of conditions for women at work and at home;

- a further raising of the cultural and professional level of the population and the introduction of universal secondary education;

- a substantial evening-up of the living standards of the rural and the urban population.

The aggregate real incomes of the population during the five-year period will increase by 72,000 million roubles as against the 54,000 million roubles in the preceding five years. Per capita real incomes are to rise by nearly 30 per cent.

Programme of Economic Development

A big part of Alexei Kosygin's report was devoted to the development of material production. In 1975, industrial output is to reach 528,000-544,000 million roubles. The corresponding figure for 1965 was 248,000 million. Thus the Soviet Union's total industrial output is to more than double in ten years. Provision is made for the rapid growth of all industries, but heavy industry remains the foundation of the country's economic strength.

Priority growth rates are planned for industries which set the pace of technological progress: power engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industries, mechanical engineering, instrument-making, and the manufacture of automation facilities, computers and equipment for mechanizing labour consuming operations. The total growth of output of these industries in five years is set at 67 per cent.

The output of instruments and automation facilities is to be doubled, and that of computers to increase by 160 per cent.

The output of consumer goods is to grow steeply. There is to be a major expansion of raw material resources for light industry and the food industry, a considerable increase in the output of new synthetic materials and supplies of agricultural raw materials. More equipment is to be supplied to enterprises of the light industry and the food industry, and the manufacture of such equipment is to be doubled.

The output of consumer goods by heavy industry will be nearly doubled.

Agriculture is to yield an average of 16,000-18,000 million roubles' worth more produce annually than in the preceding five years, mainly on the same areas.

The total volume of capital investments in agriculture (including investments by collective farms) is set at close to 129,000 million roubles, or 47,000 million roubles more than in the preceding five years. Moreover, capital investments will be increased in industries which supply agriculture with machinery.

Alexei Kosygin stresses the fact that never before have such immense funds and material resources been allocated for the development of agriculture and of the consumer-goods industries. Total capital investments in 1971-75 will amount to some 500,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent more than in the preceding five years.

The principal tasks for the Ninth Five-Year Plan also determine Soviet capital investment policy for the next five years. State capital investments in agriculture will increase by more than 70 per cent, in the tractor and farm machinery industries by approximately 100 per cent, and in the manufacture of mineral fertilizers and chemicals for plant protection by 60 per cent. Altogether about 30 per cent of all state capital investments in the national economy is to be used for the development of agriculture and the production of foods and consumer goods.

The new five-year period will witness a further advance of industry and agriculture in all the Union Republics. In most Republics industrial output will rise by 40-50 per cent or more.

Improvement of Management and Planning

Alexei Kosygin gave much attention in his report to the questions of improving management and planning of the national economy. The results of the Eighth Five-Year Plan testify to the great positive effect of the economic reform on production. The economic reform was not a single act, he pointed out, but a process of improving economic management, designed to secure the maximum utilization of all the advantages of the socialist mode of production. The new five-year period will see the completion of the changeover of all economic sectors to the new system of planning and incentives.

The speaker then stressed the need for effective employment of economic levers and for an improvement of commodity-money relations. Planning by directive remains the guiding and determining factor. Any erroneous conceptions that substitute market regulation for the guiding role of centralized state planning will be rejected.

In the new five-year period it is planned to put into operation at least 1,600 automated control systems at enterprises and organizations in industry and agriculture, in communications, trade and transport.

The Soviet planned economy, Alexei Kosygin said, makes it possible to build a nation-wide automated system for collecting and processing information for purposes of accounting, planning and economic management on the basis of a state network of computer centres and a single nation-wide automated communications system.

Alexei Kosygin also discussed questions of further development of socialist democracy and broader participation of working people in running production as an important condition for increasing the efficiency of organization and management of the economy.

The Wellbeing of the People— the Party's Supreme Goal

The report outlined a broad programme for raising the living standards of the Soviet people in the new five-year period. The living standards of the people will be improved chiefly as a result of increasing the wages and salaries of factory and office workers and raising the incomes of collective farmers on the basis of growing labour productivity and the qualifications of the working people. This will account for the bulk of the increment of the population's incomes.

The programme for raising the people's living standards includes a number of important new measures. Already in 1971, the minimum monthly wage will be raised to 70 roubles, and the basic wages and salaries of railway employees will be increased. The wage rates for farm machine operators will also be raised. As of July 1, 1971, the minimum pension will be raised for collective farmers, to whom the pension fixing procedures established for factory and office workers will also be applied.

Minimum old-age pensions for factory and office workers will also be increased.

As of September 1, 1972, it is planned to raise the salaries of school teachers and doctors by an average of 20 per cent, and those of teachers in pre-school institutions by a larger amount. Scholarships for college students will be increased by an average of 25 per cent, and those of specialized secondary school students by an average of 50 per cent.

Pensions for labour and war invalids will go up by an average of 33 per cent, while pensions for families which have lost their breadwinner will be increased by 20 per cent.

To finance these and other measures a 120 per cent increase in expenditure is planned as against the previous five years.

The average monthly cash wages and salaries will be increased by 20-22 per cent in the coming five years. Remuneration for collective farmers for work done in the commonly-owned agricultural sector will go up 30-35 per cent. In 1975, payments and benefits out of the social consumption funds will reach 90,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent more than in the preceding five years.

With an increase of 40 per cent in the population's cash incomes, retail sales will go up 42 per cent, and the volume of services 47 per cent. In the new five-year period the market supply of staple foods will be increased by 40-60 per cent.

The sales of manufactured goods will grow substantially, in the case of household goods by 80 per cent.

The stability of state retail prices will be maintained in the new five-year period. As the stocks of commodities grow, prices will be lowered for some types of goods.

The services will be developed as a major mechanized industry, and their volume will at least be doubled.

In 1971-75, it is planned to build new apartment houses with a total of 565-575 million square metres of floor space. Housing construction will be increasingly carried out to new designs providing for improved layout, and better amenities and interior finishing. Much attention will be given to bettering community services and to town improvement.

An extensive range of measures will be implemented to expand the scope of secondary education, improve the health services and further promote physical culture and sports.

Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union

The concluding part of Alexei Kosygin's report dealt with the development of the country's foreign economic contacts.

Concrete steps will be taken in the new five-year period to promote the planned development of close economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and the fraternal member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Deliveries of many types of Soviet capital goods to these countries will be increased considerably, including engineering equipment, chemicals, raw materials and fuel. Larger deliveries of goods to the Soviet Union from other CMEA countries will help meet more fully some of the requirements of the Soviet economy.

The Soviet Union will also give much attention to expanding all-round economic, scientific and technological cooperation and stepping up on this basis its trade with other socialist countries—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba and Yugoslavia.

The speaker noted that the Soviet Union has taken a number of steps towards developing trade relations with China in the coming years on the basis of equality and respect of mutual interests.

The coming five years will see a further expansion of the Soviet Union's economic links with the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Between the USSR and many of these countries, among them India, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, and Algeria, trade and economic cooperation are entering a stage where one can speak of firmly established and mutually beneficial economic ties.

The Soviet Union, the speaker went on to say, is for broader commercial relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries. There is a rising trend in our economic relations with Finland, France, Italy, Japan, the FRG and Austria, he said, toward concluding long-term agreements covering the trade and economic, scientific, technological, and credit and finance aspects. This creates more favourable conditions for trade.

The scope of the Soviet Union's economic relations with the Western countries could be different from what it is at present if constructive steps were taken to resolve the outstanding problems that complicate the international situation. It is well known, for example, that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to convening a European security conference. Such a conference would help strengthen confidence in Europe, open the way to broad economic and scientific-technological cooperation, including cooperation in such an important sphere of human activity as the conservation of the natural environment and, first and foremost, the preservation of purity of the seas washing European shores and the rational utilization of their resources.

It would also make it possible to pool the efforts of scientists of different countries in treating cardiovascular diseases and in fighting cancer. The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate in this field with non-European countries as well, in particular Canada and Japan.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are resolutely for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The USSR does not regard war as inevitable and is therefore for economic competition between the two systems. The Soviet Union is against closed groupings of the Common Market type. It is for broad development of multilateral economic ties without any discrimination. Such is the principled stand of the Soviet Union. The USSR is ready to cooperate with any state, provided it adheres to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

“With our plans, with our policy,” Alexei Kosygin said in conclusion, “we Communists say to the working people of the whole world that the welfare of the working man, the creation of conditions for the full and all-round flowering of the human personality, is our main concern, our chief goal.”

IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES

■ *continued from p. 33*

April 6. Many delegates spoke on Alexei Kosygin's report and commented on some of the figures cited in it. Never before had the programme for improving the welfare of the people been so well-based economically as now, with such great material and financial resources channelled into agriculture and consumer goods production.

The coming five-year period is to be a period of scientific and technological revolution for which the socialist system has great possibilities in store.

This subject was discussed by many delegates. The hall broke into cheers for this bold, well-conceived and scientifically accurate plan of the Party to accomplish the stupendous economic tasks facing the country. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine, Vladimir Shcherbitsky, and the First Secretary of the Saratov Regional Party Committee, Alexei Shibaiev, reviewed the problems raised by the scientific and technological revolution.

The delegates cheered as foreign guests at the Congress mounted the rostrum. They included Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German Communist Party, Jorge Del Prado, leader of the Peruvian Communist Party, Dolores Ibaruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, Mohammed Djaber Badjboudj, Member of the Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria, Lansana Diane, member of the national Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

April 7. The first speaker at the morning sitting was Pyotr Neporozhny, Minister of Power Engineering and Electrification of the USSR. He spoke about new qualitative changes in the development of the Soviet power industry in the past five-year period. A foundation has been laid for building a large-scale atomic power industry, and a united power grid with a total capacity of more than one million kilowatts has been completed in the European part of the Soviet Union, he said. The "Mir" power grid has been built and put into service. It unites the power grids of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Plans for increasing its capacity still further are being discussed. It was also

The Polish United Workers' Party delegation headed by its First Secretary, Edward Gierk, visiting the Lenin electrical engineering works in Moscow.



planned to increase the power of atomic reactors to one million kilowatts or more, to build fast-neutron reactors in order to expand the fuel base of the nuclear power engineering, to create a united power grid of the Soviet Union which would integrate all power stations of the country.

Vasily Prokhorov, a Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, supported the existing practice of drawing large numbers into the discussion of questions of state importance. He cited

▲ *continued from p. 32*

even while the revolution was in progress. This was what determined the Bolsheviks' attitude to bourgeois parties. The Congress adopted Lenin's resolution on the question, emphasizing the need to wage uncompromising struggle against counter-revolutionary liberalism, to wrest the petty-bourgeois parties from its sphere of influence, drawing them into the fight against tsarism as allies of the proletariat.

**Sixth Congress of RSDLP(B), July-August 1917.
Immediate task—socialist revolution**

Russia had experienced fierce reaction (1907-10), a new revolutionary upsurge (1910-14), the First World War (1914-17) and a second bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917. This time, under pressure from the insurgent workers and soldiers, the monarchy fell. Dual power came into being—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers'

the discussion by millions of people of the Draft Directives for the new five-year plan as an example of this. Many suggestions offered by factory collectives and trade unions had been reflected in the Draft Directives. The speaker criticized some industrial managers for allowing much overtime work at their factories, and stressed the need for speedy mechanization of some manual production processes. He demanded that more should be done to improve working conditions for women, and that cultural facilities, which had been greatly expanded, should be distributed more evenly in order to eliminate their lack in some areas of the country.

The director of the Likhachev Automobile Works in Moscow, Pavel Borodin, spoke about the achievements of the plant's workers and engineers and about the important task that lay ahead of them: to make work not only highly productive but also more interesting, more creative and morally satisfying. This problem must attract the attention of scientists, economists, sociologists and ministry officials.

The Minister of Light Industry, Nikolai Tarasov, said that over the past five-year period the output of consumer goods had risen 50 per cent, that the population would soon have more consumer goods and that for most items the demand would be met in some two or three years. The Minister also said that over the past five-year period productive capacities for the output of clothing and footwear had increased by five times and three times respectively. He complained that the managers of the engineering industry had not always delivered adequate machinery for the light industry.

The First Secretary of the Yakut Regional Party Committee, Gavriil Chiryaiev, pointed out that a new, more advanced, stage in the development of the northern areas had begun. This means, in the first place, the use of new technology and equipment, transport, automation

Deputies, on the one hand, and the bourgeois Provisional Government on the other. The Soviets represented real power, for they were backed by the armed masses, whereas the Provisional Government had the support of only the conciliatory parties—the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (SRs), who were represented in the leadership of the Soviets. The existence of the Soviets, a form of government created by the initiative of the masses, presented a historically unique opportunity for the peaceful development of the revolution. It was on this that Lenin oriented the party of the Bolsheviks. The policy of the Mensheviks and the SRs, however, enfeebled the Soviets and led to power being transferred entirely to counter-revolutionary forces.

By the time of the Sixth Congress, which was held in Petrograd, the situation in the country was such that the proletariat and the poor peasantry could win power only by force of arms. For the Bolsheviks the preparation of an armed uprising became an urgent question of tactics.

and mechanization facilities. It also means a great influx of people into these areas, who come not as temporary visitors but as real masters of the land. The native people of the Far North are joining in industrial labour. The representative of the Yakut Communists pointed out that the economic programme for the coming five years should include the development of the rich deposits of gas on the rivers Lena and Vilyui and the construction of a railway in the south of the Yakut Republic.

The delegates warmly greeted Hernan del Canto, Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile, Tomio Nishizawa, Member of the Permanent Bureau of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, Amilkar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Marc Drumaux, Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, and Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lebanon.

The first speaker at the afternoon sitting of the Congress was the Minister of Education of the USSR, Mikhail Prokofiev. By the end of the five-year period every young man and woman in the Soviet Union will have a full secondary education, which will give them the right to enrol at university, he said. Even now about 92 per cent of adolescents with eight-year schooling are continuing their secondary education.

The Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikolai Baibakov, told delegates about the hard work that had gone into the Draft Directives which had taken two years to prepare. All the Ministries of the USSR and the Union Republics had taken part in it, as well as

The Congress, representing the will of nearly 400,000 Party members, set the Party's sights, despite the sceptics and opportunists, on socialist revolution. In its resolutions the Congress proceeded from Lenin's principle that it was possible for socialism to be victorious at first in a few countries or even in one country taken separately.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 confirmed the far-sightedness of the policy conducted by the Leninist Party.

**Seventh Congress of RCP[B], March 1918.
Peace—the main slogan of the day**

Within the first two or three months after the October Socialist Revolution, Soviet power was victorious throughout Russia.

The first workers' and peasants' government in the world, headed

many large industrial establishments, research and designing organizations. The policy for considerably improving the welfare of the people is being consistently carried out, he said. Conditions have been created for a new correlation between the production of means of production and the production of consumer goods.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan, Baiken Ashimov, spoke about the tremendous changes that had taken place in this vast Republic. He pointed out that further progress would be made in the iron and steel industry, the non-ferrous metals and chemical industries, and stressed the need for the construction of new power stations. The speaker pointed out that the Republic does not yet have enough road building machinery, which, he said, should be taken into account in the final wording of the Directives.

Speeches of greeting were made by the Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, Franz Muhri, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraq Communist Party, Aziz Mohammed, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia, Jorge Kolle, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, Meir Vilner, the General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Ezekias Papaioannou, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, Kostas Kolijannis.

The Congress then elected a commission of 115 members under the chairmanship of Alexei Kosygin to review the suggestions and amendments to the Draft Directives for the 1971-75 national economic plan of the USSR.

April 8. The delegates were greeted by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, Luis Carlos

by Lenin, was formed at the Second Congress of Soviets (October 25-26, 1917); it made an appeal to all governments and nations for a swift and just, democratic peace. The imperialists, however, did not heed the appeal of the Soviet Government, and were ready to destroy Soviet power. The German imperialists, with vast armed forces on the Eastern Front, were the first to decide to hit out at the Republic of Soviets. The salvation of the Revolution lay in an immediate peace. Lenin fought persistently for such a peace, exposing the "heroes" of revolutionary phrases, the "Left-wing Communists" (Bukharin and others), who demanded war with Germany.

Peace was the central question at this congress of the Party, which was now the ruling party. In the political report of the Central Committee, Lenin showed how utterly disastrous was the position adopted by the "Left-wing Communists", and how dangerous for the revolution was the line advocated by Trotsky, who proclaimed the slogan "neither war nor peace." The majority of the votes at the Congress

Members of delegations of the Communist Party of Finland, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe and the Mozambique Liberation Front visit the "Proletarskaya Pobeda" silk-weaving mill near Moscow.



Prestes, and the Chairman of the South African Communist Party, John Marks.

The speaker in the debate on that day was the Minister of Instrument Making, Automation and Control Systems, Konstantin Rudnev. He said that progress made in that new industry was especially noticeable. Over the past five years the volume of production had grown 2.3 times and the production of computers had gone up 4.8 times. He spoke about the improvement in the managerial structure of various industrial establishments, about the large measure of independence enjoyed by factories and plants run on a cost-accounting basis. In the not so

were cast in favour of a peace treaty with Germany. This treaty gave the Republic of Soviets the necessary breathing space, and the opportunity to strengthen its defences. The Congress decided to name the Party the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the RCP(B). The new name expressed the Party's ultimate aim—the creation of a communist society.

Eighth Congress of RCP(B), March 1919. New Party Programme

The plans prepared for peaceful socialist construction were disrupted by the Civil War and foreign intervention. The Soviet land entered upon a three-year period of unprecedentedly grim armed struggle to repulse the White-guard armies, which relied on the support and direct intervention of the world's major powers—the USA, Britain, France



Members of delegations of the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the People's Party of Iran and the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands on a visit to a garment factory in Moscow. A Costa Rican delegate is presenting the factory workers with an album of photos.

distant future micro-electronic facilities will be extensively used, not only in the manufacture of computers, but also in the production of instruments, electrical apparatus and facilities for automation and research.

At this point it was decided to end the debate which was summed up by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei Kosygin.

The delegates unanimously adopted the address, "Freedom and Peace to the Peoples of Indochina." It reads:

"On behalf of the Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people, the 24th Congress of the CPSU sends hearty fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, its militant vanguard, the Working People's

and Japan. Confident of the victorious outcome of the struggle, the Congress discussed and adopted a new programme which laid down the Party's tasks in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres with a view to building a socialist society (the first Programme adopted in 1903 was fulfilled). Of great importance was a resolution, adopted on a report given by Lenin, on the Party's attitude to the middle peasants as the allies of the proletariat and the rural poor in the fight to preserve and consolidate Soviet power. At the same time the First Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow; the RCP(B) became one of the leading sectors of the International.

**Ninth Congress of RCP(B), March-April 1920.
Main task—economic construction**

The war imposed upon the Soviet Republic by the combined forces of internal and external counter-revolution was drawing to a close. The

Party of Vietnam, and the courageous patriots of Laos and Cambodia, fearless fighters against US imperialism, for the freedom, independence and peaceful future of the countries of Indochina.

"We wish the staunch defenders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam further victories in repulsing imperialist aggression, and new achievements in socialist construction.

"We declare our unreserved solidarity with the liberation forces of South Vietnam and wish them further success in delivering their country from interventionists and the mercenary Saigon regime, and winning the right to decide their future independently.

Our sympathy and support are on the side of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, which are fighting resolutely against the US imperialist intervention, for their just cause.

"The Soviet people are proud of the victories of the heroic people of Vietnam and the glorious patriots of Laos and Cambodia, who are striking crushing blows against the US interventionists and their hirelings.

"The reckless designs of the US aggressors have turned into an endless chain of ignominious failures. Neither bombs and shells nor cunning political intrigues could break the will of the people of the socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the patriots of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. And this will hold true in the future as well. The implementation of the so-called Vietnamisation, the diabolical principle of "killing Asians with Asian hands," will not help the US imperialists to achieve their criminal aims. The tenacity and courage of the freedom-loving peoples of Indochina, augmented by the unflinching support of the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries, the world communist movement and all other progressive forces, are the guarantee of their victory over the enemy.

"The Soviet Union is convinced that the proposals of the Govern-

Lenin, Demyan Bedny, the poet, and Fyodor Panfilov, a delegate of the Ukraine, at the Eighth Party Congress.



ment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Laos Patriotic Front and the National Unity Front of Cambodia, are a constructive basis for resolving Indochina's problems.

"The Soviet Communists hold that in the prevailing situation it is essential to consolidate in every way and everywhere the solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, to act vigorously against the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the United States.

"The Soviet Union has rendered, and continues to render, every possible aid and support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in building socialism, reinforcing her defence capability and repulsing imperialist encroachments, and has sided consistently and firmly with the liberation movement in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which is making an outstanding contribution to peace and to the national independence of the peoples. The 24th Congress of the CPSU solemnly declares that the Soviet Union will continue to follow this policy.

"The 24th Congress of the CPSU addresses all those who cherish freedom, peace and progress:

"Let your voices resound still more vigorously in protest against the bloody US imperialist aggression in Indochina!

"Expose the crimes of the US military with resolve and courage, and give every support to the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia!

"May the world movement for the termination of the imperialist aggression in Indochina, for the withdrawal from there of all troops of the USA and her allies, and for the materialisation of the legitimate right of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to be masters in their own land, grow and gain strength!

Party of Communists was the organizing and cementing force that had led the workers and peasants to victory. Questions of economic development occupied an important place in the Congress proceedings. Lenin examined these questions in all their aspects and emphasized the need for absolute unity of will on the part of the working class as a condition for their successful solution.

**Tenth Congress of RCP(B), March 1921.
The New Economic Policy**

This Congress went down in history as a turning point in the Party's policy—from "war communism" to the New Economic Policy (NEP). "War communism," introduced in 1918 (the requisitioning of all surplus grain from the peasants under the surplus-appropriation system, a ban on free trade, and the introduction of general labour conscription) was a measure evoked by the emergency conditions of the Civil War. It could not be a policy corresponding to the economic tasks of the pro-

"Drive the US aggressors out of Indochina!

"The just cause of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will triumph!"

The delegates unanimously endorsed the statement of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, "For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East." It reads:

"We who represent 14 million Soviet Communists, expressing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union, strongly condemn Israel's imperialist aggression against the Arab states conducted with US imperialist support and declare our fraternal solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence and social justice.

"The struggle of the peace-loving forces against the Israeli aggression has now entered a phase in which the expansionist aspirations of Israel's ruling group and Zionist circles have been fully exposed. The international isolation of the Israeli aggressors and their patrons—the US imperialist circles who hypocritically declare their wish for peace but who, in effect, encourage the Israeli extremists—is becoming greater.

"The constructive stand of the Arab countries, primarily that of the United Arab Republic, provides favourable conditions for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

"The persistent refusal of the Israeli rulers to withdraw their troops from captured Arab territories is an open challenge to world public opinion and the decisions of the United Nations.

"Therefore, it is the duty of all peace-loving forces to concert efforts in curbing the Israeli aggressors, force them to respect the universally accepted standards of international life and the legitimate rights of the

letariat in normal, peaceful conditions. Lenin demonstrated that henceforth the correct economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country where the peasantry comprised the overwhelming majority of the population was the exchange of grain for manufactured goods, with free trade in surplus foodstuffs being allowed. The task of the proletarian state was, while recognizing the existence of the market with its laws, to take over the regulation of the market and money circulation. The New Economic Policy was based on the expectation that there would be a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry with a view to transforming small-scale farming into large-scale socialist production.

The Congress decisions also pointed out the impermissibility of factionalism and splitting activity within the Party, emphasizing that unity of the Party's ranks was a decisive condition for a strong and invincible dictatorship of the proletariat.

Arab states, and to withdraw their troops from captured Arab territories.

"The 24th Congress of the CPSU expresses its firm conviction that the attempts of the imperialists and their henchmen to impose their diktat on the peoples of the Arab countries, to subvert the progressive regimes in the Middle East and to defeat the national-liberation movement in that part of the world, are doomed to failure. All Arab peoples, including the Arabs of Palestine, will triumph in achieving their rights and securing their interests. The Israeli aggressors will be compelled to get out of the Arab territories seized by them in 1967. The guarantee of this is the unbending will of the Arab peoples, their striving for independence, freedom, peace and social progress, their close alliance with the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of the other socialist countries, with all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces.

"The 24th Congress of the CPSU declares that, consistently pursuing the Leninist policy of international peace and friendship, the Soviet Union will continue to support the just cause of the Arab peoples who suffered from Israeli aggression, to support their efforts at regaining their violated rights, to secure a fair political settlement in the Middle East, and to protect the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

"We call on all fraternal Parties, on all peace-loving peoples and states to redouble their solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries and to render them active support in their struggle.

"For united action by all forces opposing imperialist aggression, for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East!

"Long live the inviolable Soviet-Arab friendship! May it go from strength to strength!"

The Congress then proceeded to the next item on the agenda, the election of the central bodies of the Party.

April 9. It was the last day of the Congress. A Resolution on the



Lenin with a group of delegates to the Tenth Party Congress.

report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Decision on Partial Changes in the Party Rules were adopted. The Resolution on the report expresses full approval of the political line and the activity of the CC CPSU, as well as the recommendations and conclusions contained in the report.

The Congress highly assessed the activity of the CC CPSU in the foreign policy field, which is consistently based on Leninist principles.

The tasks of the economic development of the country, set out in the report, and the policy of the Communist Party which aims to raise the living standard of the people and which defines the general orientation of the long-term development of the country's economy were fully approved.

The Congress noted the increasing unity of Soviet society as one of the most important features of its development.

Of great importance, says the Resolution, are further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory and a resolute offensive against anti-communist ideology and various bourgeois and revisionist conceptions.

The Congress unanimously approved the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-75.

The Chairman of the Vote-Counting Commission, G. V. Romanov, spoke of the results of the election to the central organs of the Party.

The announcement of the election by a unanimous vote of Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee, and Members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU was greeted with stormy prolonged applause.

Leonid Brezhnev, who presided over the closing session, said that a number of applications and proposals had been addressed to the Congress. The Congress asked the Central Committee to study these applications and proposals and take whatever action was necessary.

**Eleventh Congress of RCP(B), March-April 1922.
Learn to trade**

This was the last Congress at which Lenin was present and spoke. It reviewed the results of the first year of work to rehabilitate the national economy on the basis of the New Economic Policy. The fact that free trade was allowed in the conditions of small-scale commodity production inevitably brought in its train a growth of capitalist elements in the economy. But as the commanding heights of the economy (large-scale industry, the railways, the banks, etc.) were in the hands of the proletarian state, the situation did not represent any serious danger. All that had to be done was to see that state enterprises could compete with private capital in the field of trade. Lenin put the question outright: we have to learn to trade, Communists must be able to trade. Only by means of well-run and efficient state



Voting on the Resolution on the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

trade was it possible to reach understanding with the vast peasant masses, and gradually oust capitalist elements from the economy.

The new Central Committee elected at the Congress created the post of General Secretary, to which Stalin was elected.

**Twelfth Congress of RCP(B), April 1923.
Burning economic questions**

The main questions on the agenda were the rapid restoration and development of industry as the basis for an upsurge of the entire economy, the electrification of the country, the removal of the disproportions in prices of industrial goods, and the ending of cultural inequality among the peoples and nationalities of the USSR, a legacy handed on by the exploiters' regime.

The solution to these problems followed from Lenin's plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union. The ideas embodied in the plan were formulated by Lenin, in particular in his last few articles and letters.

Leonid Brezhnev reported on the results of the first Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee elected by the Congress.

The Plenary Meeting elected Leonid Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Members of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee include L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, V. V. Grishin, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, D. A. Kunayev, K. T. Mazurov, A. Ya. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. Ye. Shelest, V. V. Shcherbitsky. Alternate Members of the Politbureau are Yu. V. Andropov, P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masherov, V. P. Mzhavanadze, Sh. P. Rashidov and D. F. Ustinov.

L. I. Brezhnev, P. N. Demichev, I. V. Kapitonov, K. F. Katushev, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, B. N. Ponomaryov, M. S. Solomentsev, M. A. Suslov and D. F. Ustinov were elected Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting endorsed the appointment of Arvid Pelshe Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

Gennady Sizov was elected Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a concluding speech. On behalf of the Central Committee he thanked the Congress for its great trust.

"I have already said," Leonid Brezhnev went on, "that Soviet Communists regard Party Congresses as occasions at which accounts of their work are given not only to their own Party, but to all Communist Parties, and to the world working-class movement." On behalf of the Congress, on behalf of our Party and the entire Soviet people Leonid Brezhnev thanked the foreign comrades and friends for the great contribution

which constituted his political testament. The plan's basic points were: industrialization of the country, the transfer of the whole economy onto a mighty electric power base, the institution of cooperative farming and cooperative small-scale production in general, a drastic upsurge in the educational and cultural level of the masses and the strengthening of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the principles of voluntary and fraternal collaboration. Lenin's plan determined the Party's general line, its entire policy.

Thirteenth Congress of RCP(B), May 1924. Carrying out Lenin's testament

The Congress was convened four months after Lenin's death. At it there was discussion of the thoughts and wishes expressed by Lenin on matters of economic development, and also on the strengthening of col-

▲ *continued on p. 59*

they had made to the work of the Congress, for the sentiments of solidarity and internationalism which permeated their speeches.

In the field of economic policy, Leonid Brezhnev said, the Party pursues a line aimed to improve the living standards of the Soviet people. Without neglecting the development of heavy industry, including its branches concerned with defence, the Party sets forth as its main task in the economic sphere the achievement of a considerable rise in the standard of living of the people.

In the field of social policy, the Party follows a line aimed to further strengthen the unity of Soviet society, to bring still closer together classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, to consistently develop socialist democracy and enlist increasing numbers of people in the management of public and state affairs. It is a line aimed to promote a moral and political atmosphere in the country in which people would find it easy to breathe, joyous to work and peaceful to live.

In the field of Party development, the Party will make every effort to strengthen the bonds of the Party with the working class and the entire Soviet people.

In the field of foreign policy, the Party adheres to a line of ensuring peace and international security, of strengthening the fraternity of the socialist countries and the alliance with the anti-imperialist liberation forces of the world.

Leonid Brezhnev expressed confidence that in the course of their day-to-day work, the delegates of the Congress would transmit to all Communists and all working people the charge of energy, inspiration and enthusiasm which they received at the Congress.

The speech of Comrade Brezhnev was more than once interrupted with stormy prolonged applause.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was declared closed.

OUR FRIENDS SPEAK

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was attended by 102 delegations of Communist, Workers', National-Democratic, and Left Socialist Parties from 91 countries. Never before, perhaps, had there been such a representative gathering of the world revolutionary and national liberation forces. At the closing of the Congress Leonid Brezhnev said: "While listening to the speeches of our foreign friends and brothers, we felt more strongly than ever that we were an inalienable, integral part of the great international movement called upon to transform the world."

Representatives of foreign parties at the Congress had an opportunity to visit industrial enterprises, research institutes and other organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Sverdlovsk, and other parts of the Soviet Union, where they met workers, collective farmers, and scientists. Below are excerpts from speeches by some of the foreign guests.

LE DUAN, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Working People's Party:

"We were profoundly moved by the warm, cordial words of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Brezhnev, at this Congress—words that reaffirmed the CPSU's decisive support for the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people."

WALTER ULBRICHT, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee:

"You, dear Soviet friends, have carried out excellently the task that Lenin set before you. You have built socialism and are successfully building up the material and technical foundation of communism. Under the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet working class has scaled the heights of science and culture."

EDWARD GIEREK, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee:

"It is a great historical feat of the Land of Soviets that it has opened up realistic prospects of putting an end to world wars. This has been a beautiful but unattainable dream of humanity throughout its previous history which was lit up by war conflagrations. This dream can be realized only thanks to the might of the socialist camp, particularly of the Soviet Union. This might has given effective force to the concept of peace."

GEORGES MARCHAIS, Deputy General Secretary of the French Communist Party:

"Your Congress is also significant in that it is boldly oriented to the future. The central idea of Comrade Brezhnev's report is that Commu-

nists should never mark time—they must always march forward in search of the new, spurred on by creative initiative. You are striving to develop greater initiative and a greater sense of responsibility in the working people; you are striving to ensure a continuous development of socialist democracy.”

KIM IL, Member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, First Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Korean People's Democratic Republic:

“Our people, who have always valued our friendship and solidarity with the fraternal Soviet people, will continue to exert every effort to promote friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our countries.”

ENRICO BERLINGUER, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party:

“The solidarity of our Party is one of strong solidarity with your country, as well as with other countries of the socialist world—a world that by its mere existence has changed the destiny of mankind.”

GUSTAV HUSAK, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia:

“The precise analysis of the situation and the prospects outlined in the CPSU Central Committee's report, as well as the businesslike, lively and frank discussions by the delegates to the Congress, are examples of tremendous significance to us. They give us new strength and confidence for our future work.”

JANOS KADAR, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee:

▲ *continued from p. 56*

lective leadership and the creation of a stable Central Committee, capable of averting the danger of a split in the Party.

The Congress summed up the results of the discussion forced upon the Party by Trotsky and his few supporters who were striving to disorganize the Central Committee and the Party apparatus. The Party regarded the actions of the Trotskyists as a reformist deviation within the RCP(B). The Fifth Congress of the Communist International also condemned the factional activity of the Trotskyists.

**Fourteenth Congress of RCP(B), December 1925.
The line—industrialization of the country**

The Congress took place at a time when the restoration of the economy of the USSR was almost complete. Events themselves confronted the Party with the question of the country's future prospects, and the fate of socialism in the USSR. This was of especial significance in that

“Implementation of the plans just outlined will enable the Soviet people, who have made tremendous sacrifices for the sake of the world’s destiny, to enjoy more fully the fruits of their labours and to make a further important contribution to world progress.

“...Your Congress has convincingly shown to the world—both to your friends and your enemies—the unshakable resolve of the Communists, the working class, and the people of the Soviet Union to firmly follow the path mapped out by immortal Lenin, the path to communism and peace.”

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party:

“The Party and the Government of Romania will continue taking resolute action to extend relations between our Parties and nations. We are convinced that this is in the interest of our peoples, and that it promotes general progress and peace, as well as the unity of the socialist countries and of the world communist movement.”

NGUYEN VAN HIEU, Presidium Member of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

“Profoundly thankful to great Lenin and the October Revolution, the people of South Vietnam applaud the spectacular achievements of the fraternal Soviet people. We regard these achievements as a common triumph, as the pride of the whole of progressive humanity, as an invaluable source of inspiration and a reliable support in the South Vietnamese people’s patriotic struggle against the US aggressors, for saving our Motherland.”

LUIS CORVALAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile:

revolutionary feeling had calmed down in Western Europe. Capitalism had entered a period of temporary stabilization: it was not possible to count upon the rapid victory of proletarian revolutions in other countries. On the basis of Lenin’s theoretical theses, the Party drew the conclusion that the working class of the Soviet Union, in alliance with the working peasants, and with the moral and political support of the international proletariat, could create the material and technical basis for socialism, and build a socialist society. Trotsky and the so-called new opposition (Zinoviev and Kamenev) were opposed to this conclusion. The Congress expressed condemnation of lack of faith in the possibility of socialism’s triumph in the USSR, pointing out that a guarantee of successful socialist development was rapid industrialization, the USSR’s transformation from an importer of machines and equipment into a producer of these goods, ensuring its economic independence of the capitalist world. New Party Rules were adopted, and it was decided to rename the Party the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) — CPSU(B).

"We should like to reiterate the determination of the Communist Party of Chile to march shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and all fraternal Parties, in our common struggle against imperialism, for the independence of nations, for peace and socialism, for promoting unity of the communist movement, and for stepping up joint action by the revolutionary forces in five continents, as well as the ideological struggle against opportunism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA:

"In the minds of millions, in the capitalist world, there is growing a new criterion by which they measure and compare the two world systems.

"The comparisons are not now limited to industrial charts or prices of goods. What is placed on the scales now is the overall quality of life. Standards of physical comforts remain very important in determining the quality of life, but the yardstick is much broader now. It includes the total spectrum of human values, the order of priorities dictated by the inherent laws of each system. It includes the moral, cultural and philosophical concepts nurtured by each system."

RODNEY ARISMENDI, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay:

"You have the keen sight of people who can see the entire horizon beyond a hill. Your Congress, held in a businesslike atmosphere and in a spirit of self-criticism, has successfully concluded, as we see it, a very fruitful period. This is largely due to your Party and its Central Committee, and we applaud you for that."

AARNE SAARINEN, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland:

**Fifteenth Congress of CPSU(B), December 1927.
Central question—collectivization of agriculture**

The country was embarking upon the socialist reconstruction of the economy. The Congress took note of the first successes in industrialization. *Primary importance was attached to the resolution on the Directives for Compiling the First Five-Year Plan*, which opened the period of the Five-Year Plans, and the planned development of the entire economy along socialist lines. The problem of the further development of agriculture was a difficult one. In contrast to industry, which was going ahead quite successfully, small-scale peasant farming scarcely provided for the needs of the peasants themselves. The poor state of agriculture was the cause of serious difficulties in the supply of foodstuffs to the towns and industrial centres, it slowed down socialist construction and the strengthening of the country's defences. In order to solve this problem the Party decided upon a policy of setting up a network of collec-

“Our most important task in the present situation is to consolidate our common cause of compelling the imperialists to accept the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. It is largely to this aim that you, Comrade Soviet Communists, bend your efforts, your activity in all spheres of social life.”

AZIZ MOHAMMED, First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party: “You are building communism, you are augmenting the might of your giant country which has always been and will continue to be the reliable bulwark of universal peace, and the mainstay of the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and progress, including the Arab peoples.”

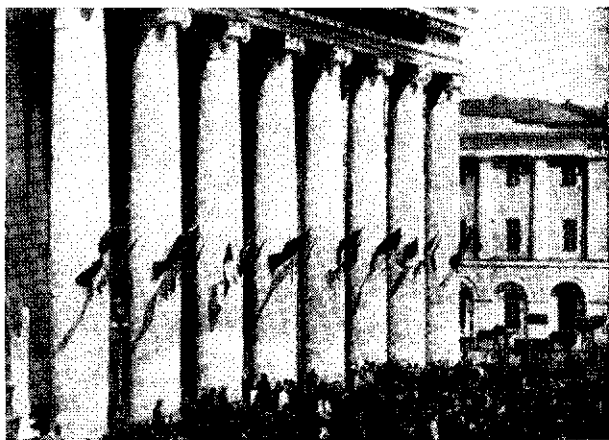
RODOLFO GHIOLDI, Member of the Executive of the Communist Party of Argentina:

“Fifty years ago I had the good fortune to take part, here in the Kremlin, in the work of the Comintern’s Third Congress. I heard Lenin speak about the imposing plans of the Soviet country and prospects of our movement, and talked with Lenin personally. Taking part in the work of the 24th Congress now, fifty years later, we find facts and see examples of the triumph of Lenin’s great ideas.”

AGOSTINHO NETO, Chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola:

“We are confident that the Congress will adopt decisions which will further accelerate the progress of your wonderful country as well as its movement toward communism, and that they will help check the criminal actions of the imperialists, colonialists and racialists, and enable the peoples of the world to bring nearer the era of peace, freedom and happiness.”

The Bolshoi Theatre where Party Congresses (Seventh to Seventeenth) took place (photo taken in 1918).



CLAUDE-ERNEST NDALLA, First Secretary of the Congolese Party of Labour:

"The report we have heard is an important contribution to the elaboration of the highly important question concerning the role of the Marxist party in leading the working class and other working people. This contribution is vital not only for the Soviet Communists, but also for all African Marxists, whose activities are proceeding in a recently formed working-class environment, where the influence of the Populists and Anarchists is still strongly felt."

JESUS FARIA, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela:

"The programme for world peace, which the CPSU and the Soviet Government have proposed, will be approved enthusiastically by the peoples of other countries. The abolition of colonialism, elimination of the hotbeds of war, the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, renunciation of the use of force in settling controversial problems, and an end of the arms race—all accord with the just wishes of the peoples."

DOLORES IBARRURI, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain:

"It is with a clear conscience and open heart that we declare our friendship with the Soviet people and their Communist Party, the Party of Lenin, the Party of the October Revolution, the Party under whose leadership socialism has been built, fascism defeated, and the road to communism opened before mankind."

LANSANA DIANE, Member of the National Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea:

"Your struggle is our struggle. Your victories are our victories. Therefore, your Congress is also our Congress."

tive and state farms, and going over to large-scale agricultural production.

The Congress reviewed the question of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, which diverged from the Party line on all fundamental points of the programme and of tactics and was continuing its anti-Party activity. The opposition had in fact become a weapon of the class enemy, and the Congress consequently declared allegiance to the opposition and propaganda of its views to be incompatible with membership of the Party. The most active members of the opposition were expelled from the CPSU(B).

Sixteenth Congress of CPSU[B], June-July 1930.

Advance of socialism on all fronts

The main feature of the international scene when the Congress assembled was the fact that the capitalist countries were experiencing an

▲ *continued on p. 74*

"In fact, it is the Congress of all the peoples still suffering under the yoke of colonial exploitation, and peoples who have embarked upon the difficult road of struggle against the criminal schemes of imperialism."

AMILCAR CABRAL, General Secretary of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands:

"I don't think we shall belittle the importance of African solidarity and the solidarity of other anti-colonial forces in the world if we openly declare that it is from the Soviet Union that we are getting the greatest assistance in our struggle."

MEIR VILNER, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel:

"...Nothing can erase from the memory of the peoples the fact that it was the USSR that made the decisive contribution to saving humanity, including millions of Jews, from the nazi barbarians.

"We know that the Soviet Union, which is working for peace in the Middle East and throughout the world, is the true friend of both the Arab peoples and the Israeli people. The Soviet Union has always fought against any manifestation of racialism and chauvinism, including Zionism and anti-Semitism.

"I have the honour to extend most cordial greetings to the 24th Congress of the Leninist Party on behalf of all progressives in Israel, both Jews and Arabs."

OSVALDO DORTICOS TORRADO, Member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, President of the Republic:

"No one can doubt any longer that the creative possibilities of the socialist system cannot be measured merely by what has been attained. If it had not been for the constant hostility on the part of the imperialists, or for the constant threat to the security of your country, the Soviet Union would, no doubt, have come to the 24th Congress of its Communist Party with still greater successes in the development of its economy."

GEORGE JACKSON, National Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand:

"The 24th Congress opens up for the Soviet people a path of continued advance to higher living standards and richer quality of life. You are all familiar with the great targets outlined in Comrade Brezhnev's report, and we have every confidence that you will convert them from figures on a sheet of paper into the realities of a richer life for all of your people. Those figures will change under the magic of working people's hands into more consumer goods, even better education facilities, more health and holiday resorts, and wider cultural opportunities."

AN IMPORTANT STAGE OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE USSR

Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the 1971-75 Economic Development Plan

The 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party has endorsed the Directives for the 1971-75 economic development plan. This document, which provides the guidelines to building the material and technical base of communism in the USSR, sums up the work done over the past five years and outlines new frontiers for communist construction in the coming five years.

In implementing the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress the Soviet people have scored new successes in building the material and technical base of communism. Great progress has been achieved in the development of all branches of the national economy, in the accomplishment of social tasks, and in raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The ideological and political unity of Soviet society has been consolidated, and socialist democracy has been further developed. The international prestige of the Soviet Union has become ever greater; its defence potential has increased.

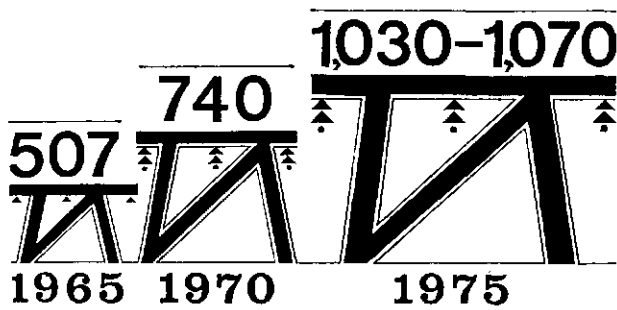
All these successes are the result of the tireless efforts of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia—the working people of all the Union Republics. The achievement of these successes is another vivid manifestation of the guiding role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its consistent Leninist policy.

Results of the Eighth Five-Year Plan

The Directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1966-70 have been successfully fulfilled for the key economic and social targets. Over this period, the national economy of the USSR has been developing at a fast rate and more effectively than in the preceding five-year period. The population's living standards have been rising much faster than previously.

In 1970, the Soviet Union's national income was 41 per cent higher than in 1965; its average annual growth rate for 1966-70 was higher than in the 1961-65 period. The volume of industrial production increased by 50 per cent. A considerably higher rate of increase in the

PRODUCTION OF ELECTRICITY (THOUSAND MILLION KWH)



output of consumer goods has been achieved, the annual average rate of growth being 8.3 per cent as compared with 6.3 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

The country's economic potential has increased, and the amount of fixed production assets in the national economy has grown by 50 per cent. In the same period, the total volume of capital investments in the national economy reached 352,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent more than in the preceding five-year period.

Extensive measures have been implemented to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture. Agricultural crop yields and the productivity of animal husbandry have increased. In 1966-70, the average annual gross output in agriculture was 21 per cent higher than in 1961-65.

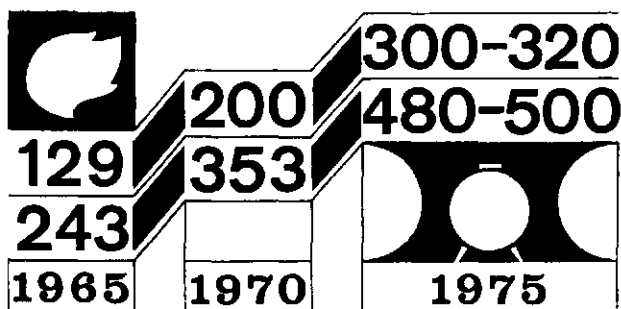
All types of transport and communications have been further developed. Major successes have been achieved in raising the economic and cultural level in all the Union Republics.

The effectiveness of social production has been raised on the basis of scientific and technological progress, improved economic management and the use of new planning methods and economic incentives.

The main targets set by the 23rd CPSU Congress for raising the people's living standards have been overfulfilled. In the five years, per capita real incomes have increased by 33 per cent as against the planned 30 per cent. The consumption of manufactured goods and foodstuffs has increased considerably, and housing conditions and services for the population have been further improved.

The Directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress envisaged an increase in the average monthly wages and salaries of industrial and office workers of at least 20 per cent, but in actual fact they have gone up 26 per cent. In every branch of the national economy the minimum

PRODUCTION OF OIL (MILLION TONS) AND GAS (THOUSAND MILLION CUBIC METRES)



wages and salaries of industrial and office workers have been raised. Income tax rates for some categories of industrial and office workers have been lowered. The work of equalizing the living standards of the rural and the urban population has continued. Guaranteed pay for work has been introduced at collective farms. In 1970, the earnings of collective farmers went up 42 per cent over the 1965 figure.

Industrial and office workers have been put on a five-day working week schedule, with two days off. The minimum annual leave for industrial and office workers has been increased. Payments and benefits to the population from the social consumption funds have increased by more than 50 per cent in the five-year period. Pensions for disabled war veterans have been increased, the pension age for collective farmers has been lowered, and social insurance has been improved.

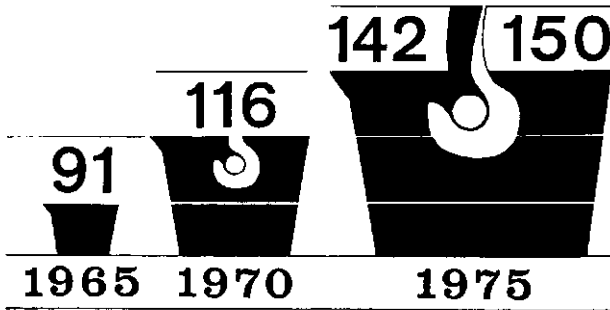
In the 1966-70 period, a total of 518 million square metres of living space has been built in the country; this has made it possible to improve living conditions for almost 55 million people. Everyday services for the population have been developing apace.

The general educational and cultural level of the population has risen. The transition to universal secondary education for young people has been consistently effected. Medical services and recreational facilities for the population have been improved, and the number of cinemas, cultural centres and libraries has been increased.

The Soviet Union's external economic ties have been extended. The forms of economic cooperation with the CMEA countries and of the USSR's participation in international production, scientific and technological specialization and cooperation have been perfected.

At the same time there were also some shortcomings in carrying out the Eighth Five-Year Plan. As a result, the planned level of production for some types of industrial goods has not been reached.

STEEL PRODUCTION (MILLION TONS)



The Principal Tasks of the New Five-Year Plan

The Directives deal mainly with the principal tasks of development of the Soviet national economy in the 1971-75 period. The Ninth Five-Year Plan will mark an important stage in the further advance of Soviet society along the road to communism, the construction of its material and technical base, and the strengthening of the country's economic and defence power.

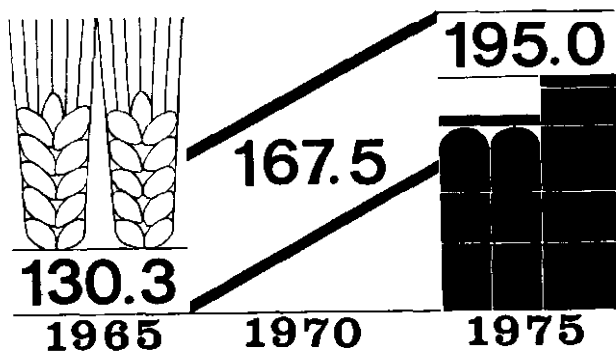
The main task of the five-year plan is to ensure a considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of rapid development of socialist production and enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technological progress and rapid increase in labour productivity.

During the next five-year period a sweeping programme of social undertakings will be carried out.

To ensure the growth of the population's real incomes, it is necessary to considerably increase commodity stocks, to saturate the market with high-quality goods of the required variety, and to increase the volume of services for the population; to ensure the stability of state retail prices for consumer goods and to reduce prices for some types of products as commodity stocks are accumulated.

It is also planned to increase the social consumption funds by 40 per cent, and to use the increment for improving public health services, developing public education, training personnel and bringing up children, increasing pensions for industrial and office workers and collective farmers, and stipends for students.

GRAIN (AVERAGE ANNUAL PRODUCTION, MILLION TONS)



The accomplishment of the principal tasks of the new five-year plan requires still faster progress in science and technology. It also requires the implementation of a single technical policy which, in turn, calls for the creation and use of new types of instruments, materials and production processes whose performance would surpass the best Soviet and foreign achievements in any given field. It is also necessary to continue to develop basic and applied scientific research and introduce its results in industry.

The Directives define the tasks and targets for all branches of the national economy, for the improvement of the living standard, for the location of productive forces and the advancement of the economy of the Union Republics, for the development of the country's external economic relations, and the improvement of management and planning.

Industry. The main task facing Soviet industry in the new five-year period is to expand and improve the industrial base for the development of the socialist economy, especially that of agriculture and allied sectors, to raise the technical level, to increase the efficiency of production and to fundamentally improve the quality of products.

It is necessary to direct the development of all industries towards the fullest satisfaction of the Soviet people's needs, for which purpose provision shall be made for the more rapid growth and a greater proportion of industries producing consumer goods and the raw materials, machinery and equipment needed for their manufacture.

The electric power industry, especially the atomic power industry, mechanical engineering and the chemical, petrochemical and gas industries shall be developed at a still faster rate.

Industrial production over the five years shall be increased by 42-46 per cent. This includes the production of the means of production

PER CAPITA REAL INCOME (ROUBLES)
PER CAPITA REAL INCOME (PER CENT)

		367
	262	173
182	133	
100		
1965	1970	1975

which shall go up 41-45 per cent, and the production of consumer goods which shall increase by 44-48 per cent.

The growth of production in every industry shall be ensured above all by raising its effectiveness and using internal economic reserves more fully. Labour productivity in industry shall rise by 36-40 per cent over the five years; 87-90 per cent of the total increase of production shall be obtained on this basis.

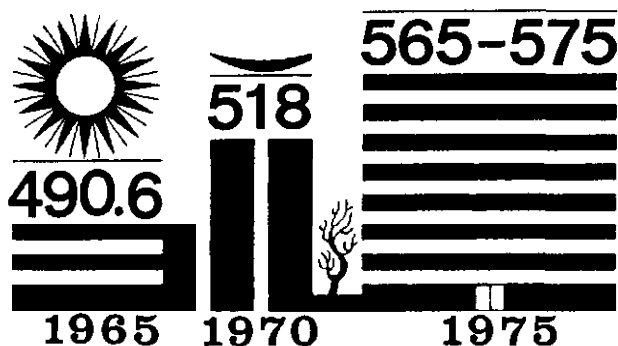
It is planned to bring the output of electricity in 1975 to 1,030-1,070 thousand million kilowatt-hours, that of oil to 480-500 million tons, gas—to 300-320 thousand million cubic metres, coal—to 685-695 million tons, steel—to 142-150 million tons and rolled steel—to 101-105 million tons. The output of non-ferrous metals shall go up 40 per cent, the volume of production in mechanical engineering and metalworking shall increase by 70 per cent, that of the chemical and petrochemical industries—70 per cent (including products for popular consumption which shall increase by 120 per cent).

The output of clothing, footwear and other goods of the light industry shall be increased by 35-40 per cent; the output in the food, meat and dairy and fish-processing industries shall be increased by 33-35 per cent, with the production of meat going up 40-43 per cent.

Agriculture. In agriculture the task is to increase the average annual output of farm products by 20-22 per cent as compared with the preceding five-year plan period. The utmost expansion and strengthening of the material and technical base and continuous intensification of agricultural production provide the key to the accomplishment of this task.

The Directives set the task of raising the average annual gross output of grain to not less than 195 million tons by the end of the current five-year period; the volume of raw cotton output shall be in-

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION (MILLION SQUARE METRES OF FLOOR SPACE)



creased to 7.0-7.2 million tons. The Directives also provide for a sharp increase in the production of sugar beet, tobacco, flax, hemp, sunflower, soya bean and other oil-bearing and technical cultures. The annual average output of meat in the country shall be increased to not less than 14.3 million tons (slaughter weight), and that of milk to 92.3 million tons. The output of eggs shall go up to 46.7 thousand million, and that of wool to 464 thousand tons.

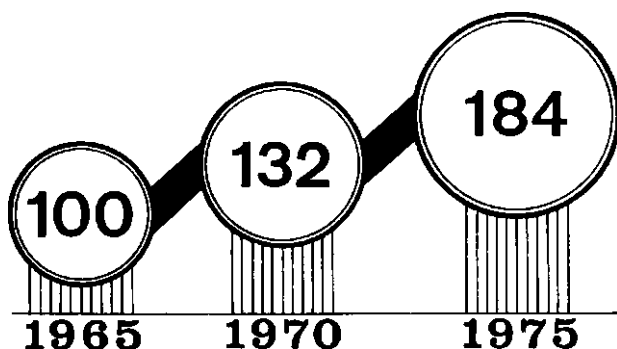
The Directives outline measures to further strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture. It is planned to provide the farmers with 1,700 thousand tractors over the current five-year period, 1,100 thousand lorries and 15 thousand million roubles worth of agricultural machinery. It is planned to increase the supply of fertilizers to farms to 72 million tons in 1975. Over the five years the consumption of electricity in the countryside is expected to go up 100 per cent.

Transport and Communications. Measures shall be taken to further develop our transport, increase the capacity and flexibility of the transport system. The freight turnover in all modes of transport shall be increased by 32-35 per cent. The further development of communications, radio and TV broadcasting shall be ensured through the use of up-to-date equipment.

Capital Construction. In order to meet the targets in economic development and to raise the living standard and cultural level in the country, provision shall be made for a 36-40 per cent increase in capital investments in the national economy during the current five-year period.

Rise in the Standard of Living. A further substantial rise in the living standard shall be ensured. In the course of the five-year period, per capita real incomes shall be increased by approximately 30 per cent. The system of labour remuneration shall also be improved.

ANNUAL GROWTH OF CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION (PER CENT)



The wages and salaries of workers and office employees shall be raised by an average of 20-22 per cent, and the earnings of collective farmers from work done on collectively owned property shall be increased by 30-35 per cent.

The further development of the social consumption funds as an important means for raising the living standard in the country shall be ensured. During the five-year period the volume of free material benefits and services as well as of cash allowances to the population from these funds shall be increased by 40 per cent.

During the five-year plan period blocks of flats with a total floor space of 565-575 million square metres shall be built with funds from all sources. Cooperative housing shall be promoted.

The Directives also outline measures for the further improvement of public health service, for the all-round development of public education and socialist culture.

Location of the Productive Forces and the Economic Development of the Union Republics. A further improvement in the location of the productive forces shall be achieved, and territorial economic ties shall be enhanced. The Union Republics and the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies shall be given a bigger role in determining the location of the country's productive forces.

The policy of limiting the growth of large cities shall be steadfastly pursued; as a rule, no new industrial enterprises shall be located in the large cities.

It is important to continue to develop the country's natural resources at a fast rate and to build up the economic potential in the eastern parts of the country. The existence of cheap power resources in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia makes it desirable to site new power-intensive industries mainly in these areas.

The Directives provide the guidelines for the further economic development of the Union Republics and the economic areas of the country.

External Economic Relations. The Directives attach great significance to the all-round improvement and development of links between the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries in the fields of economy, science and technology, which will ultimately lead to the integration of their national economies. Comprehensive forms of cooperation with other socialist countries in the spheres of material production, science and technology shall be promoted as well as barter and trade with them on the markets of third countries.

Expansion of stable external economic, scientific and technological ties with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America shall be continued on terms of mutual benefit and in a way that will promote their economic independence.

Economically justified commercial, scientific and technological contacts with industrially advanced capitalist countries shall be extended.

Foreign trade turnover shall be increased by 33-35 per cent during the five-year period, primarily through the utmost expansion of trade with the socialist countries.



Implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan will be of great international significance. The growth of the Soviet economy will further strengthen the forces of the world socialist community and will once again demonstrate the advantages of the planned socialist economic system. By fulfilling the five-year plan, the Soviet people will make a worthy contribution to strengthening the unity of all the forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism.

The five-year plan will ensure further growth of the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union, which will make it possible to provide for still more reliable protection of the Soviet people, of all countries of the socialist community, against the danger of imperialist aggression, and to strengthen the positions of the peace-loving and liberation forces throughout the world.

The five-year period which the Soviet Union has entered will offer fresh convincing proof of the advantages of socialism; it will mark an important step on the road to communism.

TWENTY-THREE CONGRESSES

▲*continued from p. 63*

economic crisis of unprecedented severity. In the Soviet Union socialist development was taking place on a tremendous scale. The first offspring of the Five-Year Plan—new power stations, metallurgical and machine-building plants, and coal-mining complexes were making their appearance. For the first time in the history of the USSR, in 1929-30 the share of industry in the economy exceeded that of agriculture (53 per cent against 47). The collectivization of agriculture proceeded on a wide scale. The Congress noted that as a result of the advances made in the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture socialism was more and more ousting the capitalist elements. In this connection the Congress pointed out the need to reorganize the work of Party, state and voluntary (trade unions, Young Communist League, etc.) organizations from the standpoint of the new tasks to be tackled, and laid down a programme for the advance of socialism all along the line.

Seventeenth Congress of CPSU(B), January-February 1934. Building the foundations of socialism

The Congress reviewed the results of socialist reconstruction of the economy. It was noted that by carrying out the programme drawn up by Lenin, the Party had ensured the building of the foundations of socialism, the country's transformation from an agrarian country into an industrial one, and the transition of the bulk of the peasantry from scattered, small-scale commodity farming to large-scale, collective socialist production. *A resolution was adopted on the Second Five-Year Plan for 1933-37, which envisaged the completion of technical reconstruction.*

In view of the growing military danger arising from the advent to power of the nazis in Germany, the Congress instructed the Central Committee and the Government to continue to conduct a consistent policy of peace, and of strengthening business links with all countries, and to reinforce the defences of the USSR.

Eighteenth Congress of CPSU(B), March 1939. Line: completing the building of socialist society

The Third Five-Year Plan for 1938-42 occupied the central place in the proceedings. The principal economic task was put forward—to catch up with and outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in produc-

tion per head of the population. The Third Five-Year Plan was to have been a major stage towards the achievement of this aim. General policy and inner-Party questions were also considered. Amended Party Rules were adopted, which took account of radical changes in the class structure of Soviet society and reflected the need for the further development of inner-Party democracy.

The international situation was exceedingly tense. The Munich policy of the Western powers had untied the hands of the fascist aggressors. The Second World War was just round the corner. In these circumstances the Congress laid down the tasks of fighting energetically to preserve peace and ward off nazi aggression, to be careful not to let the instigators of war drag the Soviet Union into conflicts, to reinforce the Armed Forces of the USSR to the utmost and to strengthen links with the working people of other lands.

**Nineteenth Congress of CPSU, October 1952.
Continuation of constructive work interrupted by war**

The Congress assembled at a time when the Soviet Union, having brought to a victorious conclusion the unprecedentedly grim war against nazi Germany and in the main completed economic rehabilitation, was approaching a new stage in its development. When it opened, the Congress paid tribute to the memory of millions upon millions of Soviet people who had fallen in unparalleled struggle against the nazi hordes. An analysis was made of the radical changes that had occurred in the international scene after the Second World War; the most important result was the emergence of a world socialist system. *The Congress adopted Directives for the Five-Year Plan for 1951-55.*

Amended Party Rules were adopted, and it was decided to change the Party's name. The dual name "Communist" and "Bolshevik" had a historical origin in the struggle with the Mensheviks. Since the latter had long since left the historical scene, there was no further point in the dual name. It was decided that in future the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) would be called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

**Twentieth Congress of CPSU, February 1956.
Policy: strengthening the international position of socialism**

The Twentieth Congress played an outstanding role in the development of the Soviet Union and the world communist movement. In an analysis of the international situation the Congress proceeded from the fact that the world had split into two systems—capitalist and socialist,

the competition and antagonism between which affected all aspects of the economic, political and ideological life of nations. The Congress documents further elaborated theoretical questions of vital importance: the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the possibility of averting another world war in the modern epoch, and the forms of transition by various countries to socialism. *The Congress reviewed the results of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and adopted Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan.*

An important place in the proceedings was also given to questions of the further strengthening of the Soviet social and state system and the development of socialist democracy. A report was made "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences," and the Congress categorically condemned the Stalin personality cult. The Congress called upon the Party to take consistent measures to ensure that the cult was fully overcome and its consequences remedied in all spheres of Party, state and ideological work, and that there be strict observance of the norms of Party life and the principle of collective leadership elaborated by Lenin. A commission elected at the Twentieth Congress was entrusted to prepare a new draft programme of the CPSU.

**Twenty-First (extraordinary) Congress of CPSU, January-February 1959.
Under the slogan of the final victory of socialism in the USSR**

The Congress was called to review the Party's tasks in the forthcoming Seven-Year Plan period. *It adopted Directives for the economic plan*

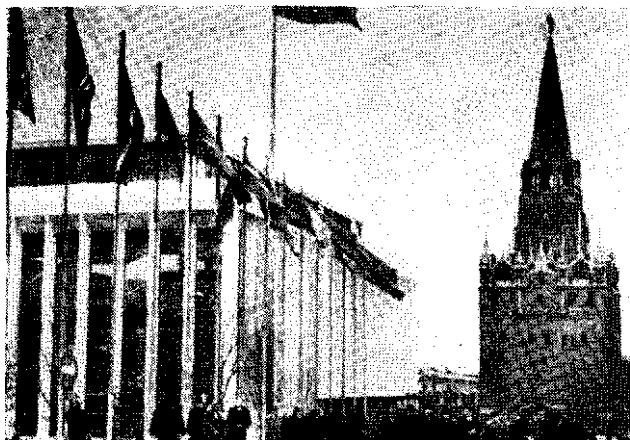


**The Twentieth
Party Congress
in session.**

for 1959-65. The Congress stated that socialism had triumphed fully and decisively in the USSR. Socialism had emerged beyond the bounds of one country, which meant a profound change in the forces in the world arena in favour of socialism. As a result of the victory of socialism and the consolidation of unity of Soviet society, the USSR had entered a new stage in its development—the period of building communist society, in which the principle “From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs” would prevail.

**Twenty-Second Congress of CPSU, October 1961.
Programme for building communism**

The Congress was attended by some 5,000 delegates, representing nearly 10 million Communists. Present were delegations from 80 Communist and Workers' parties, and also representatives of national-democratic parties of a number of countries. The focal point was the new, third, Programme of the CPSU—a programme for building communist society. The second Programme adopted by the Eighth Congress in 1919 had been fulfilled. The new Programme assessed the results of the constructive labour of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and put forward the tasks of creating the material and technical basis of communism, transforming socialist relations into communist, and educating all working people in the spirit of lofty communist consciousness. The Programme also gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the most important social phenomena, such as the growing impor-



Outside the Kremlin Palace of Congresses during the Twenty-Second CPSU Congress.

tance of the forces of socialism. The Programme stressed the need for further strengthening the socialist community, and expanding the world communist and labour movement, and the anti-imperialist national liberation movement.

The new tasks set out in the Programme required changes in the Rules. The new Rules adopted provided for a further heightening of the role and responsibility of Soviet Communists and the development of inner-Party democracy and the initiative and enterprise of Party organizations.

**Twenty-Third Congress of CPSU, March-April 1966.
Concrete definition of tasks of building communism**

There were more delegates at this Congress than at any other, and they represented over 12 million Communists. Representatives of Communist and Workers' parties and national-democratic parties in 86 countries on all continents came as guests of the Congress.

The Congress reviewed questions relating to the international situation and the Party's domestic policy for the current period. Special attention was devoted to the strengthening of the world socialist system—the chief revolutionary force of the contemporary epoch. In addition the Congress discussed questions arising from the successes of the national-liberation movements of the Afro-Asian peoples, from the fight against imperialism and in defence of peace, democracy and socialism. Speakers from other countries remarked upon the immense help given by the Soviet Union to other socialist countries and nations who had liberated themselves and were building their own independent states.

Serious attention was paid to the question of strengthening proletarian unity among Communist and Workers' parties and affirmed the loyalty of the CPSU to the general line of the international Communist movement worked out collectively at international meetings in 1957 and 1960.

The report to the Congress stated that the Party's domestic policy was aimed at the fulfilment of the Programme and the decisions of the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee. The Congress worked out the basis, in all aspects, of the tasks involved in building communism, taking account of the conditions prevailing for the development of Soviet society and the real possibilities and resources of materials, manpower and finance available, and also with consideration for the international situation. *The Congress adopted the Directives for the Five-Year Plan for 1966-70.* It drew attention to the need to strengthen economic methods and stimuli in management of the economy, to improve planning and increase the economic initiative and independence of industrial enterprises and collective and state farms. Emphasis was laid

upon the especially important role of speeding up scientific and technological progress in the development of the productive forces and improving the working people's wellbeing.

The Central Committee elected at the Congress elected its leading body, the Political Bureau. Leonid Brezhnev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.